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MEDES AND PERSIANS
REFLECTIONS ON ELUSIVE EMPIRES

MARGARET COOL ROOT, GUEST EDITOR

On the cover: Detail from an eighteenth-century engraving of the Persepolis Takht. After Cornelius Le Bruyn, *Travels into Muscovy, Persia, and Part of the East-Indies . . .* II, *Translated from the French* (London: A. Bettesworth, 1737), unnumbered plate following page 22. Full image reproduced here on page 194.

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Preface

The idea of a project highlighting work by young scholars from North America and Iran came to me in May 1999. I was privileged to return to Iran for the first time since the 1970s, this time not as a dissertation writer but as a co-leader of the first tour organized by the Freer Gallery of Art and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution since the Iranian Revolution of 1979. At that moment, the political barriers to cultural exchange between the U.S. and Iran were lifting after far too many years. Iranian colleagues and their students welcomed me warmly. Their interests in the study of ancient Iran intersected with those I was thrashing out with my own students at home. At the same time, they also offered differing perspectives and brought different types of information to bear on the same issues. It was clear that the field was attracting outstanding people in both parts of the world—people who deserved to be connected up somehow "on the record"—hopefully as part of an ongoing dialogue.

Scholarship on the Achaemenid Persian empire in North America as well as in Europe thrived, perversely enough, during the prolonged era of virtual isolation of U.S. citizens from Iran. This floruit was largely due to the energy and vision of Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg. Her creation of the annual Achaemenid History Workshops brought together a wide array of scholars from various specialist disciplines for heady discussions. Through the workshops' encouragement of theoretical historical engagement, they offered a forum for the insertion of empirical research on the archaeological record into lively intellectual debate. Meanwhile, archaeological training and fieldwork continued in Iran, perpetuating a distinguished tradition there. Analytical work on previously excavated material also continued. Unfortunately, the efforts on either "side" were not easily shared.

The last Achaemenid History Workshop (in 1990) was the first and only one to be held in the U.S. With funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities as well as from the University of Michigan we were able to fulfill one of Heleen's keenest wishes: the competitive awarding of stipends to young scholars of any nationality to participate in the roundtable sessions in Ann Arbor. Already then, Heleen was seeing the importance of passing the torch. By now, those young people of 1990 are established figures. It seems time to pass the torch again—now in a slightly different way. That 1990 workshop perforce did not bring Iranians into the mix, even though a wonderful development was the increased ease in incorporating colleagues from the U.S.S.R. and the Far East. The present volume very deliberately extends the embrace of the workshop

project in the direction I think Heleen would have desired—at last hearing the voices of Iranian scholars.

As for the definition of "young" here: I set as an arbitrary upper limit a Ph.D. date of no earlier than 1997, for this described a five-year maximum between receipt of the Ph.D. and the planned publication date of 2002. The actual appearance of this 2002 issue of the journal has been greatly delayed due to sagas of international politics in the past two years that do not bear recounting here. (In some instances authors have chosen to make small changes to incorporate new material, but for the most part their research was capped two to three years ago.) Happily, all the contributors remain young despite the turmoil interjected into the lives of many of them (and their external reviewers). Papers by several eligible scholars both from Iran and the U.S. could not appear here for various personal or logistical reasons. And as I write this, a whole new cohort of Iranian and North American students (not to mention those from other parts of the world) is moving up through the ranks, with topics in the works that would also have been marvelous additions to this issue. Another time.

The good news is that there is a lot happening in the field, with these initiatives emerging from individuals poised at the beginning of their careers, with varying academic backgrounds and professional ambitions. At the early end of the specialist spectrum of our seven contributors to *Medes and Persians* is Kamyar Abdi. Although he writes here on the Egyptian deity Bes across the Achaemenid empire, his recent dissertation in anthropology is titled "Strategies of Herding: Pastoralism in the Middle Chalcolithic Period of the Western Central Zagros Mountains" (University of Michigan, 2001). He has already published widely, and among his projects in progress is a book on the archaeology of Iran from prehistory through Sasanian times. He has also achieved notable distinction in creating a large umbrella organization under the auspices of which numerous international field efforts (including U.S. involvement) are now taking place in the Fars province of southwestern Iran. At the other end of the chronological spectrum are two contributors: Jen Gates, discussing the problem of Graeco-Persian art here, is writing her dissertation on landscape and commerce in Ptolemaic Egypt (involving intensive archaeological survey in the eastern desert). Björn Anderson is working in Jordan on a dissertation in Nabataean archaeology, which fixes his temporal focus primarily on the Roman empire. His article for *Medes and Persians* examines the large class of Nabataean crenelated tombs from Hegra and Petra as indices of social resistance to encroaching Roman hegemony through systematic invocation of symbols drawn from the Achaemenid empire. Each has emerged in specialist circles as a new figure of great interest, through conference presentations and papers forthcoming.

The remaining four contributors are more centrally fixed for their long-term goals in Median-Persian studies of the first millennium. Ali Mousavi, already well-published on issues in Iranian archaeology and interpretive analyses of remains, is completing his dissertation on pre-Achaemenid Iron Age Iran. His article in this volume on the history of the exploration and archaeological investigation of the Achaemenid capital city, Persepolis, resonates compellingly on a personal as well as a professional level. His discussions trace aspects of the Persepolis tradition that intertwine with his father's archaeological career in the 1960s and '70s. Beth Dusinberre's 1997 dissertation, reflecting multiple seasons of work at Sardis, has just appeared as *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). Her article here, on an excavated figural ivory for a luxurious chair or throne found in a purportedly Median fortified city in central Anatolia, reflects this longstanding commitment to Anatolian archaeology of periods and historical challenges informing Median-Persian studies. She now pursues new projects in Anatolian archaeology and in Achaemenid art and social history (including preparation of a monograph on the seals and sealings from Gordion and an iconographical study of the crossed-animal motif in the glyptic traditions of Mesopotamia and Iran with special focus on art production in the Achaemenid empire).

Shahrokh Razmjou works broadly in Iranian field archaeology as well as on a multitude of Iranian artifacts under his care in the National Museum of Iran, Tehran. His article on the life and death of the Egyptian-made statue of Darius from Susa relates closely to that realm of his career. He has published in Iranian journals and increasingly in Western contexts. His intellectual interests are closely art historical and philological, with a special concern for refined work on the Achaemenid-period Elamite administrative documents from Persepolis and the seals that ratified them. He has recently embarked on a new arm of the Persepolis Seal Project with my own former student and long-time collaborator, Mark Garrison. They will coordinate material from the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury tablets housed in Tehran with material still on study-loan at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Cindy Nimchuk's 2001 dissertation, "Darius I and the Formation of the Achaemenid Empire: Communicating the Creation of an Empire" (University of Toronto), focused on formative phases of Achaemenid ideology through explorations of text-image construction in the reign of Darius the Great. Her specialist training in numismatics at the American Numismatic Society is one of the defining features of her career in Achaemenid studies. This aspect of her profile is highlighted in the present volume through her innovative interpretation of early Achaemenid Persian coins as tokens of royal esteem—a project of great interest in discussions of the confluences of economies and visually expressed ideologies of empire.

It has been a real pleasure to work intensively with the authors here in a give-and-take about the nature of evidence and the exciting instabilities of the record. On behalf of all of them and myself, I extend special warmest thanks to Peg Lourie, who has served as Managing Editor of *Ars Orientalis* for many years—doing the copyediting, layout, and all manner of administration with the greatest intellectual engagement, skill, and patience imaginable. We all extend thanks as well to a large cadre of anonymous reviewers, who responded generously with stimulating suggestions. □

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MARGARET COOL ROOT

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Editorial Notes

- We have left transliterations of Persian names to the discretion of each author. Thus there will be variations among different articles between the use of, e.g., Naqsh-i Rustam and Naqsh-e Rostam.

- The National Museum of Iran (the Iran National Museum) now encompasses the antiquities of the former Iran Bastan Museum of Tehran as well as Islamic art collections in Tehran. We have, however, left it to the authors' discretion which name they use for the museum.

- In places where Islamic solar calendar years are cited as well as Gregorian calendar years, the Islamic solar year precedes the Gregorian year, separated by a slash (/). The solar calendar year begins at the year of the Hegira. Its annual cycle of months does not correlate completely with the annual cycle of the Gregorian calendar year.

- In the occasional instances of citation of an Islamic date according to the lunar calendar, the lunar date precedes the Gregorian date and is designated by A.H. to distinguish it from the solar calendar dating system (S.H.).

Medes and Persians: The State of Things

In memory of Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg

THIS VOLUME IS ABOUT the study of artistic production and the historiographic burdens of that study in a particular context. Its platform is the struggle between the perceived certainties of Western traditions of knowledge about the East and the complexities of the cultural record of the East itself.

The assembled articles will be of particular substantive relevance to scholars of Achaemenid empire studies and more generally to specialists in Greek, Roman, Near Eastern, Transcaucasian, and Central Asian studies. They ought also to be thought-provoking to scholars working in issues of empire regardless of geographical/cultural context. Beyond that, numerous issues are raised here on method, theoretical positioning, and argumentation of evidence on *types* of art-historical problems that resonate with concerns of the wide-ranging *Ars Orientalis* readership.

In broadest terms the project shows how a particular geographic/cultural area of inquiry constitutes a nexus of social forces, intercultural encounters, political and ideological acts and events. Such a nexus can exert considerable (and often contested) influence on artistic productions and on art-making as a practice. The nexus approach depends upon rigorous, empirically grounded, historically and culturally specific foundations, thus sustaining interdisciplinary methodological or theoretical innovation. In this, the approach has the potential to revitalize a credible notion of area studies, which have been dismissed recently in some academic circles.[1]

This volume is also very much about art *things* in the study of elusive empires. Some things are tangible object-entities; some things are tangled idea-entities. The object-entity type of thing may present itself at first blush (especially to the archaeologist) as a knowable commodity, if only we can focus it under the microscope sharply enough. The tangled idea-entity type of thing is the sort that exists in the plain-spoken but densely figurative vernacular of contemporary English usage: "How're things?"—where "things" become the very condition of existence.

Current art-historical parlance about modernity sometimes chooses to call fine art objects "things" deliberately to defrock them and then to clothe them anew in a narrative apparel of irony-laced artistic practice. In thus destabilizing traditions of authorial preeminence, this type of rhetorical strategy effectively brings discourse "down" into the realms of Near Eastern art-historical study. We struggle with the visual record toward all sorts of social-historical goals of inquiry (including, I might add, notions of the ironic, subversive, and irreverent). While some may wish it were possible to focus on the biographically knowable identity of the artist-as-genius and have even tried to make that work, heroization of the author is not really part of our game. Our strategies of engagement must be different. They depend largely on the objects themselves as biographically rich, often convoluted, sites of form and meaning.[2]

The timeliness of theorization of this factor is reflected in the call for papers for the 2004 session of the College Art Association of America on "Lives of Objects" (Feldman and Thomason forthcoming). The session proposes, with special attention to ancient Near Eastern contexts, to

> treat objects as active participants in the negotiation of personal and institutional identities, the construction of culture, and the instigation

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of social and political change. Analyses could consider the consumption of objects, the formation of identities through objects, biographies of objects within multiple contexts, and any other subjects that examine the ongoing or subsequent impact of objects within their ancient social matrices.

The articles in *Medes and Persians* are all deliberately focused on object-entity things that live within particularly interesting idea-entity habitats. Even Mousavi's contribution on the history of archaeology at the imperial city of Persepolis is in essence about a thing. By no means a simple, straight-line interpretive accounting of dates and endeavors, it produces this site as a type of object-entity that is complexly situated in a braided stream of ideologies. By the same token, Anderson's paper invokes issues of ruined Persepolis as a strategic minefield of cultural memory available to be inserted into discourses of power and resistance in (and *about*) Nabataea during the Roman empire.

A FRAME OF REFERENCE

The Medes and the Persians were peoples of Indo-Iranian ethnolinguistic background. With a nomadic legacy, they also shared ties to (proto-)Zoroastrian traditions of ethical belief and religious observance. They had pushed westward and settled amongst enclaves of indigenous peoples along the Zagros mountains within the borders of modern Iran at least by the dawn of the first millennium B.C.E. There they found themselves interacting with multiple long-standing cultural traditions.[3] These included the mighty Assyrian empire and the kingdoms of Babylonia and Urartu—all of which were complex organizations of manifold cultural associations across western Asia, Egypt, and areas of Greek colonial interest and domain. A host of less generally known peoples inhabiting regions in which the Medes and Persians settled include the Mannaeans and the Ellipi in the north and the Elamites of southwestern Iran, with their venerable capital city of Susa, which was to become one of the heartland royal centers of the Persians.[4]

The Medes held some degree of hegemony in northeast Iran and contiguous areas before the Persians, under Cyrus II (the Great), defeated them in ca. 550. The continuing heated debates about the type of power Media represented, its geographical range, and its qualification for the term "empire" become a key issue in Dusinberre's discussion. The ensuing Achaemenid Persian empire (holding sway until the completion of Alexander's conquests in 330 B.C.E.) became the largest the world had yet known, stretching from the Indus and areas of central Asia across western Asia into Egypt and beyond to modern Libya. It is acceptable to call the heritage shared by the Medes and Persians "Indo-Iranian" or "Iranian," with the appreciation that "Iranian" relates to ethnolinguistic concerns rather than to the modern nation-state of Iran per se. But how we understand and deal with the implications of that notion remains a vexed question. In his article here Abdi uses the term "Iranianization" to characterize a process of transmission and acculturation of images of the Egyptian deity Bes within the multicultural sphere of the Achaemenid empire. In doing this he explicitly challenges us to reckon with a notion of predilections determined by Iranianness.

"Iranianization" has also been used by Young (1997: 449), in a slightly different way, to describe the political and cultural unification of various indigenous peoples of the Zagros area that must have taken place already under the (Iranian) Medes. In the early decades of the twentieth century such terminology, and the ideas underlying notions of biologically coded cultural inevitabilities, became tainted by association with Third Reich eugenics policies harnessed to Aryanism. So it is a word and an idea that comes with significant baggage. That said, we do need to have ways of discussing the phenomenon Abdi observes. An article by P. R. S. Moorey (1985), which avoids the naming problem, remains a key statement on the struggle to define aspects of Iranianness underlying visual culture specifically in the Achaemenid imperial environment.

PRIMARY TEXT SOURCES AND THEIR PROBLEMS[5]

Classical Writers on Iranian Subjects. Medes and Persians remain particularly elusive despite (and also

because of) the strength of classical text traditions in the formation of Western scholarly approaches to them. The historian Herodotus, writing in Greek for an Athenian audience in the mid-fifth century B.C.E., looms as a major source for the early empire, particularly its engagements with the West. He and other later authors serving Greek and then Roman imperial patron mandates will figure prominently in the articles assembled here. Their reliability on matters of stipulated fact must repeatedly be queried (viz., Dusinberre, Razmjou, Nimchuk, and Anderson). The subtexts of their representations, often reflecting complex contemporary agendas, must be probed relentlessly (as in the presentations of Razmjou, Anderson, and Mousavi).[6]

This is not to say that the classical sources are unimportant. Importance is not the same as objective reliability. It is even safe to say, and is reconfirmed by papers in this volume, that importance is much more interesting and significant than any notion of bland reliability. Thus the degree to which any of these papers must question the objective reliability of a classical text is in no way a measure of the richness of the source; it is a measure, rather, of the urgency of our continued investment in allowing such sources to be historically complicated.

Modern Eurocentric Overlays. Further entanglements ensue when modern Western worldviews cloud the lens through which the classical authors are read and through which the visual record of East-West cultural contact is interpreted. Progress here involves a long, slow process of self-reflexive contemplation by impressively educated scholars who are willing to question themselves and the foundations of their learning with open minds. It also involves the willingness of new generations earnestly to challenge even the giants in the field. Increasingly sophisticated calibrations of critical (art-) historical method can empower this productive interrogation of received paradigms. Eurocentric notions of history continue to exert tremendous control in the field, even if only by innuendo. The old narrative of the Persians as an evil, crude barbarian antithesis to the noble Western (Greek and then Roman) world still runs deep. Gates's paper on the Graeco-Persian name game lays all this out for us. Solidly based studies

treating the visual cultures of East and West in the Achaemenid period and its aftermath as constructions of complex, collusive interdependencies are increasingly offering alternatives-by-implication to this polarizing paradigm (e.g., Miller 1997; Cohen 1997). Gates, in effect, makes the issues explicit and offers methodological strategies toward a new approach.

Eastern Text Sources and Their Problems. The Medes and the Persians have not left us historical narratives comparable to the classical testimonies of Herodotus, Diodorus, and others. Indeed, we so far have no written material whatsoever from the Medes.[7] This may simply reflect the luck of archaeology.[8] It also may reflect a culture steeped in the performance of elaborated oral histories and epics and in a mystical emphasis on memory as the mechanism for transmission of the faith. Other textual sources can be used with learned discretion to inform us on the Medes and Persians. These include the Zoroastrian religious texts of the *Avesta*, later Iranian mythical and literary motifs, and post-Achaemenid historical documents and commentaries (Iranian and Arabic). A very readable discussion by Vesta Curtis (1993) offers a useful introduction to some of this material; and work by Parivash Jamzadeh (most comprehensively presented in 1991) applies this understanding of broad continuities into Islamic times to iconographical studies in the representation of Achaemenid kingship.

Mesopotamian and Egyptian textual sources of the Achaemenid period (although not for the most part in the form of extended narratives) are increasingly subject to analysis from a variety of perspectives. Many of them are administrative, legal, or funerary documents informing aspects of social history that official court rhetoric is not likely to reveal so straightforwardly. One of the impressive achievements of recent decades has been the mainstreaming of serious analysis of such texts and the coordination of efforts more generally to see the Near Eastern textual material both on its own terms and alongside the classical testimonies.

VISUAL EVIDENCE AND ITS PROBLEMS

At the 1986 Achaemenid History Workshop, Sancisi-Weerdenburg spoke of an elusive empire,

referring to the current state of our understanding of the Achaemenid Persian hegemony (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1990). At the next workshop, I took up this issue, reflecting on a perverse tendency in the scholarship studiously to *pursue* perceived clarities from the classical sources while studiously *ignoring* potential clarities from the archaeological and primary textual record of the Achaemenid empire itself (Root 1991). In other words, I claimed (and still do) that the material elusiveness of the Achaemenids is not so much the result of a dearth of evidence itself; it is more the result of biases that make a constructed notion of scarce evidence eminently reassuring.

Median Things. Tuplin (1994: 251) has commented ruefully on "the general archaeological and historical elusiveness of the Medes." That word again. The Medes seem to have been powerful in the first half of the first millennium B.C.E. But our firsthand knowledge of them is so scanty as to have many commentators these days enclosing the adjective Median (if not the noun Mede) in quotation marks. The central royal city of the Medes was Ecbatana, which, alas, lies under the modern city of Hamadan. A great deal of clandestine digging has taken place there in the past (exacerbating the difficulties of art-historical inquiry). Scientifically controlled excavation has been pursued only in recent years. Following systematic purchase of properties and the necessary relocation of families, Iranian teams have uncovered a massive fortified enclosure, which probably postdates Median and Achaemenid Persian times but hints at what lies below at earlier levels. Other sites now being excavated in Iran in addition to Ecbatana may eventually provide corpora of visual arts that can be attributed to the Median presence in pre-Achaemenid Iran. An example is Tepe Ozbaki northeast of Tehran, excavated under the direction of Dr. Yousef Madjidzadeh, where a massive fortification may be Median (http://www.ozbaki.com).[9]

The smaller but remarkable site of Nush-i Jan, excavated by David Stronach with Michael Roaf in the 1960s and '70s, is understood to be Median based upon its location in reference to commentaries on Media in the Assyrian records. Nush-i Jan, for all its significance, has been disappointing in the matter of small finds because it was abandoned. In the absence of corpora of excavated objects that might give us a broad-based standard for what Median art is, a time-honored tactic of the antiquities market has labeled as "Median art" artifacts that do not quite fit what we know about art of Achaemenid imperial contexts. This problem has been vividly profiled by Muscarella in many publications (Muscarella 2000 for a recent review). When we strip away all this unexcavated material, the result, as Dusinberre's article discusses, is that, among the most scientifically minded people working in the field today, not a single item of demonstrably "Median art" has yet emerged.

In our zeal to discredit spurious Median artifacts we have, however, perhaps missed opportunities to define the terms of the debate in other ways. A small number of seals (and seals preserved as impressions) were discovered at Nush-i Jan. They are not considered Median art by the archaeologists most closely associated with the site and its small finds. Although thought most likely to be locally made, they are considered so dependent upon the repertoires of Late Assyrian and Syro-Phoenician art that they cannot qualify as having a separately definable identity (Curtis 1984: 24–25; 1995: 23 and n. 5). Stronach comments that "If the single earring and the various spiralform beads from the [Nush-i Jan] silver hoard do little to illustrate any special character that Median art may have possessed, it can only be said that the same observation holds true for the few well preserved seals that have been found" (1984: vii). Years later he reiterates with conviction the idea that these seals cannot be inserted into the record of Median art, stating that "not one object can be reliably distinguished as an example of 'Median art'" (1998: 242). The stamp seal displaying an image of a cow suckling a calf (Curtis 1984: no. 233) is interesting in this regard. The motif goes back to very ancient Mesopotamian traditions referring to the great mother Ninhursag in the guise of a cow. But while the seal can be seen, as Curtis has explained in detail, wholly in the context of more Western traditions, its motif also has Zoroastrian resonances, as Negahban (1983) and Calmeyer (1995: 41–42) have both pointed out.

How do we deal with an artifact like this one in the beleaguered context of the absent presence of Median art? At what point does an artifact excavated

at a site accepted through historical-geographical and other evidence as Median become, by virtue of that, itself Median? Have we, in the stressful presence of so much spurious material and the stressful absence (despite such promising excavations) of corpora of certifiable Median material, become shy about confronting the complexities of what Median visual cultural identity would have been? Is it not to be expected that local workshops producing "Median art" at Nush-i Jan would plausibly commingle elements of Assyrian/Syro-Phoenician imagery and cultural connotation with elements that resonated with Iranian ones (including proto-Zoroastrian conceptions)? The architecture of the site and, more importantly, the ritual aspects of the abandonment of the fire temple there are widely acknowledged through Stronach's analyses as blending elements of Mesopotamian form and cultural practice with elements of Indo-Iranian/proto-Zoroastrian tradition. Could we not consider *artifacts* from Nush-i Jan in the same way? Or does the seal need to be inscribed in the Median language with a Median name to qualify as Median even though the site itself is happily called Median in the absence of this form of evidence?

Why is the naming of Median art such a fraught issue, when comparatively little anxiety surrounds other ethnically associated milieus of production in first-millennium Iran? I think it all comes down to one double-edged thing. On the one hand, our expectations of distinctiveness for the concept are inflated because of the importance the Medes assume through the narratives of Herodotus. On the other hand, our eagerness to see, through the art of the Median kingdom, the foundations of Achaemenid art and culture has created predetermined expectations that have not been submitted to theoretical critique *as expectations*.

The question of standards for assessing a notion of Medianness is posed in this volume by Dusinberre in the context of a unique fragment of luxury ivory furniture decoration excavated at the site of Kerkenes in central Anatolia. The identification of this site as a Median outpost is controversial, and the validity of Dusinberre's analysis does not depend on this. But if, for the sake of discussion, we accept Kerkenes as a fortified city built or at least occupied by the Medes along the western rim of their hegemonic expansion,

then are we entitled to consider this remarkable figural ivory an example of courtly Median art? An exploration of the artifact on this basis is revelatory. It opens our minds to a world of complex cultural strains. Set against an intricate array of parallels for various individual features, the piece remains utterly unique in its entirety. Muscarella cogently warns of the likelihood that an unexcavated unicum is a forgery (Muscarella 2000: 18). But an *excavated* unicum deserves the best and broadest possible reach of analysis. In this respect the Kerkenes ivory is analogous to the "gold bowl" from the artifact-rich Iron Age site of Hasanlu just south of Lake Urmia (Dyson and Voigt 1989), which is considered an ethnically Mannaean (non-Iranian) place based on assessments of historical geography in the absence of any textual evidence identifying it. Most recently, in a dense scholarship on the object, Rubinson (2003) suggests links between the Hasanlu vessel and the Transcaucasian sphere of luxury art production, just as Dusinberre has posited such links here in relation to the traditions informing the Kerkenes ivory. Such connections highlight a growing realization in general (partly resulting from the end of the Cold War) that scholars of Median-Persian studies can and need to work with Transcaucasia (and central Asia).

Persians and the Arts of the Achaemenid Empire. While Median art has seemed so famously unfathomable from the excavated record, the situation for Persian art in the years before the advent of Cyrus II and the emergence of the Achaemenid empire has actually been just as elusive. Many scholars do not really expect to find a visual record that could be defined as specifically "Persian" before the deliberate formation of Achaemenid art. There has been a strong undercurrent of misplaced assumption that Persians emerging out of a nomadic past will have had no traditions of art-making of their own, and perhaps no "taste." Anderson makes interesting observations about the similarities of discussion of the proto-Nabataeans and the parvenu Achaemenid Persians. Gates's article reminds us that this feeling about the Persians is fading out only slowly.

One revelation alters the picture a bit. A cylinder seal (PFS 93* on the Persepolis Fortification tablets), inscribed with the name and titulary of the Persian

Cyrus I, was used on administrative tablets of the reign of Darius at Persepolis (Garrison and Root 1996 [1998] for the decades-long history of publication of this seal; discussion by Dusinberre and Gates in this volume). The fact that the style and imagery of PFS 93* invokes a very high-quality late Elamite glyptic tradition is tremendously important. Added to that, the inscription in the Elamite language clinches its significance as a product of a pre-Achaemenid official Persian milieu in which Elamite artistic practice and administrative protocols were part of an adaptive negotiation of political and social dimensions.[10] The seal of Cyrus I notwithstanding, we still do not have a sense of what *ranges* of art production were current among the pre-empire Persians. As with the Median problem, a great deal of learned discussion on artifacts that might qualify as pre-empire Persian art has centered on unexcavated and in some cases certainly spurious objects. The so-called Oxus Treasure is one example of material that remains frequently cited as if it had scientific integrity but cannot be claimed to have anything like the evidentiary status of an excavated corpus (e.g., Muscarella 2000: 208 n. 30; forthcoming).

The Achaemenid imperial project created a set of ideologically charged demands for official art. It is this self-conscious court production that we call Achaemenid art (Root 1979: 1). The seal of Cyrus I is part of that same sphere of deliberately allusive royal apparatus, even though it was created in the years before imperial consolidation. Razmjou, Nimchuk, Mousavi, and Anderson deal directly with art-historical issues central to our ongoing efforts to appreciate the nuances of the programmatic Achaemenid endeavor. Nimchuk's article is tied closely to the formative phase. Addressing issues of official message conveyance, it offers rigorously informed new paradigms in the analysis of numismatic data. Her analysis leads to original perspectives on imperial dynamics as well as on issues of iconography and the importance of gift exchange as a mechanism of social orchestration. Her paper can be placed in relation to the classic work on symbols and their formation by Firth (1973) and Matheson's study of the processes and discourses in identity leading to the creation of the imagery of the Canadian flag (Matheson 1980). For explicit discussion of gifting, which

is important to Nimchuk's argument, Dusinberre's article provides substantial background (to which add Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1989 for its relevance specifically to Nimchuk).

In discussing the statue of Darius from Susa, Razmjou is also lodged in the formative era. But his focus on the postcreation biography of the monument brings it down into the less-developed arena of later Achaemenid studies and from there into the phase of Macedonian devastation. There is increasing interest in late Achaemenid history. Briant's new book on Darius III (2003), which has just reached my desk, asserts the profound richness of this phase as a metaphorical site of historiographic intricacy. On the archaeological front, Razmjou's account of the life story of the Darius statue begins to link together issues of political repositioning and physical relandscaping of ceremonial installations after the formative years. Studies of late alterations to the built environments of Persepolis and Susa have been made (e.g., Calmeyer 1990; citations of Boucharlat in Razmjou). But the time is ripe for a comprehensive treatment that sees the cultural politics and the physical manifestations in the holistic way Razmjou points us toward.

In larger historical terms, Razmjou's work takes up issues of vandalism and destruction as expressive strategies that can be read off the archaeological record and interpreted symbolically (viz., Nylander 1999, as well as earlier work by Nylander and Bahrani cited by Razmjou). Razmjou's close interrogation of the destruction of a monumental royal image reveals interesting aspects of the intended durabilities of the thing as well as the loci of its ultimate vulnerabilities. In this, the article takes its place beside the important technical study of the construction and demise of the life-sized bronze statue of the second-millennium Middle Elamite queen Napir-Asu, also excavated at Susa (Meyers 2000). Additional aspects of analysis that emerge here involve the valorization of unique "originals" in art production versus the social efficacy of producing multiples of sculptures simultaneously. This last is a topic of wide interest, with particular but hardly exclusive applicability to Achaemenid/Near Eastern studies and to Greek and Roman art history (e.g., Ridgway 1984; Gazda 2002).

Two articles balance analysis within the Achaemenid period and analysis of reflections on

the empire in later times: Anderson and Mousavi. Anderson's work tracing Nabataean emulations of Achaemenid art perforce offers thought-provoking discussions of selected Achaemenid motifs while arguing for the enduring charisma of postdestruction Persepolis as a site. It dismantles numerous long-standing assumptions about the nature of Nabataean "eclecticism," seeing, rather, a program of calculated appropriations that reflect an embattled Nabataean positioning in relation to the Roman West on the one hand and to a cultural memory of privilege within the earlier Eastern Achaemenid hegemony on the other hand. It challenges the reader to imagine a cultural enclave within a parvenu political entity making informed visual choices in the service of politically attuned constructions of identity. The many insights Anderson offers into the historiography of Nabataean studies and its parallels in Achaemenid studies bear consideration in relation to Vickers's article on Nabataean gold vessels and economies of gifting. Vickers (1994) makes the point that Nabataean gold tableware used as a medium of weighed exchange harks back to Achaemenid practice. This in turn ties in with Nimchuk's paper on Achaemenid coinage as weighed "tokens of royal esteem."

Mousavi's history of archaeology at Persepolis cogently informs current interests in Achaemenid art history when he comments on the hopes of the Iranian excavator Akbar Tadjvidi to reveal the nature of Greater Persepolis as an urban entity. Tadjvidi was committed to this scientific explication, while simultaneously invested in a mythologized notion of Persepolis as a city hidden from the non-Persian world. The subject has attracted other scholars approaching it from different perspectives (e.g., Boucharlat 2003; Garrison and Root 2001: 9–10; Root 2001; Anderson, this volume). Thus Mousavi's assertion of the tensions in Tadjvidi's thinking is most welcome. Tadjvidi's book on the Persepolis excavations (in Persian) is difficult to find anywhere but especially in North America (Abdi and Root forthcoming).

In allusions to Persepolis as a highly programmed visual landscape full of symbols, both Anderson and Mousavi in different ways reinforce the work of the Iranian scholar Parivash Jamzadeh, who is only one Ph.D. generation beyond them (Jamzadeh 1991). A focal point of her research has been the Achaemenid throne as a physical and symbolic form and as an idea that takes on metaphorical valences relating to the Takht of Persepolis itself. Sites as thrones and thrones as vehicles of elaborate signification—this is a topic that returns us to Dusinberre's paper on the ivory from Kerkenes, where the lush iconographies of royal furniture and the importance of furniture as a medium of symbolically charged gift exchange loomed large. Here we also call into the dialogue a study of Achaemenid furniture forms from Macedonia (Paspalas 2000). Paspalas deals with reception and emulation of Achaemenid courtly associations in the West at the late end of the Achaemenid empire. In this sense it also merits a reading in connection with Anderson's paper in *Medes and Persians*.

Every contribution to this volume addresses issues of ethnicity and identity construction in one way or another. So pervasive is this theme that I can only allude to selected features of its presence here. Abdi and Gates tackle problems in the analysis of ethnicity in art, focusing primarily on material representing personal tastes and preferences of people operating within the imperial milieu but not necessarily or exclusively in official capacities.[11] Both work with problems of Iranianness (or Persianness) set in relation to a strong cultural tradition embraced within the Achaemenid hegemony. Gates explicitly emphasizes modern cultural subtexts embedded in naming within the discourse of Persian empire studies, while she explores the so-called Graeco-Persian phenomenon as a kaleidoscopically shifting set of performances of art production, reception, and use in a multicultural imperial milieu.

In the context of identity studies as well as studies of style and iconography, the evidentiary value of seals impressed on excavated archives of tablets bearing information on the seal users takes on critical importance for Gates and also for Abdi, Dusinberre, Nimchuk, and Anderson. The expanded availability of and interest in this type of evidence is a significant development in Achaemenid studies, facilitating contemplation of the discretionary behavior of individuals. Because some of these people are known to us through a variety of identifiers (name, occupation, sex, and so on), we can consider their seals in the context of individual identity negotiations within a richly variegated empire.[12] This material helps clarify

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the situation in the perverse way of demonstrating conclusively how prevalent the tangled process of self-conscious identity construction was in this context. Despite such substantial evidence, the cultural premises upon which we assess the how and why of glyptic styles and their social meanings has remained hotly contested, as we have noted, in the specific case of so-called Graeco-Persian art. Gates's article is not only important as an effort to provide some transparency to the murky scholarly waters here ("Modern Eurocentric Overlays," above); it is also important because the critical feature of the *solution* she proposes to the problem involves insistence upon an interrogation of excavated evidence—particularly in the form of seals impressed on archivally informative labels and tablets. In so doing she demonstrates the great potentials of these data as well as the inevitable flaws in argumentation that emerge from analysis based, instead, on unprovenanced artifacts. This is also a tactic used by Abdi, who catalogues all the Bes-images currently known to him but gives special weight to objects that have the highest scientific status.

The convoluted synergies of style, ethnicity, identity construction, influence theory, and reception are major themes running through many of the articles in this volume. In his object-based study of one icon, Abdi has deliberately eschewed any explicit contextualization of his own method and approach with reference to other scholarship that treats similar problems. Anderson's article does go through that process. It provides one richly textured backdrop against which Abdi can be read. Additionally, Schapiro's classic study of style (1994 [1962]: esp. 81–90) and Miller's work on reception (1997) are important complements. Any future consideration of the definitional operations of style—in Achaemenid art strictly speaking and also in the arts of the Achaemenid empire inclusively—will want to deal with the challenges posed by concepts of "international style" as these have been articulated for the second-millennium eastern Mediterranean, including western Asia (Feldman 2002), and specifically for this same expansive arena in the context of the Achaemenid empire (Melikan-Chirvani 1993). The problems are complex, and, as with the Graeco-Persian dilemma, they must be contemplated with reference to excavated evidence.[13] Discussions of Graeco-Persian "style" reveal how pervasive is the tendency to call elements of iconography features of style. Yet in order to consider variations in style (at the level of line, composition, volume, and the like) across a realm of increasingly widespread intercultural exchange and commingling, it is imperative that we be able to separate out (for the sake of analysis) performances of style from performances of iconographical content.

The issue of art as a mechanism for and reflection of social cohesions across cultural boundaries leads naturally to a discussion of empire itself. In the discussion here I will focus quite a bit on Abdi's study of the Achaemenid life of Egyptian Bes as a way of demonstrating how critical the gathering of evidence remains to the field. His article reveals the remarkable geographical diffusion of Bes and defines a timeframe for the establishment of Bes in areas beyond Egypt itself (and east of the densely Egyptian-influenced Phoenician zone).[14] Abdi shows that the deity's popularity emerges just when the empire had been consolidated and broad-based ideological visions had been established. This may suggest that the empire was ideologically secure in its tolerance of a foreign deity across all strata of society and in highly visible as well as intensely private spheres. But another approach might be to see the assimilation of Bes as a form of resistance or a manifestation of some other form of social anxiety. This all remains to be debated on the basis of Abdi's assemblage of evidence.

The welcoming of Bes into visual and spiritual domains across the expanse of the empire and up against its central Asian and Transcaucasian frontiers provides an index of the cultural permeability of the Achaemenid enterprise. To the wooden bridle plaques in the form of Bes heads from Siberian Pazyryk in the Altai mountain region, which Abdi mentions as exemplars to give a sense of the range just beyond the imperial limits, we can add the leather Bes-image that formed part of a leather breast-strap found in barrow 2 at Pazyryk. Rudenko (1970: 48 and fig. 76) called this Bes a "human mask," but it is clearly Bes. This warns us that scholars working in central Asian studies will not necessarily use terminology that dovetails with that of Near Eastern and Mediterranean studies. Thus it is crucial to look at the visual material itself rather than relying upon indices in any iconographical search that crosscuts these realms.

Bes's inclusion among material from the Oxus Treasure signals that the Bactria/Sogdiana region of the empire probably interacted readily with the cultures of the nomadic chiefdoms (Azarpay 1959, reinforced by Lerner 1991). This much can be said despite our inability (already noted) to treat the Oxus Treasure as excavated evidence. Hopefully we will soon have more excavated material to work with from the eastern reaches of the empire. Current controlled archaeological work in eastern Iran at sites such as Dahaneh Gholaman near the modern city of Zabol promises much. An international team, headed by Seyd Mansour Sajjadi, has returned to earlier survey sites (Vogelsang 1992: 260–63, with references). Reports in the press suggest lavish evidence of the visual arts.

At another frontier, this time along the Black Sea rim, we also find important evidence of Bes's presence. Objects in a crypt of the Great Bliznitsa kurgan on the Taman peninsula include an Egyptian Bes amulet and an Achaemenid seal of heroic encounter (Farkas n.d.: 28, cat. nos. 62 and 63). Farkas comments on the plethora of Egyptian objects here, as well as objects apparently of Egyptian manufacture but bearing Achaemenid royal-name inscriptions. The material (including the Bes amulet) is clearly passing through the filter of the empire to end up just beyond its borders—in an area of increasing interdisciplinary interest for analyses of the cultural encounters among Greeks in the wake of Alexander, indigenous cultures, and Achaemenid legacies of interaction in the region.

The military is a critical feature of any empire. The link between the embrace of Bes and the Achaemenid army was a phenomenon surely catalyzed by the associations of Bes as a protective deity. Through this realization Abdi provides a platform for exploring how a certain multicultural social group may have used a cohesive cult affiliation, and its visual imagery, to consolidate one aspect of an ethnicity-transcending identity. This concept speaks to Anderson's thesis that Nabataean crenelated tombs displayed calculated evocations of Persepolitan/Achaemenid imagery in a specific climate of tension between acceptance of and resistance to Roman power. An important feature of the Nabataean/Arabian environment in which these reminiscences of

Achaemenid motifs were developed is its military association. Parr (1997: 447) has noted that the crenelated Nabataean tombs "demonstrate a concentration of high-ranking military personnel in the city [of Hegra/ Meda'in Saleh], presumably on account of its importance for guarding the southern limits of the Nabataean realm." In other words, two articles here raise issues of the role of military groups as forgers of specific claims of identity played out through visual devices within an imperial context.

In empire studies exploration of the aftermath is often particularly revealing of elements of the imperial experience itself. It seems that, with the fall of the Achaemenid empire, Bes ceded to Herakles quite quickly in Iranian and Mesopotamian lands. Abdi's catalogue includes one Bes-image from the Masjid-i Sulaiman excavations, where occupation occurred from Achaemenid times to the late Parthian period. Abdi has proposed an Achaemenid date for the object. The site may have become a Macedonian military garrison strategically guarding access in two crucial directions: between the Susiana plain and the Persian Gulf and between Masjid-i Sulaiman and the Iranian plateau (Herrmann 1977: 39, discussing Ghirshman's interpretations of his excavations). Significant evidence of a cult of Herakles was revealed in the post-Achaemenid phases. Post-Achaemenid appearances of Bes in western Asia may be rare, but the subject deserves systematic pursuit. One prominent Bes-image on a crenelated Nabataean tomb at Hegra raises a question as a result of the confluence here of the articles by Abdi and Anderson: Is it possible that further research would indicate that this image represents yet another conscious deployment among some elites in Nabataea of motifs meant to evoke allegiances to the great Eastern empire of a bygone time? The alternative—that the impulse to deploy Bes here came directly from Egypt and signified only rather random eclectic sensibilities—is possible; but Anderson's entire argument gives legitimacy to the factor of mythologized cultural memory in the service of current political/social concerns.

One final facet of empire studies I note here involves strategies for talking about the whole spectrum of phenomena of acculturation within a hegemonic project. We have already noted that Abdi's use of the term "Iranianization" is historiographically loaded

(see "A Frame of Reference"). What happens when we consider this term specifically in the context of art production in the service of personal rather than officially canonized tastes? It suggests that an Iranianness in some sense informed the assimilation of Bes among non-Iranians (in the military and otherwise) as well as Iranian peoples within the empire. This in turn suggests an interplay between an initially Iranian-based popular receptivity to Bes and the flexibility of imperial ideology to accommodate and perhaps even to encourage the incorporation of a foreign deity into popular culture. It may be possible to theorize this issue by referencing the extensively pursued and still evolving concept of Romanization as a mechanism of acculturation within the much more lavishly documented Roman empire (e.g., Woolf 1998; Webster 2001), although the analogies will be inexact and in some senses inverted.

In various ways several of the papers in *Medes and Persians* work with issues of the portability, the mobility, of things and the people who make them and use them (again—idea-things as well as object-things). It is perhaps the most common thematic bond beyond that of ethnicity, identity, and empire itself. When we contemplate this elemental and obvious phenomenon, it is salutary to return to the material record. We are accustomed to thinking of idea-things as convoluted and often impossible to sort out. Especially in this age of theory, there may be some sense in which object-things ought, by comparison, to be quite straightforward and beneath the consideration of truly great minds. I take a lesson from a colleague whose experience is vast and whose understanding of things is subtle: Georgina Herrmann. In the context of luxury ivory production in western Asia she lays on a memorable, irony-laced phrase that seems to capture it all: "the imponderables of mobility" (Herrmann 1986: 7).

As we perforce ponder those imponderables, the most basic features of furniture production loom like monsters. We have already noted the special symbolic charge of the iconography of furniture, especially in royal contexts of intercultural exchange. That charge will have made the medium, as a site of cultural expression, far more dynamic than the term "furniture" implies to most of us today. On the practical level of archaeological inquiry, furniture is a night-

mare that makes musings on the social strategies of sitting, dining, and the like seem effortless by comparison. Fitting marks and joining techniques (documented across the entire geographical range of this volume) demonstrably facilitated the dismantling and reassembling of furniture in antiquity. We may sometimes be looking at multiple loci of component production by workers living in widely separated places and having varying personal identities that rival the contemporary globalized scene of distributed manufacturing. This scenario does not even introduce the mobilities of artisans who traveled to do their work or the mobilities of elite owners. Neither does it introduce the mobilities of secondary gift exchange or the mobilities of *images* of furniture that in some circumstances can have carried at least as much symbolic weight as the actual constructed objects.

Notions of mobility return us full circle to the very processes of empire, which demanded diffusion as well as control of ideas in multiple directions. Gates offers the term "meteorological" (as in a weather system) to characterize the dynamic cultural/social environment of the Achaemenid empire, feeling that it cannot be expressed adequately by rigid top-down or center-periphery models. Dusinberre's term "transcultural fluidities" similarly strives to free the discourse on empire from notions of unidirectional modeling. Both efforts resonate with a call Dan Potts has put forth:

> we must stop looking at Western Asia in terms of diametrically opposed centres and peripheries, and begin to grapple with the far greater complexity posed by the overall matrix of relationships which characterized any moment in time. (Potts 1999: 439)

IRANIAN VERSUS AMERICAN PERSPECTIVES?

There is a latent question that emerges from a volume that deliberately juxtaposes papers by Iranian and North American scholars of the same academic generation: the degree to which members of the two groups may have different intellectual approaches that cleave along culturally determined fault lines. I discuss this at my peril, and in an unblushingly

subjective way. Each of the people represented here is, of course, an individual with a different personal history and composition despite membership in one or the other overarching category of identification. It may seem quaint in the current era of globalization and internet access even to raise the topic. But all the North Americans are products of North American education (despite numerous distinctions in ultimate ethnic associations and so on); all of them have come of age entirely in an era when Iran was off-limits. Thus, as broad as their field experiences have been, involving several countries in the Mediterranean and Near East, none of them has yet had a chance to visit, much less do fieldwork in, Iran itself. By the same token, all the Iranians received their formative education in Iran. And all, regardless of well-traveled academic lives, remain firmly linked to Iranian traditions and to the practice of archaeology there. I will offer a few observations on this matter, while leaving the reader to ponder it further in relation to the contributions themselves.

Iranian archaeology was until the mid-twentieth century dominated by foreign archaeological concessions. It is well understood that Old World archaeology has been the handmaiden of colonialism (Meskell 1998). These issues have now spawned great critical introspection among Iranians, who energetically seek to illuminate the politics of the archaeology of their own patrimony through state archives, some of which are only quite recently accessible (e.g., Mousavi in this volume; Abdi 2001). It is not merely that language facility and research permits encourage this type of investigation by Iranians. There is also a kind of need (and responsibility) to "know" represented here—a need to know at a point now where substantial critical distance is actually possible. In this context, it is interesting that in documenting the demise of the statue of Darius from Susa, Razmjou deliberately omits clandestine digging from his list of human activities contributing to the destruction of archaeological monuments. For many Americans writing on the same material, this would probably be near the top of such a litany. This difference reflects, I think, a kind of generous discretion on the one hand and a desire on the other hand not to divert historical analysis toward current political polemic. His omission is certainly not born of apathy

about or ignorance of market-driven archaeological devastation. That said, it is noteworthy that Iran in the last decades has been less troubled by this problem than many other countries, so that its relevance to current Iranian scholars may lie in retrospective contemplations of colonialist archaeological practice (as, for instance, with Mousavi here). Most of us in the West, by contrast, are confronted with a guilt factor combined with a pragmatic reality that our museums are full of questionably retrieved artifacts. In order to proceed, many of us feel compelled to state our positions on these matters explicitly and with a sense of neediness that may be analogous to the Iranians' "need to know" about other things and to illuminate for the record the complexities of the history of archaeology there as it served the interests of internal and international politics.

Perhaps to state the obvious, the Iranians have a deep knowledge of the material record that stems in part from rigorous early archaeological education in an empirically grounded mode of learning. It also stems from the kinds of awareness that can only come from direct and repeated contact with things, places, and people carrying deeply entrenched cultural memories. I do not suggest that only Iranians should write about Iran. It is, however, important to acknowledge that American archaeologists and art historians have suffered for several academic generations in their inability even to begin to experience in situ the things-, places-, and people-filled-with-memories that create the texture of a world. Over the same period, researchers in Iran have suffered from an equally challenging isolation: grave difficulties in acquiring and updating the necessary apparatus for data management and for sophisticated interdisciplinary work on site, where the things, places, and memories are. The needs range from monographs, reference tools, and journals to state-of-the-art technological support in terms of computer hardware and software, image production, conservation equipment, and so on. The international internet initiative (http://www.achemenet.com) spearheaded by Pierre Briant through the Collège de France is one crucial way of assisting in the timely sharing of information. But even this ever-expanding information network cannot take the place of access to other elements.

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In the U.S. and Canada we take for granted the capacity to pursue relatively easily most lines of inquiry that strike us, with access at least through Interlibrary Loan to primary and secondary resources in any field (not including those that can only be appreciated in situ, as I have said). At the same time, graduate education in Old World archaeology has tended for some time to emphasize theoretical exploration in a climate of enforced short time to degree. There is a dangerous potential to inhibit students' ability to structure meaningful repertoires of data that will lend their theoretical applications serious significance. Jen Gates's contribution on the Graeco-Persian paradigm exemplifies a happy outcome of this scenario, with a clear evolutionary trajectory. Her project was born initially of a theory-driven, interdisciplinary U.S. seminar. The first version of the work, for that context, was sharp and provocative; but it only lightly glossed the material evidence that served as the pawn in the "ethnicity name game" scholarship that she was critiquing. She has gone on here to pressure the intellectual problem she had originally laid out, packing around it and through its fissures an analysis of a well-chosen set of excavated data and simultaneously heightening our appreciation of the analytical potentials inherent in the empirical evidence itself.

I suspect that had Gates been raised in an Iranian educational environment the process would have worked in reverse order. This, at any rate, is how it proceeded for Shahrokh Razmjou. He began with a careful and extremely valuable study of the physical evidence of the statue of Darius and its excavated surroundings. The original product was based on firsthand access to the object and the site and was intended to serve his mandate as a museum professional. To the armature of this self-sustaining analysis, he proceeded for this volume to build up historical and historiographical commentaries of layered analytical significance and theoretical implication. The point here is that gifted minds with serious intentions will be flexible—able continually to receive fresh challenges to the norms and particular virtues of their respective academic training.

In the West, Alexander of Macedon is Alexander the Great, a culture hero. Iranians learn about this figure very differently from the way Westerners learn

about him and his conquest of the Persian empire. So it is perhaps no surprise that a healthy cynicism runs through Razmjou's article when he discusses the Macedonian destruction at Susa. This destruction is clear from the archaeological record (in part through his analysis), yet it is muted in the classical sources and thus also in typical Western scholarly discussions. He writes nonetheless without recourse to an alternative demonization of Alexander. Iranians have their own legacies of historical and mythical heroes. Cultural approaches to notions of nobility and heroic caliber intersect with how we all interpret evidence on issues such as kingship, ideologies of power, and their modes of expressiveness in visual terms. Ali Mousavi's contribution is redolent with specifically Iranian valences—in this case concerning the power of the ruin-place that is Persepolis. Based in part on his access to archival evidence and anecdotal information from principals in the archaeological exploration at the heartland capital of the Persian empire, Mousavi's contribution brings privileged insights to bear not only on a history of archaeology as narrative but also on a history of archaeology as an interpretive expression of Iranian cultural intonation.

Set in dialogue with these studies, Cindy Nimchuk's article can be appreciated with even more richness than it could on its own, working as it does in a surprising sympathy with the Iranist undercurrents in Mousavi's paper. Without explicitly theorizing her tactics, Nimchuk moves away from a rigid Western concept of what early Achaemenid coinage represented as a social tool. Was it just "money," copying, albeit with a different imagery, the economic standard and function of the coinage of Croesus of Lydia? Or does a reassessment of the evidence open up new possibilities more in tune with cultural mores of Iranian kingship? Her exploration is informed by detailed research into numismatic technicalities, as we have noted; but in the process it alludes by implication to the tortured history of how the Persians have been treated as subjects of analysis. Automatic assumptions of Darius's (crass) economic motivations (based on Western readings of Herodotus's characterization of his shrewdness) may, we learn, miss a critical point about the agency of the royal image, about the numinous, and about the bonds of loyalty and gift exchange.

IN CONCLUSION

Many intertwined themes are addressed in different ways by the articles in this volume. These include: art-making and use as a locus of social negotiation; manipulation of historically charged artistic legacies as a means of identity construction and political resistance; difficulties in the collision of (largely Western) literary testimony and the archaeological record; destruction or defacement of art (and sites) as a mode of negotiation and production; social memory and meaning; excavated versus unexcavated evidence; life cycles and produced meanings of sites; portability and its myriad social implications; notions of ethnic predilection in the analysis of style; imperial ideologies versus localized and/or personalized expression; problems of ancient Iranian cities as archaeologically knowable imperial and urban entities.

This overview of themes and analytical agendas in *Medes and Persians* has emphasized the state of a selected cluster of object- and idea-things as they have been proffered for our study here. It has not been meant to serve as a comprehensive state-of-the-field essay. That much-needed think piece has yet to be written. The seven explorations presented in this volume do, however, begin to create a blueprint for such a project, and they offer an impressive cross section of work focused on the cultural nexus of art production in the service of elusive and historiographically burdened Iranian empires in the first millennium B.C.E. □

Notes

1. I thank my Michigan colleague, the anthropologist/Japanologist Jennifer Robertson, for offering me persuasive rationales for pressing forward with my proposed special issue when I confessed anxieties to her.

2. On irony, see Root 1999. Gunter 1990, both the introduction and many of the various contributions, remains an important statement of issues around art production in the ancient Near East. See also Root 1993.

3. I make no pretense here to map the intricacies of debate on archaeological fine points of the many issues involved in our attempts to understand these Indo-Iranian migrations chrono-

logically or geopolitically. The archaeological, historical, and ethnolinguistic literature is vast. This introduction only strives to offer a general storyline as a backdrop to the particular analyses contained in the assembled articles. The continued prominence of archaeological/historical-geographical inquiry into Iran in the Iron Age immediately preceding the Achaemenid empire is highlighted by Liverani 1995 and by a recent conference in Padua the proceedings of which will soon appear (Lanfranchi, Roaf, and Rollinger in press).

4. E.g., Medvedskaya 1999; Dyson and Voigt 1989; Miroschedji 1990; Potts 1999; Waters 2000; and Zadok 2002.

5. Amélie Kuhrt (forthcoming) is currently completing a critical reference work on primary sources for the study of Achaemenid history.

6. See Nylan 2000 for a comparative discussion of these issues in relation to the study of women in Achaemenid Persia and Han China. Issues of gender do not happen to be foregrounded in any of the articles in our volume here, but work proceeds on this front in Achaemenid studies.

7. Inscriptions on "Median" silver vessels published by Mahboudian (1995 [1978]) are not written in Median despite the author's certainty that they are preserved on Median artifacts. It is to Mahboudian's credit that he sought the services of a specialist. But G. Lambert (pp. 31–32) explains the oddities of the inscriptions without recourse to an assumption that the language is Median. Similarly, reports of tablets in Median from an archive at Assur cannot be credited.

8. Many classical texts, after all, have come to us on papyri recycled as packing for mummies in Roman Egypt. We would be in poor shape if we relied on findings of texts on parchment or papyri from the climate of Athens.

9. It is worth observing, for Western readers who are curious about what contemporary Iran is like these days, that many of the scientific staff at Ozbaki are young women archaeologists with M.A. degrees.

10. Young's statement (2003: 245) that "arguments on stylistic grounds, however, date this seal to the time of Darius I (or slightly earlier)" is baffling. On "stylistic grounds" it is unquestionably neo-Elamite. The possibility that it is a carefully archaizing product (in the neo-Elamite style) of a Persepolitan workshop in the era of Darius is an interesting one. But that is a different matter entirely. Any argument for a production date in the reign of Darius would need to depend on a shift in linguistic assessment of the inscription—not on the style and imagery of the representational component. The continued use of a Persian royal-name seal of pre-empire date on administrative documents well into the period of Darius has been frequently acknowledged and explained.

11. A new study of Achaemenid-period seals in various styles

familiar from heartland glyptic corpora but bearing hieroglyphic inscriptions complements aspects of the articles by Gates and Abdi (Giovino 2002).

12. Recent studies on major bodies of such evidence include Garrison and Root 2001; Bregstein 1993 and 1996; and Ehrenberg 1999.

13. Mark Garrison is engaged in a major project of this sort, emerging in part from his longstanding work on styles observable through seals used on the Persepolis Fortification tablets (Garrison 1991 among other publications).

14. Abdi's article here is part two in a planned trilogy. Part three will deal specifically with issues of Bes and Mithra in the Achaemenid empire.

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An Excavated Ivory from Kerkenes Dağ, Turkey: Transcultural Fluidities, Significations of Collective Identity, and the Problem of Median Art

ABSTRACT

Kerkenes Dağ, in the mountains of central Anatolia, is a vast forti-
fied urban site that has plausibly been identified as the great city of
Pteria described by Herodotus. The site seems to have been an
important early sixth-century B.C.E. power base in the western
reaches of the expansionist Median state centered in northwestern
Iran. Test excavations in 1996 exposed an ivory furniture panel
carved in relief, with gilding and amber insets. The partially pre-
served relief shows a frieze of five animals, alternating male and
female, framed at top with a bead-and-reel and at bottom with a
meander. It is almost all that has so far been retrieved of the orna-
mental apparatus of this impressive foundation. Due to the notori-
ous dearth of excavated works of art that can be associated with the
Medes, the intrinsic significance of the panel as a remarkable unicum
is enhanced by the emblematic status it must assume in controver-
sies over the nature of Kerkenes itself (within polarized debates on
the nature of the Median state) and the nature of Median visual
culture. The technique, style, and iconography of the panel sug-
gest a complex system of traditions informing its inspiration and
production—with comparative material for various features emerg-
ing from the Scythian Caucasus and central Asia, Iran, and Greater
Mesopotamia, and the spheres of central and western Anatolia and
the Levant. Ultimately, a Lydian/western Anatolian technical tra-
dition richly informed by a representational tradition of deep reso-
nance in Iran, Mesopotamia, and Transcaucasia is posited for the
piece. Its discovery at Kerkenes highlights issues of luxury pro-
duction and gift exchange in the sociopolitically fluid environment
across early first-millennium western and central Asia; it empha-
sizes, moreover, the importance of developing nuanced frameworks
for defining "Median art."

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FIG. 1.
Map showing Kerkenes Dağ and its wider transcultural arena. Rendered by the author.

FIG. 2.
The ivory panel from Kerkenes Dağ, color image. Photo courtesy of G. D. Summers and M. E. F. Summers. Preserved dimensions: ca. 29.5 cm L × 5.0 cm H × 0.5 cm Th.

KERKENES IN CONTEXT

KERKENES DAĞ IS THE SITE of an Iron Age urban installation on a hill that looms above an ancient east-west route within the bend of the Halys River (fig. 1), near modern Yozgat, Turkey.[1] The outlines of the vast and massively fortified seven-gated city remain clearly visible on the surface, but until recently the mound has only been explored archaeologically once (tentatively and very briefly). In the 1920s, Erich Schmidt (best known for his work at Persepolis in the 1930s) diverted himself from his excavations at nearby Alishar to open a few small test trenches at Kerkenes. He exposed burned rooms containing pottery and some additional artifacts (Schmidt 1929).[2]

Beginning in the 1990s work at Kerkenes Dağ has at last resumed, this time undertaken by a multinational group of archaeologists led by Geoffrey and Françoise Summers of the Middle Eastern Technical University in Ankara, joined recently by David Stronach of the University of California at Berkeley. These explorations have been path-breaking in their use of survey techniques: aerial photography from a hot-air balloon, photography from a hand-held blimp-shaped balloon, GPS survey, architectural survey with total station and tapes to draw 3-D reconstructions in AutoCAD, magnetometry, electric resistivity, and traditional architectural drawings have all been combined to create multiple images and maps of the city.[3] Test excavations were carried out in 1996, and part of the city wall has been cleaned since. Permission has since been granted for extensive and ongoing excavations to begin at Kerkenes in the summer of 2003, but at this point the only artifacts that are available for study are those from the test trenches of 1996.

Test Trench 15 (TT 15) exposed the ivory panel that becomes the focal point of this article (figs. 2 and 3).[4] The panel, broken in antiquity, was carved in relief, with gold sheet gilding, amber insets, and fugitive inlay. As preserved, it includes a lively and elaborately detailed frieze of five animals: a male deer walking right, meeting a file of a male and female goat and a male and female sheep walking left. The panel is articulated by gilded and inlaid elements, framed by an amber and gilt bead-and-reel at the top and a squared meander (perhaps enhanced by inlay) at the
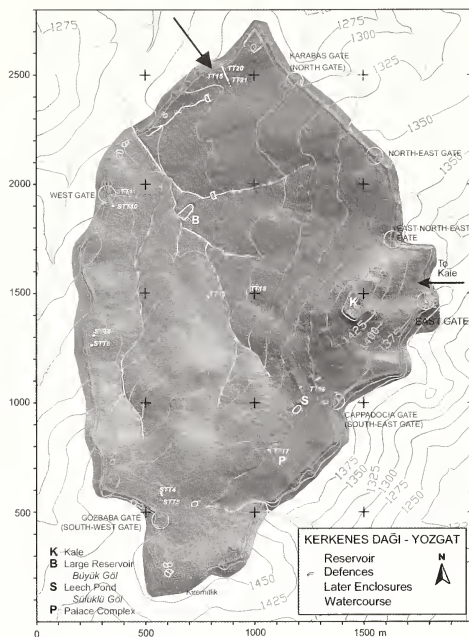
FIG. 3.
Site plan of Kerkenes Dağ, with Test Trench 15 (TT 15). Courtesy of G. D. Summers and M. E. F. Summers.

bottom. At present, this remnant of a lavish piece of furniture stands alone as testimony to an apparatus of visual culture here that incorporated figural representation. Together with a carved ivory handle, a plain strip of gold, and a faceted carnelian bead, the panel is, furthermore, the only indication so far retrieved of ornamental display of any kind at a site of evident grandeur that surely must once have included many portable items of prestige and intrinsic value.

The areas probed so far suggest that the city was systematically cleaned out and abandoned. Thus the current scarcity of high-status artifacts from the city may well remain a feature to contend with even after extensive excavations. It is, indeed, remarkable that the panel was found at all, given the limited scope of excavations to date, combined with the apparent nature of the site's evacuation. These factors, coupled

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with the interest of the panel as a beautiful luxury work of layered meaning and complex heritage, lend it a special importance as well as a special set of interpretive burdens. It is a critical piece of excavated evidence in the exploration of transcultural fluidities in artistic traditions of western and central Asia in the first half of the first millennium B.C.E.[5] More specifically, issues of identity surrounding Kerkenes itself demand that the ivory it has yielded speak out in a polarized debate about the nature of the Median state and the nature of Median visual culture.

In order to analyze and contextualize this extraordinary find, it is thus crucial to discuss the site whence it has emerged. This task draws us into a set of archaeological, art historical, and historiographical complexities and controversies. To begin with: What were the chronological ranges of habitation and floruit at this ancient city we see so boldly articulated along the mountainous terrain of Kerkenes Dağ? To what cultural collective did the ancient city belong? Do we have any attestations of the city in ancient records? Can we assign a name to it? If these issues can be established with some certainty, where does that leave us in attempting to insert the Kerkenes ivory into an historical framework of production, use, and social signification?

There is as yet no epigraphic evidence from the site whatsoever, much less any that names the place. Thus, investigation of this aspect must rest on circumstantial evidence. The habitation period of Kerkenes Dağ was originally dated, on the basis of pottery from Schmidt's excavations, to the broad archaeological horizon of Iron Age Alishar V (roughly the seventh through fourth centuries). Closer dating through state-of-the-art ceramics analysis will ultimately play a key role in the renewed scientific efforts. But the archaeological record as we can currently glean it seems to support a date at the turn to the sixth century for the foundation of the site. Furthermore, a bronze fibula recovered by Schmidt (and thankfully illustrated in the 1929 publication) can be assigned a production date of ca. 600 on the basis of links with the most recent dating scheme for material from the rich and intensively analyzed Phrygian site of Gordion in central Anatolia. So far, none of the ceramic evidence from Kerkenes contradicts a foundation date of ca. 600. A small group of stamped

potsherds with diamond-faceted relief patterns retrieved by Summers are of a type that seems to have a relatively short use span at Gordion, where they may date to ca. 700. But the Kerkenes sherds could well represent a transitional later stage in development of the type than what we see at Gordion.[6]

Looked at from the vantage point of historical analysis (in an attempt to link the site to ancient textual accounts not archaeologically associated with it), the dating parameters of the floruit and demise of the walled city at Kerkenes can be further narrowed. Summers has compellingly argued that the site is to be identified with a city named Pteria, mentioned by the fifth-century Greek historian Herodotus, writing his sweeping story of the wars between the Greeks and the Persians and the scenarios that, according to his narrative, led up to these conflicts (Summers 1997). Herodotus says (1.76) that the Lydians and Persians fought a noteworthy but inconclusive battle at Pteria. This Pteria, Herodotus remarks, is down from (south of) Sinope, east of the Halys River, and occupies a strong lofty position above the plain. The identification of Kerkenes with Herodotus's Pteria is, in my view, secure, even in the absence of definitive epigraphical evidence from the site. No other major urban mound in this well-reconnoitered region conforms to Herodotus's characterization of the geographical placement. The Greek historian's narratives need, of course, to be read critically. Sometimes this is necessary in order to ferret out faulty sources as well as blatant biases and fictional tropes speaking to a mid-fifth-century Athenian audience for whom (the Greek testimony stresses) a repulsion of the armies of the Great King of the Achaemenid Persian empire was the defining watershed of their history. At other times, critical rereadings of Herodotus are necessary because a return to his text with new issues in mind can yield informative nuances.[7]

In this instance of locating precisely (*as* he does and *where* he does) the strategically important, imposing city he calls Pteria, Herodotus seems to be right on target. He remarks, furthermore (also at 1.76), that Croesus, the last king of Lydia, captured Pteria and led its inhabitants into slavery. The testimony of Herodotus regarding the depopulation of Pteria in the course of bitter fighting accords well with what we can glean of the circumstances surrounding

the demise of the place. The physical record so far suggests looting and burning after the departure of inhabitants—rather than the cataclysmic siege and fiery devastation of a settlement with the defending population murdered within the walls. (This latter scenario is optimal retrospectively for the archaeologist, of course.)[8] The depopulation of Kerkenes would, then, have occurred in the context of the hard-fought but inconclusive battle between Croesus and the Persian king Cyrus in the plain below Pteria in 547. All these events came on the heels of Cyrus's defeat of the Medes in the Persian homeland in south-western Iran, followed by his press first to embrace within a new hegemony all the lands formerly under Median control and then to push victorious to Lydia itself in the west (as well as to new territories in the east). The story of Pteria (now that we have established its link with the Kerkenes site) provides a circumstantial basis for dating the demise of Kerkenes to 547. The floruit of the site will have been in the early years of the sixth century. Such a dating scenario is not contradicted by the as-yet limited ceramic record from the site, and it is confirmed by the dating of the fibula mentioned above.

Kerkenes is thus situated temporally as well as geographically at a pivotal point in the ancient history of western and central Asia. This was a time of great cultural and economic interactions and military power plays across the Greater Mediterranean basin, Greater Mesopotamia, the Caucasus, the Iranian highlands and plateau, and farther east across Siberia and central Asia.

To the east of Kerkenes Dağ, the Neo-Assyrian empire that had dominated Greater Mesopotamia for centuries met its end in the late seventh century at the hands of a coalition of the long-established and abundantly documented Babylonians, along with the Medes and possibly the Scythians (Farkas n.d.: 16). The Scythians are best understood as a loose and far-flung group of tribes operating along the northern shores of the Black Sea as well as much farther east and north; Herodotus characterizes them at length in book 4. The evidence of archaeology confirms many aspects of his depiction of the customs and material culture of these peoples. While the precise role the Scythians played in various specific historical events, such as the fall of Assyria, is currently considered uncertain because of

instabilities in the reconciliation of Herodotus with Near Eastern textual sources (Kuhrt 1995: 546), the Scythians were clearly important in the mix of cultures, identities, and economic-military engagements of the first half of the first millennium. They were players across a vast terrain that touched upon Greater Mesopotamia and points farther west into Anatolia. Evidence of their presence in the material record of various sites in this western arena is now treated more critically (less positivistically as an eager validation of Herodotus) than it once was (Zimansky 1998: 51–56, on the Cimmerians and the Scythians). This does not diminish the Scythians' significance in the mix—it merely charges archaeologists to work the material data on the basis of their own evidentiary values rather than as corroborative evidence on the accuracy of a Greek text. Peoples occupying regions of Transcaucasia also enter in here as groups with longstanding and vital craft traditions in the representational arts that, as we shall see, may well have informed the creation of the Kerkenes ivory (Kohl 1995).

The Medes were an Indo-Iranian people who had migrated westward and by the turn into the first millennium had settled in Iran along the northwestern flank of the Zagros mountains on the eastern fringe of the Neo-Assyrian empire. We first hear of them in Assyrian annals of the ninth century; thereafter, they are repeatedly noted as inhabitants of strong-walled cities against whom the Assyrians waged vigorous battle. The city of Ecbatana, under modern Hamadan, was the heartland capital of Media (Knapton, Sarraf, and Curtis 2001: 99–100). The site had been unexplored scientifically until, after the Revolution, Iran undertook controlled excavations, which promise to advance our knowledge of Median material culture generally, in addition to yielding long-awaited evidence on one of the famous cities of antiquity. At present, however, the site remains enigmatic as far as the Medes are concerned. The massive fortification and vast adjacent storage installations now revealed there may reflect a long tradition at the site that reaches back ultimately to the Ecbatana of Median times, but they seem to postdate the Median period (Sarraf 1997; Curtis and Simpson 1997). With the fall of Assyria, the Medes continued to expand their power westward deep into Anatolia as well as encroaching to some extent in areas of Khuzistan and

Fars in southwestern Iran. In these southern regions of western Iran, the indigenous Elamite culture, with its major capital at Susa, had been overwhelmed by the Neo-Assyrians in the 640s but still persisted to some degree as a political and social force (Potts 1999; Waters 2000). Continuities in and self-conscious revitalizations of Elamite administrative practice, language, and artistic traditions during the Achaemenid Persian empire demonstrate the significance of this tenacity (Garrison 1991; Garrison and Root 1996 and 2001; Root 1991).

The Persians, an Indo-Iranian people like the Medes, had pushed westward at the same time to settle in Fars rather than in northern Iran. Here they moved in on ancient Elamite turf. Herodotus tells us (book 1) that in the middle of the sixth century, a young half-Persian, half-Median man named Cyrus defeated the Medes in battle in Fars and founded what was to be the Achaemenid empire. He first took over the central territory of the Medes, becoming master of the Median royal city of Ecbatana (Herod. 1.129), and then he continued to press his advantage westward into areas on the periphery of Median occupation. Cyrus's death in 530 fighting in central Asia, rather than along the western periphery, is an important reminder that containment and/or neutralization of the powerful nomadic tribes in the northeast was critical to the strategies of the young Achaemenid empire centered in Fars —just as it surely was for the earlier Median kingdom. Military encounters and transcultural exchanges go hand in hand. Thus we can posit the significance of the eastern realms as part of the backdrop of visual arts informing the arts of any Median court circle.

Along with Medes, Lydians, Scythians, Persians, Elamites, and core Mesopotamian cultures of Assyria and Babylon (with their very deep, complex traditions), other peoples and identity collectives also entered the mix of transcultural engagement in the early first millennium. Urartians in the Caucasus, Mannaeans and others in northwestern Iran hardby the Urartian center, Phrygians in central Anatolia, Neo-Hittites in the central Anatolian/Syrian region all contribute to a rather remarkable situation that informs the problems and potentials of interpreting visual evidence from the site of Kerkenes. The systematically excavated site of Hasanlu, south of mod-

ern Lake Van on the eastern periphery of Assyrian cultural hegemony, is an important source of information on assemblages of elite artifacts in the Iranian sphere that has been associated with the Mannaeans described in Assyrian annals of the early first millennium. This site had its floruit ca. 1100–800; it was besieged and burned (almost certainly by the Urartians) in ca. 800 and was, for a time, reoccupied by them.[9] The Urartians, meanwhile, also had extensive contacts with people farther west. Some of the bronze cauldrons found at the Greek sanctuary of Olympia seem, for instance, to have been Urartian imports. The early sixth century saw the increasing embattlement of the Urartian kingdom by Median as well as Scythian forces, leading ultimately to the evaporation of Urartian power, probably at the hands of the Scythians, by the early years of the sixth century (Zimansky 1998: 37).

To the west in Anatolia, the Hittites, who had ruled the Anatolian plateau in the Bronze Age of the second millennium, had moved into the southern part of the Cappadocian plain and northern Syria, carving rock reliefs and commissioning elaborate, sculpturally embellished buildings like those at Carchemish and Zincirli. The major political players in central Anatolia after the Hittites seem to have been the Phrygians, who had their capital at Gordion. This city had been rebuilt after a fire in ca. 800, and its inhabitants apparently continued to live much as they had done, although with perhaps somewhat diminished resources.[10] The Achaemenid Persian presence is reflected in the material record here alongside continued strong indigenous traditions (Voigt and Young 1999). Iron Age Gordion is the most extensively explored of the central Anatolian cities of this era; for this reason as well as its undoubted political and cultural importance, Gordion sheds light on all the sites of the Anatolian plateau (Sams 1995; Voigt 1997).

Farther west yet, we again invoke the Lydian kingdom, which was pushing its borders out in all directions. Lydia, with its capital at Sardis, encompassed the fertile and prosperous valley of the Hermos River and lands to the north and south of it. Under King Alyattes in the early sixth century it underwent tremendous expansion to the west (annexing the Greek colonies on the Aegean seaboard) and to the east, into Phrygian lands and beyond (Greenewalt

1995). Lydia was a cultural crossroads, where native Lydians, Greeks, Phrygians, and others intermingled and produced remarkable works of art and architecture.[11] With Sardis, we have come full circle to the expansionist efforts of Alyattes of Lydia, which eventually resulted in the clash of Lydian and Median armies in 585, as described by Herodotus, at the very foot of Kerkenes Dağ/Pteria.

We can now return to a basic question: what *was* Kerkenes? Some sense of the answer to this question will enhance our understanding of how the ivory panel excavated there relates to issues at stake in defining the nature of questions of collective cultural identity in this complex, turbulently fluid "international" arena.

Summers has argued that Kerkenes, as ancient Pteria, was specifically a Median city founded sometime after the final defeat of Assyria in 609 at the turn to the sixth century (Summers 1997). This scenario makes circumstantial sense in terms of the logic of Median activity in swiftly filling the vacuum they helped create through the destruction of the Assyrian empire. The timing correlates well with the archaeological evidence so far available for establishing the foundation date of the site (as discussed above). Summers posits, further, that Kerkenes provided the base from which the Medes conducted their five-year war against Lydia.[12] The city on the hill of Kerkenes is vast and seems to have been planned in its entirety, with different quarters set aside for different functions and all of the elements necessary for prosperity laid out within its walls. Such a self-sufficient foundation suggests a colonial installation—built at this strategic location possibly to serve the military and lifestyle interests of a largely Median and Median-associated imported population.

With respect to specific attributes of the archaeological record at Kerkenes, it is premature to draw conclusions about the ethnicity of the site's ruling occupants from the ceramic finds. We are, however, likely to determine that indigenous types of pottery were enhanced by forms and production techniques indicative of the lifestyle of a partly (or largely) colonial Median population that made generous use of local resources but also demanded products reminiscent of a heartland aesthetic. These infusions may have been in the form of imports as well as locally produced pots made in a heartland Median manner.

At Sardis during the Achaemenid Persian empire, such interactions can be traced in ceramic typologies as well as in firing techniques. A specific Iranian type of ceramic bowl enters the assemblage and has been shown to indicate the impact of the presence of Persians and Persian dining customs on the population of this ancient city (Dusinberre 1999 and 2003). Similarly, a shift in firing techniques at Achaemenid-period Gordion adds a red-fired ware to a previously homogeneous gray-fired assemblage (Henrickson 1994; Voigt and Young 1999). Preliminary documentary publication of the Median pottery at Nush-i Jan (R. Stronach 1978) and Godin (Young 1969; Young and Levine 1974) will soon be enhanced by synthetic analytical studies of heartland Median ceramics, such as that presaged by H. Gopnik's dissertation (Gopnik 2000). As this occurs, in tandem with full-scale excavations at Kerkenes scheduled to begin in 2003, we shall be in a better position to interpret the meanings of variations in the pottery there.

In regard to architecture, the presence of many-columned halls at Kerkenes indicates a Median (or at least Iranian) backdrop to architectural traditions informing the planning here. The precise columnar configurations of specific hypostyle buildings so far elucidated at the site are currently being refined. Nevertheless, the published plans (e.g., Summers 1997: fig. 7) invite comparison with uncontestedly Median sites so far known in Iran as well as with the later magnificent development of hypostyle audience halls at the famous royal cities of the Achaemenid Persians (Pasargadae, Persepolis, Susa, and—not least—Achaemenid-period Ecbatana).[13] The many-columned edifice was certainly a hallmark of Median architecture that continued to signify Iranian grandeur in public spaces as these traditions were appropriated and glorified by the Achaemenids following their conquest of the Median state. It seems also to have been a more generalized tradition in early first-millennium western Iran that was not limited to sites we can designate as ethnically Median by virtue of their locations in reference to Assyrian annals that plotted military engagements with named peoples. The population of Hasanlu IVB was presumably Mannaean. Its many-columned halls (Dyson 1989a) demonstrate the prominence of the columned-hall tradition across ethnic lines in western Iran.

Current thinking about Urartian architecture is, by contrast, questioning the likelihood that hypostyle halls (known at two sites) are, in fact, properly dated to the Urartian period at all (Zimansky 1998: 180). They may, rather, reflect Iranian forms coming into play as a result of Median or later Achaemenid Persian hegemonic incursions in previously Urartian realms. This reinterpretation of the Urartian evidence further associates the hypostyle form as a regional Iranian type that may have been shared by several identity collectives in the western Zagros in the first half of the first millennium—perhaps foremost among them being the Medes. The building type thus seems diagnostic of an Iranian and especially Median presence when we encounter it in central Anatolia at this juncture.

In addition to the many-columned halls, two buildings have now been recognized at Kerkenes that may be of the megaron form, with a central hearth. This would hint at some interplay in the planning of Kerkenes between Iranian traditions from the Median heartland and more local central Anatolian (Phrygian) traditions that are so prominently displayed at Gordion (viz., Voigt 1997: fig. 2).[14] Such a simultaneous deployment of Median heartland and local Phrygian forms in the building of the installation at Kerkenes makes sense, whether Kerkenes was a Median colonial foundation or an Anatolian city used by the Medes as a power base. It would represent a logical reconciliation of heartland prestige practices (meant very consciously to resonate with Median interests and invocations of its center) with indigenous forms well suited to the often harsh climate of this part of Anatolia.

Although Herodotus himself nowhere characterizes Pteria by any ethnic descriptor, he does say something tantalizing. He notes explicitly (1.76) that the plain around the city was inhabited by people called Syrians. "Syrians" for Herodotus must be code (misguidedly overgeneric in this context) for the people we call archaeologically the Neo-Hittites—in other words, a local population associated with Neo-Hittite material culture who continued to occupy regions of Anatolia. The context and phrasing of Herodotus's words set up an opposition between the ethnicity of Pteria's inhabitants (who are specifically not folded into the same category as the people in the plain) and the "Syrian" ethnicity of the indigenous plain-dwellers. Summers remarks upon this intriguing opposition embedded in Herodotus's story as follows:

> It is striking that Croesus treated the inhabitants of Pteria differently from the "Syrians" in the surrounding villages who, in contrast to the Pterians, had done no wrong. It can thus be argued that the phraseology of Herodotus implies that the inhabitants of Pteria were not the same as the rural inhabitants, an implication that can easily be understood if the occupants of the city were Medes and their allies: a foreign occupying power. (Summers 1997: 89)

This interesting line of thought deserves sharpening. By 547, when Croesus (Herodotus tells us) led the inhabitants of Pteria into slavery, it was the *Persians* who were now the enemies of the Lydians—not the Medes. The Medes, at least in the Iranian heartland, had (as we have already mentioned) been successfully conquered by their Persian cousin, Cyrus, in ca. 550. That said, the Lydians will have known that the Medes were now subject to the Persian power. They will have had special reason for wanting to take into enslaved oblivion the population of Medes and Median-aligned people from Pteria specifically so as to wipe out a group that might predictably find their best interest served by claiming allegiance to the insurgent *new* Iranian imperial order, with its military might pouring forth into Anatolia. The Lydians will also have had special reason for needing to set fire to a Median stronghold that would otherwise very likely have been taken over by the Persians intact—probably with little or no resistance from Median residents, who saw the proverbial handwriting on the wall and already knew that Ecbatana had opened its gates to Cyrus.

The acceptance or rejection of Kerkenes as a specifically Median stronghold on the western frontier depends in large measure on the position one takes in an ongoing debate about the nature of Median power. Were the Medes an expansionist empire pressing out to central Asia on the east and deep into Anatolia on the west—a power of the sort that could have/would have created a colonial installation like Kerkenes on its frontier? Much ink has been spilled in the last twenty years over the degree to which we can trust Herodotus's description (his so-called

Medikos Logos) of Median origins, political/military activities, and status as an "empire."[15] Oscar Muscarella has intervened cogently into these learned debates, offering important critiques of entrenched positions and establishing a viable middle ground:

> Probably all scholars agree that from the ninth through most of the seventh century B.C. the Assyrian records suggest that the Medes were not a unified state; even during the time of Esarhaddon Median chiefs, who were in conflict with each other, are still mentioned (Helm 1981: 86). But the Babylonian Chronicles suggest/indicate to me (and others) that a more unified situation had developed by 615 B.C. (Muscarella 1994: 60). . . . it is not incorrect to recognise the existence of a Median empire, in the sense of a predatory state extending its power and control beyond its territory, but one of relatively limited size. And the "limited size" modifier would be considerably less significant if one agrees with Briant concerning the nature of Median control of the eastern areas of Iran [Briant 1984a and 1984b; now add Briant 1996: 37], and if we knew something specific about Median control of western and northwestern Iran before the Lydian treaty of 585 B.C. (which suggests that these areas were under Median control by this time). (Muscarella 1994: 62)

Archaeologists generally agree that after an early history as a group led by rival chiefs in an arena of settlements of multiple identity collectives (*sensu ethnico*), the Medes coalesced into a powerful state ruled by one king. At this point, the gradual disappearance from the Assyrian annals of settlements in the Zagros region identified with specific non-Median peoples seems to confirm an increasing domination of the Medes over neighboring groups. There is fair agreement that the Medes emerged to exercise some form of hegemony over a large territory prior to their defeat by Cyrus in 550.[16] It was a hegemony that seems increasingly to have commanded the centralization of heartland resources and bases of operation that earlier had been dispersed among various sites ruled by local Median chiefs within the heartland. This is widely considered the most viable explanation for the abandonment of recognizably Median manors at sites

such as Nush-i Jan and Godin. In the context of the growing ambition of Median authority, the frontier installation at Kerkenes would have been used and maintained with central resources and sanction—to serve Median expansionist agendas in the west—regardless of the ethnicity of its original builders.

In sum, Kerkenes was a huge fortified installation that can be confidently associated with the Median expansionist state, and with Median use, on the basis of all archaeological and circumstantial evidence presently available. It enjoyed good agricultural resources and ample water; it commanded trade routes and controlled a large tract of land near the volatile border along the western Median front and the eastern extent of Lydian purview. The city played a crucial role in power struggles between the Lydians and the Medes. And in 547, when the armies of Cyrus the Persian advanced toward Lydia (following the defeat of the Medes in 550) and engaged Croesus at the foot of Pteria, it was surely no coincidence. The Persians will have known full well that Pteria, as a Median stronghold on a recently altered political map, was theirs for the taking—a great strategic prize. Unfortunately for Cyrus (and for the continued life of Pteria), Croesus got there first.

Against this backdrop, we can now turn to the ivory panel from Kerkenes as a work of art that speaks to the luxury apparatus of a colonial Median city in central Anatolia. Our aim will be to contextualize it through technical, functional, iconographic, and stylistic analyses and to insert it into the vexed discourse on the "problem of Median art."

EXCAVATION OF THE IVORY PANEL

The panel was found lying face down in Test Trench 15 above the poorly preserved, laid clay floor of a chamber within a large building complex. The floor level of this chamber rested about 1.5 m below the modern ground level. Burial conditions were fortunate for the preservation of ivory.[17] Thus, despite the weight and pressure of the soil and the natural process of aging, the ivory remains remarkably well preserved and has cleaned up beautifully (fig. 4).[18]

The chamber in which the panel was discovered was the westernmost of a row of three, situated up-
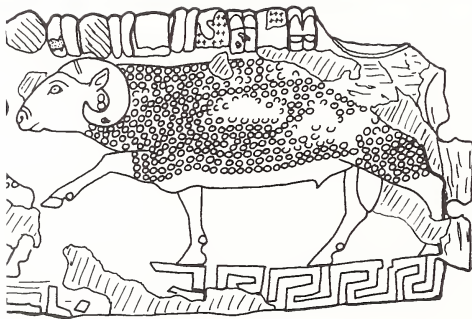
FIG. 4.
Detail of the ram from the Kerkenes ivory: (top) precleaning, (middle) postcleaning, and (bottom) as drawn by the author. Photos courtesy of G. D. Summers and M. E. F. Summers.

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hill from and behind a large hypostyle hall with an antechamber or porch. Unlike the columned hall and indeed much of the rest of the site, this chamber was unburned except for the door frame.[19] Originally it had a second story, apparently constructed of mudbrick. The panel probably fell through the floor of this upper room since it was found in debris that raised it well above the surface of the laid clay floor of the lower room rather than directly on the floor itself.[20] The chamber stood doorless and abandoned, subject to wind and damp, with the roof eventually crumbling in. Two minute fragments of gold leaf found in the passage outside and in front of the chamber probably come from the same piece of furniture that the panel once ornamented (or perhaps even from this very panel), washed or blown out of the room before the structure collapsed.[21]

The structure that housed the ivory panel was sparsely utilitarian rather than ceremonial or even rudimentarily habitational.[22] The surviving ground floor chamber opened out onto a narrow, paved passage behind the columned hall. Perhaps we have here a set of rooms serving as part of a treasury complex that also incorporated activities taking place in the nearby hall.[23]

MATERIALS, TECHNIQUES, AND FUNCTION

The Ivory, Its Carving, and Its Coloristic Treatment. The Kerkenes panel is made of a single piece of elephant ivory. As preserved, it measures ca. 29.5 cm long, 5 cm high, and 0.5 cm thick, with relief standing above the surface to as much as another 0.3 cm to give a maximum thickness of 0.8 cm. It was carved from a dense, opaque, slightly off-white tusk with evident laminations.[24] The tools used to carve the ivory included a saw, one or two chisels, drills of at least two different sizes, a hollow circular punch, a fine-tipped tool for incision, and an agent with which to polish the panel (perhaps sands of varying degrees of fineness, followed by a smooth stone or piece of bone or leather for final burnishing).[25] The tusk was straightened before carving, as the slightly back-curved laminations visible on the back of the panel suggest.[26] It was then sawn into a slender plank, ca. 5 cm high and 1 cm thick, probably a little over 52 cm

FIG. 5.
The ivory panel from Kerkenes Dağ. Photo courtesy of G. D. Summers and M. E. F. Summers.
Preserved dimensions: ca. 29.5 cm L × 5.0 cm H × 0.5 cm Th.
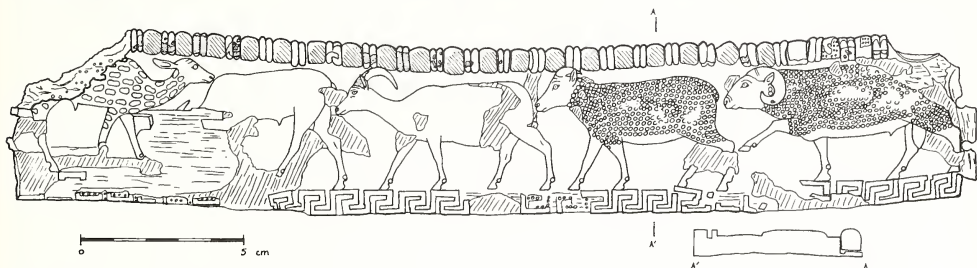
FIG. 6.
Drawing of the ivory panel from Kerkenes Dağ. Rendered by the author.

long in its original state (see below). The outlines of the animals and borders were probably drawn on the surface of the ivory before the extraneous ivory was carved away with small chisels and gouging devices, traces of which are left at the right edge on the tenon. Marks left by the tools used to create the subtle modeling of volumes on the animals' cheeks, shoulders, withers, bellies, and haunches were smoothed away in the process of polishing the ivory to the fine sheen it still retains.[27]

The surviving part of the main frieze shows five animals: a male deer walks right, while two goats and two sheep walk left, one male and one female of each species (figs. 2, 5, and 6). The original composition of the frieze was surely symmetrical, with eight animals rather than the preserved five. Thus its full length would have been ca. 50 cm, plus an added 1 cm on each end to accommodate a tenon for securing it in place on a piece of furniture. The top border of the panel is defined by a bead-and-reel design of

which the beads are amber and the reels part of the original piece of ivory. The amber beads are 0.6 × 0.7 or 0.8 cm, the ivory reels 0.4 × 0.7 or 0.8 cm. The beads, rounded at top and front and cut flat at the back and sides, were inserted into slots between the reels, which were gilded with narrow sheets of gold leaf, mostly now missing.[28] Underneath the beads on the Kerkenes ivory, small shiny metallic sheets, probably of tin or silver, reflected light through the amber, enhancing its translucent red-orange glow and enabling it to retain its luminous quality even by pale lamplight.[29] A parallel for this way of integrating amber insets into the bead-and-reel is found on ornamental ivories dedicated at the early sixth-century Temple of Artemis at Ephesus, a corpus generally thought to represent a contemporary Lydian oeuvre.[30] But the addition of shiny material under the amber insets is so far documented only on the Kerkenes panel to my knowledge. The bottom of the panel is demarcated by a simple meander, the lines

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FIG. 7.
Drawing of an ivory stag from Sardis.
© Archaeological Exploration
of Sardis/Harvard University.
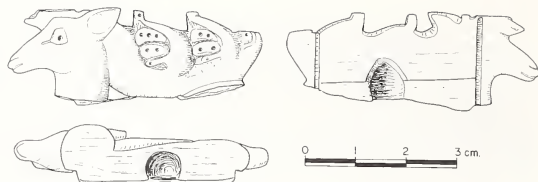
of which were formed by three adjacent drill holes, squared at the sides to make crisp angles. The drill holes were left unsmoothed. These rough indentations were then covered by an inlay of which the traces are so slight as to elude substance identification.[31] The inlay material may have been a red glass paste, thus balancing the amber of the bead-and-reel border. Use of a red glass paste here would reinforce connections with Lydian craft traditions (Brill and Cahill 1988).

Once the animals had been modeled, their surfaces were elaborated. The distinctive spots of the *Dama mesopotamica* (fallow deer) were excavated with a large-bit drill, roughly twice as large as that used to form the meander. The spots were originally filled. Although the traces left inside the spots have not yet been tested, visual analysis suggests the material was silver. In nature, the fallow deer has white spots on otherwise red-brown fur. If the body of the deer had originally been stained reddish brown, the deer body spots inlaid in silver would have simulated this natural color scheme. No vestige of color staining anywhere on the Kerkenes panel remains. This lack of evidence is not definitive, however. The very large corpus of ivories from Nimrud reveals extensive documentation of coloration but only by virtue of the ability to examine hundreds of pieces on which, overall, there are generally only faint traces preserved on disparate features of disparate artifacts (Herrmann 1986: 59–60). Thus, the chances of retrieving material evidence of original staining from an isolated ivory (especially a lone item preserved from a site with the climate of Kerkenes) are extremely small. Connections between ivory and silver abound in Homer, reflecting Greek exposure to and fascination with the courtly arts of the East around 800 (e.g., *Od.* 8.401–5 [a sword], 9.55–58 [a footstool], and 23.199–201 [Odysseus's bed]). Homer specifically links the technique of ivory-staining with Lydia in his famous

simile describing a Lydian woman who stains ivory with purple (*Il.* 4.141–45). It was, in fact, a widespread technique in ivory-producing environments. But it is nonetheless interesting that the Greek epic associates the process so closely with the western Anatolian milieu of Lydia.

Fine lines on the faces of all the animals, their nostrils and mouths, and the bases of their ears were incised with a single sharp tool. The fleeces of both sheep are indicated by small, tightly packed circles, each with a central punched dot. Circles of the same size outline the eyes of the deer and both sheep and pick out the hairy fetlocks of all the animals. All these circular markings were made with the same tubular metal punch. The eyes of the deer and sheep have a pupil drilled just front of center. Lines at front and back enhance the realistic quality of the lozenge-shaped eyes. While the billy goat's head is missing, the nanny goat's eye is fashioned wholly by incision rather than punching.

The basic techniques of workmanship and decorative treatment documented on the Kerkenes ivory are part of an established luxury tradition in the Near East, documented from Iran to Cyprus, that had significant impact on ivory production serving markets farther west in Greece and Etruria (Barnett 1982). The gilding of ivory is a known Anatolian practice, at least as early as the Hittites (Güterbock 1971; Bourgeois 1992). It is also documented at Hasanlu and Assyrian Nimrud. Assyrian texts reinforce what we can glean from many Near Eastern ivories preserving actual remnants of lavish gold overlays; they also document the use of silver overlay on ivory (Herrmann 1986: 58). Significantly, early Greek literary sources allude to the common occurrence of ivory, gold, silver, and amber (Carter 1985: esp. chap. 1), but they may be evoking the courtly milieu of the kingdoms of Anatolia since no actual early examples

displaying such elaborate combinations have been found at mainland Greek sites.

An ivory stag, perhaps an ornamental attachment to a horse's trappings, was excavated from archaic Lydian levels at Sardis in 1994 (fig. 7) (Greenewalt and Rautman 1998: 493–94, fig. 19). This delicately carved piece (its antlers unfortunately broken off) demonstrates the expertise of ivory-workers rendering animals for a Lydian clientele in the early sixth century.

Form and Function. At the preserved right edge of the panel, the tenon (with a pair of holes for pins or dowels) is partially intact. It was probably the full height of the panel in its original state. Once fitted into an adjacent mortise, the tenon would have been pinned in place. This system parallels the manner in which the wooden furniture from Phrygian Gordion was joined.[32] The back of the ivory panel is smooth and flat, with no traces of saw marks preserved. Two shallow incised lines—one running parallel to the top edge, about 0.2 cm down and the other running parallel to and almost flush with the bottom edge of the panel—may perhaps have been used as guides in the carving or the fitting of the panel (fig. 8). Presumably it was set into a wooden stretcher of a piece of furniture. The back of the panel, which would have been hidden from view if set into such a wooden casing, is smoothly finished but not burnished. Similarly, the tenon section at right, which would have been inserted into a mortise and thus hidden from view, was left unsmoothed and unpolished. By contrast, the entire front surface of the panel has been polished to a fine glossy sheen.

The stands and complex tables actually preserved from Gordion demonstrate the tremendous variety of decorated furniture types current in Iron Age central

Anatolia (Simpson 1985; Simpson and Spirydowicz 1999). Similarly, an assemblage from Tomb 79 at Cypriote Salamis (Karageorghis 1973; Barnett 1982: 49–50 and pl. 52a–b) reveals an array of intact types of ivory-laden furniture from Phoenician workshops dating to the close of the eighth century (when Assyria had control of the island). The Salamis ivories reflect the same Phoenician luxury production we know from farther east at the Assyrian court—either through ivory elements (usually not preserved with their original furniture settings still intact) or through representations of furnishings on Assyrian palace reliefs (fig. 9a–b). Backless seats, footstools, stands, couches, and high-backed chairs often had decorated legs, not infrequently with animal paws or hoofs as their terminations and occasionally with animals walking around the base of the legs.[33] They sometimes had stretchers between legs ornamented with narrow decorative bands.

The Kerkenes ivory probably decorated a wooden stretcher from the back of a magnificent straight-backed chair/throne (a backed chair with arms) or a couch/bed.[34] Couches, beds, and chairs are known to have been embellished with a variety of materials, including ivory and amber; textual evidence suggests that couches were sometimes embellished in gold and silver as well. Ivory-inlaid examples have been found at Gordion and Cypriote Salamis, while others made of wood and decorated with amber and ivory have been found in Greece.[35] Some stretchers excavated at Nimrud with ivory-inlaid friezes seem, by their dimensions, to have come from couches: one measuring about 100 cm long by 8.2 cm high (Mallowan 1966: 534, fig. 452; Simpson 1993: 572); another measuring 110 cm long by 4.4 cm high
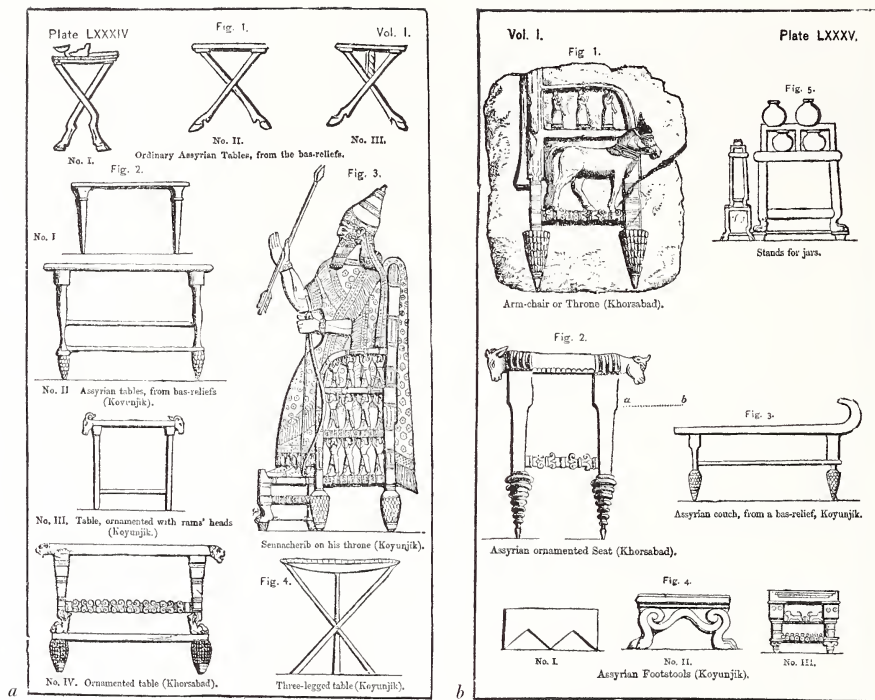
FIG. 9 A–B.
Renderings of furniture on Assyrian reliefs. After G. Rawlinson, The Seven Great Monarchies of the Eastern World. *Vol. 1:* Chaldáea. Assyria *(New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago: The Nottingham Society, 1870), pl. LXXXIV (a) and pl. LXXXV (b).*
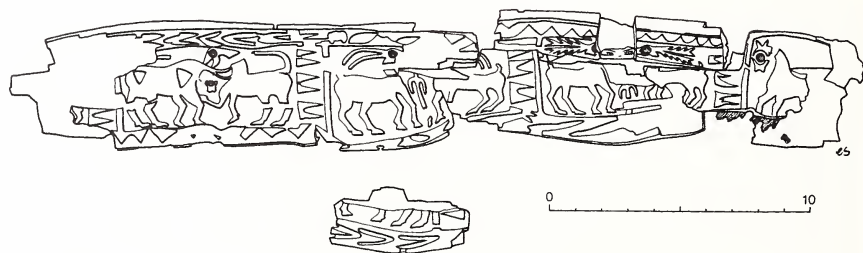

FIG. 10.
Drawing of the carved wooden stretcher from Tumulus MM at Gordion. After Simpson and Spirydowicz 1999: fig. 50.

(Mallowan 1966: 512–13, figs. 416–17; Simpson 1993: 572).

The Kerkenes panel, at ca. 50 cm long before it broke, would have made for an unusually narrow couch if meant to ornament almost the entire span of either short end. The couches from the Achaemenid-period İkiztepe burials near Aktepe on the borders of Phrygia and Lydia are, for instance, between 76 and 84 cm wide (Özgen et al. 1996: 49). The reconstructed length of the Kerkenes ivory is, on the other hand, an appropriate dimension for spanning the back of a chair. An excellent parallel for the dimension is the carved boxwood stretcher found in Tumulus MM (the "Midas Mound") at Gordion (fig. 10). Thought to have come from the back of a straight-backed chair, it measured 47 cm long at the time of discovery (now preserved only to 33 cm), 4.5 cm high, and 1.5 cm thick (Simpson 1993; Simpson and Spirydowicz 1999). While some elaborate chairs and couches had curved backs with decorative ivory panels running in a series of verticals along the curving surface (Barnett 1982: pl. 52a [Salamis] and pl. 55 [an "east Anatolian (?)" example from Nimrud]), some chairs were straight-backed and validate the identification of the Gordion stretcher. Beds, too, had straight-backed elements. The bed from Salamis with Phoenician-made ivory inlays has a framing of three horizontal ivory-inlaid stretchers set within the much wider frame of the entire straight-backed headboard structure (Barnett 1982: pl. 52b).

The Kerkenes panel was probably set into the top horizontal stretcher of a chair or the headboard of a bed with a narrower inset framing (like the Salamis example) so that the undulating edge of the bead-and-reel border perhaps extended decoratively above the wooden piece into which it was set. The wear patterns on the highest points of relief of the sheep's fleeces corroborate a placement where they were subject to occasional gentle rubbing.

ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE

Iconography. Animals were a critical feature of the decorative programming of elaborate furniture for sitting and reclining in the early first millennium across a wide spectrum of cultures—as we can glean from a combination of preserved elements and representations in art.[36] Animals are common elements of structural decoration on the legs and arms of chairs, usually in the form of sphinxes or lions, seated and acting as a support for the arms. They are also deployed in frieze format on such furniture. On the banquet relief of Assurbanipal from the North Palace at Nineveh, the king reclines on a couch that incorporates a stretcher spanning the long side, displaying a series of confronted animals (Barnett 1976: pls. 64–65). Other examples include the couch shown in the wall painting in the Persian-period Karaburun tomb in the Lycian region of Anatolia (Mellink 1998). A limestone couch with carved decoration from the Achaemenid-period tomb at Aktepe in Lydia surely renders in funereal permanence ornamental features we might expect to find on an actual couch made of a wooden core clad in luxury materials. Here a frieze of animals, hunting, equestrians, and a wheeled vehicle is incised along the long side (Özgen et al. 1996: 41–42, 70). Animal friezes on preserved ivory panels for couches from Nimrud include combat scenes involving griffins, lions, and bulls (Mallowan 1966: 512–13, figs. 416–17, and 534, fig. 452). Assyrian and north Syrian chair backs often include animal friezes, frequently in hunting scenes (e.g., Herrmann 1996: pl. 36b [Nimrud 7904]). There are individual Phoenician ivory panels of a height comparable to the Kerkenes panel and carved in relief with displays of isolated grazing stags (e.g., Barnett 1982: pl. 47e–f, from Arslan Tash). They may have formed elements in more extended compositions decorating furniture with files of such grazing animals. But there is no hint of the elaborations of iconography we see on the Kerkenes ivory. The carved wooden chair stretcher from Phrygian Gordion already mentioned (fig. 10) shows a sequence of discrete scenes: a lion and bull combat, pairs of heraldic goats and heraldic stags, and a horse whose eye was originally inlaid. The style, composition, and iconography of the Gordion piece are, however, very different from those on the Kerkenes panel.

Meanders and bead-and-reel friezes are closely associated with furniture embellishment in Greek, western, and central Anatolian contexts. One couch represented on a vase imported from Chios to Naukratis in Egypt is, for instance, decorated with a
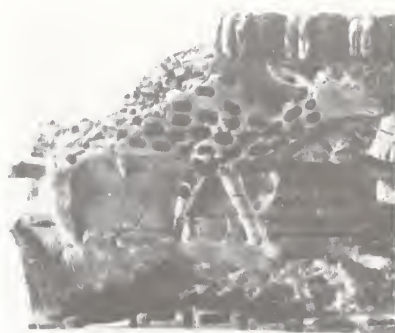
FIG. 11.
Detail of the male Dama mesopotamica
(fallow deer) on the Kerkenes ivory.

FIG. 12.
X-ray of the ivory panel from Kerkenes Dağ, showing evidence of the deer's applied antlers once extending across the bead-and-reel. Courtesy of G. D. Summers and M. E. F. Summers.

FIG. 13.
Detail of the billy goat and the nanny goat on the Kerkenes ivory.

meander and a bead-and-reel (Walter-Karydi 1973: no. 802). And the meander is a strong element in the repertoire of Gordion, appearing on the tomb decorations at Midas City as well as on revetment tiles and furniture (e.g., Boehmer 1973; Işık 1987). Evidence for the combination on one piece of furniture of animal imagery with the bands of meander and bead-and-reel that we see on the Kerkenes panel is, however, quite rare. The stone couch from Aktepe incorporated bead-and-reel and meander borders along with the animal frieze already mentioned. Although the arrangement of these three elements is entirely different on the Aktepe couch and the Kerkenes ivory, we at least see in both these items the full complement of three elements deployed on a single furniture item. It is noteworthy that both come out of an Anatolian context.

We have rehearsed a number of ways in which the Kerkenes ivory relates to longstanding traditions of ivory (and wood) carving and furniture embellishment in first-millennium western Asia. What becomes strikingly apparent, however, is that the Kerkenes panel stands apart from currently known ivory-carving repertoires in its detailed iconography and in many specific aspects of style. While the virtuosity of the piece suggests that it must have been made by a highly accomplished school of ivory-working artisans, the Kerkenes panel is the unique representative of such a school at this point. We must look outside the realm of furniture in order to appreciate the range of traditions infusing the artifact from Kerkenes. Ivory- and gold-working technical traditions (perhaps specifically of Lydia) as well as a legacy of complexly programmed representations on precious vessels from farther east seem to come together to form the backdrop of the aesthetic and the patron mandate that informed the creation of the Kerkenes ivory.

Of the five animals walking along the surface, all but the ram have their four hooves flat on the meander (fig. 6). The deer at the left of the panel, as preserved, faces right and leads a file of animals of which he is the only surviving member. He has male genitalia but lacks surviving antlers (fig. 11). No trace of roughness on his head is preserved, where ivory antlers might originally have been before breaking off. If he had antlers, they were made of another substance, probably gold. A slight discoloration in the x-ray of the panel suggests that antlers in another material were indeed attached to the panel and that they overlapped the upper border (fig. 12). The outline of the deer's profile is slightly concave, its ear large and held horizontally behind its head. Two incised lines above its round eye lend it a quizzical look.

The billy goat to the right faces the deer and leads the file of animals on the right half of the panel. Its head and forelegs are now missing, but the position of the preserved tip of the horn and the angle of the neck show that its head is down as if grazing, neatly tucked under the raised head of the deer (fig. 13). The horn is the short, only gently curving horn of the domesticated goat rather than the long, dramatically arced type so distinctive of the wild goat. It may have been gilded, but no trace of gold remains. Despite damage in this area, the goat's testicles are still clearly visible. The body is subtly modeled at shoulder and haunch to indicate in delicate relief the contours of the muscles.

Following the billy goat is a nanny goat (fig. 13). She does not stand as tall as her mate, but her body is longer. Traces of gilding remain on her horn, which extends very slightly over the bead-and-reel border. Her small pointed ear overlaps the base of the horn. Her eye, set in a concave profile, is slightly crescent shaped rather than round; fine lines are incised above and below it. The nanny goat's distended belly is not an original feature meant to indicate pregnancy. Rather, it is a result of postdepositional distortion of the panel accentuated by consolidation at this poorly preserved section.

A ewe continues the parade of animals (fig. 14). As with the nanny goat, her horn extends over the top border. Here, however, there is no trace of gilding preserved. Her slightly rounded ear overlaps the horn. Her eye, set in a face with concave profile, is round, with a shallow line incised above it. Her fleece begins behind her ear and covers her entire body except for the legs and underbelly. The fleece is indicated by small dotted circles. She has a short tail. Her body is subtly modeled. Certain areas on her side and haunch are worn down. Directly behind the ewe a large ram appears, completing the paired sequence of species on the right side of the panel. The ram's small, slightly rounded ear overlaps his large curling horn, which preserves a trace of gilding. Like the ewe's,

FIG. 14.
Detail of the ewe and the ram on the Kerkenes ivory.

the ram's fleece begins behind his ear and covers his body except for legs and underbelly; it is also shown with punched circles, each with a central dot. Again, the surface of his side and haunch is somewhat worn down so that his fleece is no longer evident in places. He has the round eye, with added incised line above it, of the ewe, while his profile is strongly arched rather than concave. His face is further enhanced by a double line above his nostrils. His genitalia are pronounced.

Although the faces of all three animals ranged behind the nanny goat on the right side of the panel are poised near the hind quarters of the creature in front, the ram seems actively to sniff at the tail of the ewe. This is suggested by the lines above his nostrils, which imply olfactory action. It is also implied by the assertive forward thrust of his head. (The heads of the ewe and nanny goat are tipped gently downward, whereas the ram's head pushes forward in a straight trajectory from the neck.) The ram's raised left leg projecting toward the ewe enhances the sense that he is directly engaged in the sniffing and pursuit of the female. This gesture shows dominance and sexual arousal as well as indicating time of year: the autumn. Sheep, like goats and deer, enter the mating season in the fall. They bear their young in the early spring, after a gestation period of about five months. The ram's excitement over the ewe before him can now be seen as corroboration that the discoloration visible on the x-ray above the head of the

male fallow deer results from antlers that originally adorned this animal. Males of the species fallow deer drop their antlers in April and remain without antlers for several months before regrowth begins in time for the mating season in September. Attached antlers on the male deer would, then, also indicate the fall mating season.

The male deer at the left would surely have been followed by three more animals. They would also be moving to the right, complementing the length and disposition of the group on the right half of the panel. The animal directly behind the deer was surely a doe of the same species. The other two must be guessed. A cow followed by a bull is one possibility, offering yet another horned, cloven-hoofed creature and one with great resonance in the art of the ancient Near East. Even more compelling is the suggestion of a female-male pair of another species of wild animals with horns and cloven hooves (such as gazelles). This option would create a symmetrical juxtaposition of wild animals on the left side and domesticated varieties on the right. The inclusion of gazelles would have the added interest value of completing a group of four species that mate in the fall.

The complexity of narrative subtext on the Kerkenes ivory is remarkable—addressing as it does seasonal time, the cycles of fertility, and the nature of behaviorally and physically related species (across wild and domesticated groups). It has been argued

that one of the famous gold vessels from Marlik, in the northwestern Iranian highlands, may show the life cycle of the goat (Negahban 1983: 27–28, fig. 14 and pls. 42–46). The excavator posits that the cycle begins with the suckling of the newborn on the bottom and moves up the vessel from a sequence of goats nibbling at trees, to a file of predatory hyenas, and culminating in the topmost register depicting multiple tableaux of the ravaging of the animal's carcass by vultures, presumably after its killing by the hyenas below (fig. 15). Some are skeptical of the specificity of this interpretation as rendering phases of the life of one particular species. Nevertheless there has been cogent defense of the basic notion of a cyclical narrative of life sustaining the representational program of the Marlik beaker. While the program may reflect upon more than one species, it does seem to make generalized observations about the life cycle of gentle herbivorous animals (in this case, perhaps from bottom to top: deer, goats, and gazelles) versus the world of predatory carnivorous ones (Calmeyer 1995: 42). The Marlik beaker suggests the possibility of a backdrop of Iranian artistry (albeit enhanced by the adaptation of Mesopotamian motifs) reflecting sophisticated contemplations of the animal world that relate somehow to the creative realm of patronage and production whence the Kerkenes ivory

emerged. It was probably of local manufacture, dating to sometime between the fourteenth and the tenth centuries. Although we are at this point hard pressed to identify the precise sociolinguistic makeup of the inhabitants of Marlik, they were part of the orbit later dominated by the Medes in the heyday of their power, with a decidedly eastern Indo-Iranian connection (Negahban 1998).

The motif of male and female animals walking in an extended file is a venerable one in the art of the ancient Near East. A large ritual alabaster vessel (the Uruk Vase) depicts alternating rams and ewes on one of its lower friezes, reinforcing the sense of fertility and fecundity associated with the goddess Inanna, portrayed at the top of the vase (fig. 16). This important artifact is one of a pair, originally elaborated with attachments probably in gold, excavated from a temple treasury cache at Uruk in southern Mesopotamia dating to ca. 3000 (Level III). The vessels themselves were carved much earlier than the date of their final deposition (Moortgat 1969: 11–13, pls. 19–21; Lindemeyer and Lutz 1993). The Uruk Vase is part of a larger repertoire produced in this early city emphasizing animals often within a context of explicit visual discourse about fertility and propagation. Another such item is an alabaster trough carved with a scene showing a centrally presented reed hut with lambs emerging from its sides and converging files of alternating rams and ewes (Moortgat 1969: pls. 17–18; Lindemeyer and Lutz 1993).

In later Mesopotamia, there was a continuation of interest in issues of sexual differentiation of the species and in notions of pairings as paradigms for existence and fertility. These interests were played out in mythologized notions of the universe (Lambert 1995: 1830) and also in the experimental practice of animal husbandry (Postgate 1992: 159–64). Later still, in the Assyrian empire, vignettes within the larger schemes of palace wall reliefs occasionally include animals proceeding in bucolic files that imply notions of animal fertility. One such scene, from Sennacherib's palace at Nineveh, shows a family of wild pigs among reeds, illustrating the nature preserve the king had created as a symbolic imperial gesture (e.g., Reade 1998: 54–55 and fig. 58 [fig. 17 here]). Another category of Assyrian palatial representation is closer in format to the representation on

FIG. 16.
*Drawing of representations
on the Uruk Vase. After
Lindemeyer and Lutz
1993: pl. 25.*

FIG. 17.
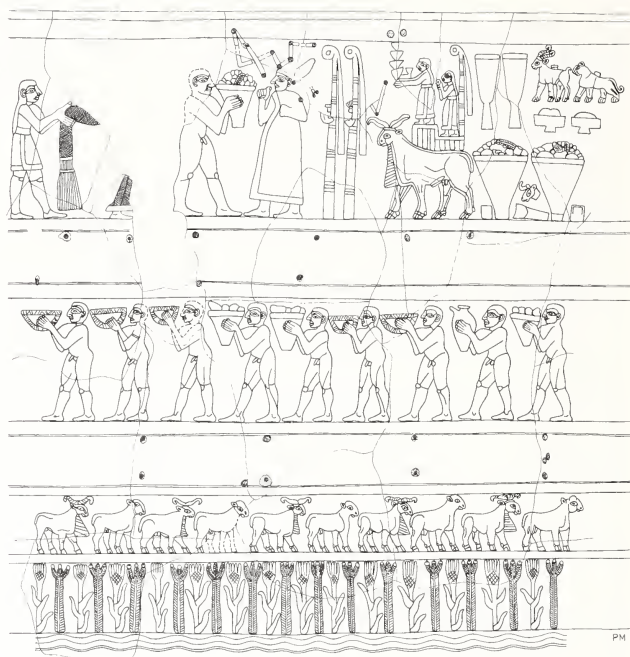*Rendering of the wild sow with piglets depicted in
relief in the Palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh
(Koyünjik). After G. Rawlinson,* The Seven Great
Monarchies of the Eastern World. *Vol. 1:* Chaldáea.
Assyria *(New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago: The
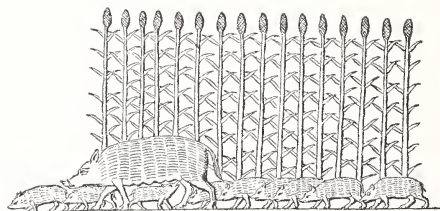Nottingham Society, 1870), pl. VI.*

FIG. 18.
*Drawing of the file of
animals on the shoulder
of a gold vessel from
Maikop. After Frankfort
1996: fig. 240.*

the Kerkenes ivory but far removed from its apparent narrative focus. In this type of Assyrian vignette, we sometimes see files of animal families and/or male-female files of animals. When we look at them in the larger context of the decorative schemes they are part of, it is clear, however, that they serve extended narratives of the hunt or the herding away of the livestock booty of war (Reade 1998: figs. 92–93; Russell 1991: figs. 68 and 105). Their portrayals give some emphasis to the male-female connection in the animal world specifically, we might say, in order to enhance the king's triumphant capacity to dictate the terms of survival or demise of the fruitful creatures. Furthermore, they are not nearly as systematically encyclopedic as the Kerkenes ivory is in rendering a carefully selected variety of species meant to characterize a group of similar types of animals.

Animal friezes in ivory destined to embellish various furnishings have been found at Nimrud (e.g., Herrmann 1992: esp. pl. 72). They sometimes show a line of grazing deer or cows with calves. But beyond that they emphasize action scenes of the hunt or of lions ravaging herbivores. They do not depict the complex range of nuances about a cohort of multiple species in male-female pairings that we see at Kerkenes.

Indeed, there is no parallel known to me for the full complement of representational features on the Kerkenes ivory. We must instead look to individual traits that relate to it. Seemingly pacific files of alternating animals appear on several gold vessels from Maikop (fig. 18), a third-millennium site in the Kuban valley of south-central Anatolia (Frankfort 1996: figs. 240–43). A series of embossed gold vessels from Marlik in Iran (related to the beaker discussed earlier [fig. 15]) display pacific animal friezes, at least one with a goat in the distinctive tail-sniffing posture (Negahban 1983: 19–21 and pl. p. 38). Illicitly retrieved Marlik vessels have been on the market for decades, creating the notion of a Marlik aesthetic in advance of the excavated corpus published by Ezat Negahban. These illegally harvested vessels also created a demand for forgeries to serve the same eager antiquities trade. It is telling in this regard that the tail-sniffing motif specifically is replicated as a hallmark of Marlik culture in the forgeries of Marlik metalware (Muscarella 2000: 37 and 273, no. 32).
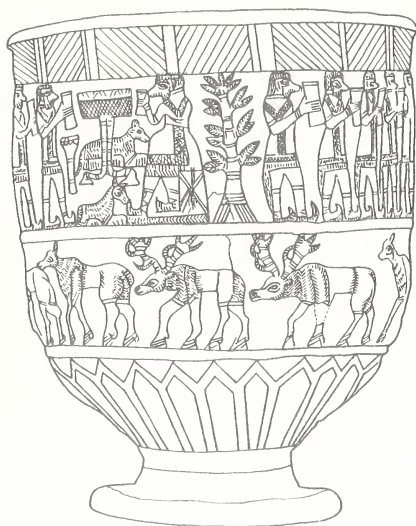
FIG. 19.
Drawing of the file of deer on the Trialeti silver goblet. After Boehmer and Kossack 2000: fig. 34b.

We can thus posit that the examples retrieved under controlled circumstances represent a sampling from an originally much larger corpus that included numerous vessels bearing this distinctive motif.

Seeking more specific comparanda for files of male-female herbivores, we find interesting material from traditions of metalware production in the Scythian Caucasus. The Kurgans of southern Georgia have yielded an impressive array of decorated metalware that incorporates friezes of alternating animals. This remarkable corpus includes the famous silver goblet (fig. 19) displaying an elaborate sequence of representation (Boehmer and Kossack 2000: figs. 30–52; Kohl 1995: 1056; Kuftin 1941: pls. XCI, XCII, figs. 93–95). The largest figural band of representational imagery displays a complex narrative of combat and its aftermath as well as a procession to a seated personage or deity. In a lower register, above a leaf pattern that grows up from the juncture of the foot and the body, a file of alternating male and female deer proceeds in one

FIG. 20.
Drawing of the row of alternating male and female fallow deer on the lowest register of a silver alabastron from Lydia. Adapted from Özgen et al. 1996: fig. 154.

direction. The males are poised to sniff at the tails of the females preceding them, as the ram does on the Kerkenes ivory. Our fig. 19 happens to show the only segment of the animal file where two male deer are displayed together. This one segment is directly under the tree in the narrative representation above it, which acts as a punctuation for the entire scene. The pairing of the two stags below serves the same punctuating purpose. Otherwise, the extended file of animals proceeds in strict alternating mode, with the male in each case posed with head down and jutting forward to sniff the tail of the female. The Trialeti goblet seems to date sometime in the Middle Bronze Age II at Trialeti, in the early second millennium (Rubinson 1977: 243).

In western Anatolia, a silver alabastron from an extraordinarily rich tomb at Güre in Lydia offers an informative parallel for male and female animals shown in mating behavior (Özgen et al. 1996: 124–25). The bottom register of representation on this elaborately incised vessel displays female and antlered male fallow deer, with one of the males lifting a front leg toward the doe in front of him while placing his head on her rump (fig. 20). This alabastron may have been an heirloom when it was deposited. The majority of the funerary assemblage is certainly of the Persian period, perhaps mid- to late sixth century. But the alabastron bears a striking resemblance in some aspects of its decorative program to Protocorinthian Orientalizing painted pottery of the seventh century.[37] Close connections certainly existed between ceramic pots and metal vessels. These connections are apparent in commonalities of shape (Dusinberre 1999) and also in shared representational and ornamental repertoires. The implication is that the elite metalware offered prototypes that were reworked in the less expensive ceramic medium for mass consumption.

A corpus of parallels for animal files exists in a particular Orientalizing production—the Wild Goat-style painted pottery of western Anatolia and the eastern Aegean islands. Wild Goat pottery acquires its name from the male animal that most commonly populates its friezes of grazing creatures (although the male fallow deer is also frequent). The corpus becomes particularly interesting to our study of the Kerkenes ivory as an index of wide-ranging cultural interactions and the playing out of these interactions in the production of a relatively inexpensive, even humble, ceramic production. Over and over again on these Wild Goat pots we see files of male wild goats with their characteristic sweeping, notched horns that symbolize the effectiveness of the beast in the competitive jousting of the mating season. The processions do not display the male-female alternation of the species—which is such an important part of the program of the Kerkenes ivory and the complex legacy of vessel depictions in the ancient Near East to which it relates. Rather, the notion of animal file has been essentialized to a fairly perfunctory—yet visually appealing—pattern (figs. 21–22).

Wild Goat pottery is still poorly defined archaeologically for various reasons: there are multiple local variants of the style; we have as yet no clear idea where most of them were made; and they are largely dated on the basis of stylistic criteria rather than externally datable artifacts found in association with them. Many of the Greek colonies in Egypt, coastal Anatolia, and the Black Sea rim seem to have developed their own versions of this popular Orientalizing decoration that drew, as we have seen,
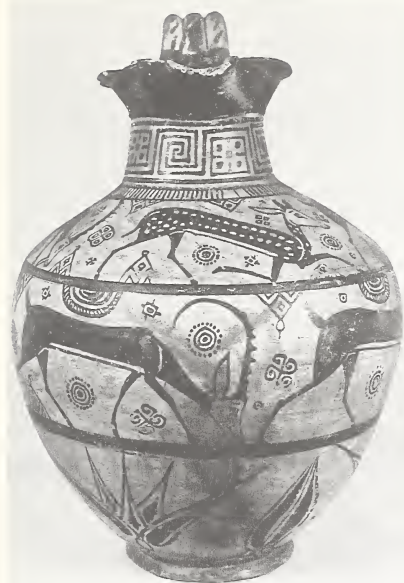
FIG. 21.
Wild Goat–style pot. After Walter-Karydi 1973: no. 515. By permission of the German Archaeological Institute.

FIG. 22.
Wild Goat–style pot. After Walter-Karydi 1973: no. 516. By permission of the German Archaeological Institute.

on traditions of a broad range of cultures in the ancient Near East. It is important to note, nevertheless, that some versions of the pots that have actually been excavated were apparently made locally at native Anatolian sites, including Sardis in Lydia (Greenewalt 1970).[38] The difficulties in archaeological microanalysis of the Wild Goat pottery do not interfere with the significance of the style to our arguments here. The existence of the style in multiple variants enhances the notion that pacific animal files *in more nuanced luxury prototypes* must have been far more prevalent and available as models across a wide spectrum than we currently can appreciate on the basis of preserved luxury artifacts themselves. In addition to precious metalware serving as prestige prototypes for humbler production, other portable items, includ-

ing textiles and ivories, will have supplied ideas that stimulated the emergence of the Wild Goat–style repertoire on ceramic vessels. The popularity of Wild Goat pottery serves as an index of a once robust representational tradition in luxury arts—where it was much more complexly articulated than on the inexpensive Wild Goat adaptations. It is this robust luxury-art tradition that the Kerkenes ivory represents in unique and virtuoso fashion.

Style. Stylistically (as opposed to technically), the well-known, materially well-documented ivory-carving traditions of the Near East offer no close parallels for the Kerkenes panel.[39] Looking from east to west, a late sixth- or fifth-century Achaemenid-period ivory dagger sheath excavated from the "Temple of the

Oxus" at Takht-i Sangin is a rare item that might in theory offer evidence of ivory-carving traditions that would speak significantly to a pre-Hellenistic, eastern Iranian aesthetic informing the creation of the Kerkenes ivory. This sheath includes a relief representation of a lion attacking a stag (Litvinskiy and Pichikiyan 1981: pl. 1). Analysis reveals, however, that the deer's spots are indicated by incised ovals rather than the drilled holes of the Kerkenes ivory, and the highly stylized incised decorations on the lion's body remove any sense of connection between it and the methods of ivory workmanship on the panel from Kerkenes. Moving westward, Hasanlu has yielded a large corpus of ivories (Muscarella 1980); yet it offers not a single specific stylistic (or iconographical) parallel for the Kerkenes ivory.

Neither the Assyrian modeled-style nor incised-style ivories resemble the style of the carving on the panel from Kerkenes. Assyrian modeled-style ivories display outlines of animals and floral motifs that are rather deeply incised, with interior volumes of the animals modeled in discrete rounded surfaces, each set off from the surrounding area by incised lines that divide the body into separate parts (e.g., Herrmann 1992: no. 351 [Nimrud 10498]). Assyrian ivories in incised style are flat, with incised decorations drawn on the background (e.g., Herrmann 1992: no. 352 [Nimrud 10519]). Certain specific idiosyncrasies of the Kerkenes animals also set them apart from their Assyrian counterparts: for instance, the circles suggesting the fleeces of the sheep on the Kerkenes ivory do not appear on Assyrian sheep, and the ears of Assyrian sheep lop forward along the face rather than pointing up or back to overlap the horn (e.g., Herrmann 1992: 89 [Nimrud 7747]).

The various Syrian schools of ivory-carving render animal friezes differently than the Assyrian: the volumes of the bodies in north Syrian ivories meld into one another more than do those of the Assyrian animals to form rounded, modeled volumes that somewhat resemble those of the Kerkenes animals (Herrmann 1992: discussion at no. 137; Winter 1976; 1981). The effect is, however, somewhat heavier than the Kerkenes ivory: it is almost as if the animals were conceived in the round and then pressed onto a background rather than having been conceived in relief in the first place. Phoenician ivo-

ries also render smoother and heavier volumes than those found on the Kerkenes animals; animal friezes in relief on a solid flat background are not part of the Phoenician repertoire yet published.

The ivory-carving traditions of the eastern parts of Anatolia provide no close parallels to the Kerkenes ivory. Although Urartian artifacts include some spectacular examples of animals carved from ivory, they are generally portrayed in the round rather than as relief friezes (Barnett 1982: pl. 40c [the stag in a thicket from Altın Tepe]).

The ivories excavated so far in western Anatolia (first and foremost from Ephesus but also from Lycian/Phrygian Bayındır in the southwest) tend to be figurines. Most are thus of relatively limited usefulness in discussions of stylistic links with the Kerkenes relief panel.[40] An exception is the ivory pin or spindle whorl decorated with a ram's head, found at Gordion in Tumulus B (a tomb dating to ca. 580) (fig. 23).[41] The tomb contained significant imports from western Anatolia, and this ivory artifact may be an additional one. The ram from Gordion shares with
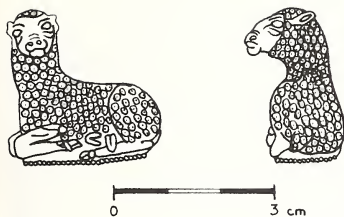
FIG. 24.
Drawing of the gold ram from Gökçeler Köyü (Manisa Museum 5289). Rendered by the author.

FIG. 25.
Gold ram from the "Lydian Treasure" (Usak 1.129.96). After Özgen et al. 1996: no. 151. By permission of the Turkish Ministry of Culture.

the Kerkenes ram an ear that overlaps its horn and a general sense of stylistic commonality. In contrast to the Kerkenes ram, however, it has no wrinkles on its nose, and it has a less complex and a more elongated eye. It is overall rather simpler and more schematic than the ram on the Kerkenes panel. The deep relief and its variations of level on the Kerkenes ivory lead to an unusual sense of delicately modeled volumes.

Rather than to ivory-carving, the best stylistic parallels for the Kerkenes panel relate more to metal-working and to a representational tradition that we currently know best from pottery painting current in western Anatolia in the early sixth century. Close stylistic parallels are observable between the rendering of the fleeces on the Kerkenes ivory and on a gold couchant ram from Gökçeler Köyü, near Sardis (Özkan 1996) (fig. 24), which also has a fleece composed of small adjacent circles made with a punch, with a tiny dot at the center of each circle. One difference between the gold sheep from Gökçeler Köyü and the ivory ones from Kerkenes is the positioning of the fleece. The fleece on the gold ram begins just behind the eyes and is set off from the face in relief and with a drawn line rather than beginning behind the ear as on the ivory panel. The gold ram does, however, share with the Kerkenes ram a strongly curved face and two delicately incised lines above the nostrils over the bridge of the nose, as well as the telling tiny dot at the center of each of the circles of fleece. A similar fleece is sported by a gold recumbent ram, part of the "Lydian Treasure" repatriated to Turkey by the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 25).[42] This fleece is more strongly stylized, with larger punched

dots inside the circles and a less naturalistic face than those of the Gökçeler Köyü or the Kerkenes sheep. Nevertheless, a similar concept governs the rendering of fluffy wool.

Returning to Wild Goat painted pottery, we find close parallels for certain aspects of the style of the deer of the Kerkenes panel on many of these vessels. Of particular importance are similarities in the renderings of the animals' heads and faces. These links include the concave facial profiles (as seen on the deer, the nanny goat, and the ewe of the Kerkenes panel), the eyes formed of a circle with triangular elongations at front and back and with a dot for pupil, the fine incised lines above the eyes, and the placement of the nostril at top of the muzzle and mouth just above the bottom (figs. 21–22; 26–27).[43] Despite these similarities, the Kerkenes ivory displays more complexity of line and mass. Thus, for instance, there is a subtler presentation of the ear than what is common on the Wild Goat paintings, where ears of goats (and also deer) are regularly shown held straight, stiff, and tipped back—parallel to the horn rather than curving delicately across it. The use of meander borders is also quite

FIG. 26.
Wild Goat–style pot. After Walter-Karydi 1973: no. 652. By permission of the German Archaeological Institute.

FIG. 27.
Wild Goat–style pot. After Walter-Karydi 1973: no. 527. By permission of the German Archaeological Institute.

common on the Wild Goat pots as a decorative pattern under the animal file (fig. 27, seen better on the full view of the pot published in Walter-Karydi 1973, no. 527).

KERKENES AND THE PROBLEM OF MEDIAN ART

The problem posed by the notion of "Median art" has largely revolved around the dearth of nonceramic artifacts that can be legitimately associated with the Medes (Muscarella 1994: 62–63). We have already noted that Median levels of Ecbatana are yet to be revealed. The two major excavated Iranian sites that have been securely identified as Median (Nush-i Jan and Godin) were found largely devoid of artifacts because they had been abandoned. Curtis (1995: 23) does not see any of these items as viably labeled "Median art," in part because he considers the seals elements of material culture but not part of a repertoire of "art." This is a definitional problem that needs to be addressed eventually in some depth, for it seems to create an unnecessarily high (i.e., luxury-level) bar for determining a record of art at Median sites that will be acknowledged as informing the notion of "Median art."

Kerkenes has been identified as ancient Pteria, which in turn has been interpreted as an establishment built or at any rate used by the Medes as part of their expansion and consolidation in central Anatolia. Does this qualify the Kerkenes ivory as a work of "Median art?" In order to respond to this question, it is important first to clarify this term. By "Median art" I do not mean specifically and exclusively to characterize an official, ideologically programmed court art of the Median kings analogous to the construction of "Achaemenid art" put forth by Root (1979: 1) in order to define a very particular phenomenon in that context. We are in no position yet to venture in that direction with the Medes. We will not be until Ecbatana has been extensively excavated at Median levels. The prolonged inaccessibility of the great Median royal heartland city of Ecbatana, under modern Hamadan, has made it impossible to grapple with the nature of Median culture at the imperial center. To make matters worse, Hamadan has seen decades of misuse as a forged provenance for putative "Median" artifacts on the art market (Muscarella 1987; Gunter and Root 1998). Many such artifacts are modern forgeries (Muscarella 1989; 1994; 2000). And the syndrome has justifiably discredited *all* artifacts "said to have come from Hamadan"— even those that may actually be genuine (if illicitly harvested) antiquities from Median levels there.

At present the term "Median art" must be used much more generally to signify art (i.e., items of visual culture) produced by *and/or used within* a Median social context.[44] In this sense, the Kerkenes ivory

certainly qualifies as "Median art." It also meets the implicitly very restrictive notion of "art" as specifically high-art production implied by Curtis.

We can expect the art assemblages of any well-endowed Median establishment to exhibit a range of products that reflect the transcultural fluidities described at the beginning of this article. We must not hold the notion of an art of the Medes to a standard of specificity and homogeneity that we do not ascribe to other realms in this arena in the first millennium. Those small finds (such as the seals) that have been recovered from Nush-i Jan suggest that Medes living in this settlement had access to a mix of items, with particular connections to Assyrian styles and practices (Curtis 1984). The Hasanlu assemblage reveals the full force of a multiplicity of styles in use on the eastern periphery of the Assyrian empire around 800 (Muscarella 1980; Marcus 1996). People had many options from which to choose, and choose they did—opting either for specific, differentiated, recognizably distinguishable styles or for combinations of various styles and motifs in a single object. The same can be said of the "animal arts" of central Asia (e.g., Bunker, Chatwin, and Farkas 1970: esp. 19–27).

The palaces of the Assyrian kings were magnets for luxury products from all over their empire. The Assyrians (like the kings of Babylon, whose paylists record Median and other foreign workers) employed artisans drafted as prizes of war from their many campaigns (Zaccagnini 1983).[45] This means that it would be specious to determine the ethnicity of the artisan as the qualifier of what makes an artifact "Median art." Our review of many aspects of the ivories from Nimrud shows the diversity of styles in play simultaneously at the Assyrian court. We may speak of an "Assyrian art" much as we do of an "Achaemenid art" (differentiating among the various arts operating within the Assyrian court in various styles at any given moment) because we are privileged in that context to know a good deal about the monumental official art production clearly made on site within the indisputably direct purview of the Assyrian court. But the luxury apparatus of the Assyrian court speaks loudly and deliberately of the notion of conquest through diversification of styles. Diversification is, in other words, an important positive value in the

milieu of empire. Diversification and productions that calculatingly create new hybrid manifestations of stylistic and cultural invocations from around the imperial domain are quintessentially part of what the art of empire is often all about (Dusinberre 1997). What would be surprising would be to discover that "Median art," as we eventually retrieve it at Ecbatana, is a homogeneous, insulated phenomenon that has one "Median" look.

An assemblage of ivory fragments from Susa that seem to be debris of Achaemenid-period palace life has been recovered from a well apparently of Seleucid (Hellenistic) date (Amiet 1972). These fragments come from various types of objects (including combs, boxes, furniture panels, and furniture elements in the round) as well as from a range of stylistic traditions, which Amiet (1972: 168–69) classifies as Syro-Phoenician, Achaemenid, Egyptian, Greek, and Diverse. The Susa corpus shows that the Achaemenid court continued to display ivory wealth in ways that drew on multiple stylistic schools, following the traditions of the Assyrian kings. This apparent situation in ivory-carving workshops at the Achaemenid court parallels that found in seal-carving workshops (Garrison and Root 2001). In this latter context, a seal used repeatedly as an important office seal on the Persepolis Fortification tablets (dating to 509–494) offers insight into the mechanisms of transmission and legacy in court environments of the Achaemenids that is surely applicable to a consideration of comparable circumstances under the Medes slightly earlier. PFS 93* in the Fortification archive (fig. 28) is a seal in late Neo-Elamite style made for Cyrus of Anshan, son of Teispes (the grandfather of Cyrus the Great, founder of the Achaemenid empire).[46] As we would expect from other indications also, this seal demonstrates the strength of Elamite artistic and administrative traditions among the Persians in southwestern Iran. We can expect that in the northwest, where the Medes were emerging as the dominant Indo-Iranian group, similar relationships to compelling micro- and macroregional traditions will have been in effect. In the Median arena, those traditions are likely to have been not Elamite ones but rather traditions reflecting cross-cuttings along the northerly east-west axis of travel and other forms of cultural exchange. In other words: we may expect
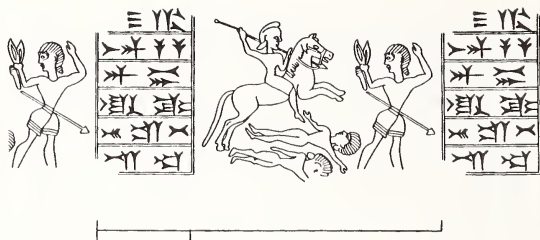
FIG. 28.

Persepolis Fortification Seal 93* (2:1): a royal-name seal of Cyrus I of Anshan. Photo (left), courtesy of M. B. Garrison, M. C. Root, and the Persepolis Seal Project; composite drawing (above), courtesy of M. B. Garrison and M. C. Root.

to see a vivider presentation of ties with a range of Scythian and Transcausian traditions as well as with a sweep of traditions involving the central and western Anatolian "path" of transcultural fluidity.[47] This is exactly what the Kerkenes ivory presents us with. It was made in a technique and style that seems most at home in traditions of western Anatolia (especially Lydia), as we have seen. At the same time, it resonates in terms of iconography with more eastern traditions that seem to blend very ancient Mesopotamian ideas with a distinctive strain of Iranian/Scythian and Transcausian ones.

The Assyrian historical annals as well as the palace reliefs suggest that numerous fortified cities in Iran along the eastern fringe of the Zagros, including Median ones, were plentifully endowed with portable arts that were there to be looted.[48] Thus we should not assume that cleaned-out and abandoned Median settlements are all we can ever expect to find. Indeed, the ivory panel from Kerkenes enables us to expand our vision of what may constitute Median art as we stand at an important juncture, with prospects of increasing archaeological discovery in the near future. With this in mind, Achaemenid Persian art and rhetoric can also be helpful in thinking about Median art or what it meant—artifactually and artistically speaking—to be a Mede. The gifts carried by the Median delegations to the Great King on the Apadana at Persepolis may indicate something about what the Medes signified culturally to the Achaemenid Per-

sians. The Medes on the north stair of the Apadana are destroyed above the knees, but we can see that they bring a horse and a suit of Iranian riding clothes (the leggings are visible). On the well-preserved east stair (fig. 29), they do not bring a horse (which is a rather common form of gift on the reliefs here). Instead, they bring a large spouted situla-like container, two very deep, handleless bowls that resemble large tumblers, a sheathed dagger with an ornately carved chape, two pairs of torques that probably originally had animal finials now eroded away, and the three elements of the Iranian riding costume (Schmidt 1953: 85 and pl. 27). The dramatic change in iconography from the earlier north stair to the east one is particularly interesting. It implies that a rethinking of the situation had been called for, leading to a rejection of the more perfunctory and less distinctive formulation for the Median delegation on the north stair. The emphasis here on luxury vessel and jewelry paraphernalia (probably in gold) is noteworthy. This identification of the Medes with gold is also suggested by the Susa Foundation Charter (DSf), a royal inscription of Darius I, in which Medes are cited as goldsmiths and as those who "adorned" the walls (Kent 1953: 142–44). Although this inscription should not be read as simply a straightforward characterization of fact without due attention to its strategies as a statement of imperial power (Root 1979; 1989; 1991), the inclusion of the Medes within this rhetoric of empire
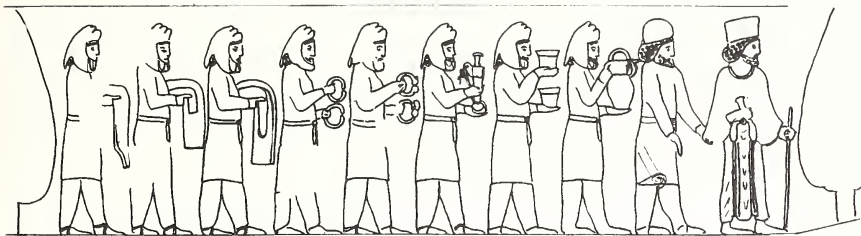
FIG. 29.
Drawing of the relief showing the Median delegation, east staircase of the Apadana at Persepolis.
Adapted from W. F. Dutz and S. A. Matheson, with F. Ghani and A. Bakhtiar, Parsa/Persepolis
(Tehran: Yassavoli Publications, 1998), 59.

as a people specifically linked with luxury arts is extremely important. Whereas the Median delegation on the east stair carries *five* separate types of high-prestige personal jewelry adornment and/or metalware, the most that any other delegation carries of this sort of item is *three* distinct types.

CONCLUSIONS

How might the beautiful, lavishly inlaid and gilded ivory panel have found its way to Kerkenes? It could certainly have been made there by highly skilled artisans brought in to produce it at this great city with Median boundaries. Alternatively, the panel (and its chair or bed assemblage) may have been made at another city and brought to Kerkenes. In either case, our stylistic and technical analysis at this point strongly suggests an artisanal tradition linked to western Anatolia/Lydia working in the early years of the sixth century (around 580–570). In terms of patronage mandate for this remarkable piece, we posit a strong input of sensibility to the iconographical strains discussed above, emphasizing elaborate visions of differentiated animals portrayed in the context of attentive observation of their life cycles of rutting and fertility.

It is intriguing to contemplate the possibility that the Kerkenes ivory was part of a lavish gift exchange between Lydia and Media in the sixth century. After the battle between Lydians and Medes in 585,

Herodotus claims (1.74), the ensuing treaty was secured with the gift of the Lydian king Alyattes's daughter Aryenis to the Median king, Astyages, along with other forms of symbolic exchange like the mingling of blood. The connection of high-value gifting with lasting treaties is a common one.[49] The use of gifts in establishing reciprocal obligations and fending off warfare is well attested in many different societies, and the exchange of women (a gift par excellence) is often a key element in securing peaceful relations.[50] Importantly in the context of the ivory panel, elaborate furniture was a high-prestige item in Lydia, associated with complex gift-giving ceremonies and the establishment of reciprocal obligations.[51] This panel may thus have been part of the decoration of an elaborate chair or bed made in Lydia at specifications meant especially to please the sensibilities of its intended recipient—a Median noble or even a member of the Median royal family—for use on visits to the Anatolian bastion of Median power. As such it would have formed part of the gift-secured connections between Lydians and Medes best exemplified by the gift of Croesus's sister as wife to the Median king Astyages: part of the complex mutual reciprocities binding Lydians and Medes to a treaty that lasted almost forty years (Huxley 1997–98). This arrangement lasted until the ascension of Cyrus the Great to the Persian throne annulled preexisting treaties and ushered in the rise of the Achaemenid Persian empire. □

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Notes

I am most grateful to M.C. Root, editrix of this volume, for her invaluable suggestions and help with this work. In Turkey, many thanks go to the director and staff of the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara for housing the panel and supporting its conservation and display, as well as to M. Özcan (Director of the Yozgat Museum) for his help and encouragement, to N. Kayalı (Vali of Yozgat), V. Sanal (Director of the Yozgat office of the Ministry of Culture), and E. Yaman (Kaymakam of Sorgun), for their support of work at Kerkenes. Special thanks are due to G. D. Summers, Director of the Kerkenes Dağ Projesi, for allowing me to publish this remarkable find and to M. E .F. Summers for superb technical support. In addition I would like to thank numerous individuals who have responded generously to specific inquiries over the course of my research: L. Burn, D. Collon, K. De Vries, C. H. Greenewalt, jr., J. L. Fitton, A. C. Gunter, E. Kohler, G. K. Sams, E. Simpson, D. Stronach, and M. M. Voigt. Finally, I gratefully acknowledge suggestions made by the anonymous reviewers for *Ars Orientalis*. Residual errors are my own.

1. As has recently been demonstrated, the Achaemenid Persian "Royal Road" probably did not pass by Kerkenes (French 1998). There was, however, a road in the Achaemenid period that did go past the site—part of the extensive road network of the Achaemenid Persian empire that supported its fast-messenger ("pony express") system hailed by Herodotus (5.52–54) and verified by the administrative texts on the Persepolis Fortification tablets (Hallock 1969; Garrison and Root 2001). Important analytical discussions of the Royal Road and its possible routes by Graf (1994) and French (1998) worked along more interdisciplinary lines than the early study by Calder (1925), based on Herodotus. Now for a comprehensive discussion of the evidence for the multiple road systems uniting an empire that stretched from central Asia across Egypt (combining critiques of the classical sources against the backdrop of the Fortification tablet information and historical analogues), see Briant 1996: 369–74.

2. A few grainy photographs published by Schmidt are the only record of any nonceramic objects found in his excavations. This material (and any artifacts that may not have been illustrated in Schmidt 1929) may be somewhere in the crates of finds from Alishar now housed by the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara. But these crates are not currently accessible, nor did Schmidt leave inventories of the Kerkenes finds.

3. For archaeological work at Kerkenes, see Summers and Summers (1994) and annual reports from 1993–2002 in *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, Ankara; Summers, Summers, and Ahmet (1995); Summers et al. (1996), and the newsletter by Summers, Summers, and Stronach (2001). See also the extensive and impressive website at http://www.metu.edu.tr/home/wwwkerk/.

4. I follow Herrmann (1986: 11) in use of the term "panel" to denote ivories like the Kerkenes artifact that are rectangular in shape and were affixed to furniture in various ways (e.g., with tenons and adhesives). The term "panel" is used by Herrmann to designate elements in shapes that "suggest the original form of the objects of which they formed parts"—such as a set of trapezoidal panels making up a faceted stand (Herrmann 1986: 9 and fig. 1).

5. Hereafter, dates in this article will be B.C.E. unless stated otherwise.

6. See Summers, Summers, and Stronach 2001 and the Kerkenes Dağ home page at http://www.metu.edu.tr/. For current views on the foundation date in relation to the fibula and the pottery, taking into account very recent data from Gordion, I rely on personal communications from G. K. Sams, G. D. Summers, K. De Vries, and M. M. Voigt, all in Summers 2002.

7. Important discussions of the Greek sources on the Medes (and Persians) have appeared in the *Achaemenid History* series. See, e.g., Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1987 and (for an index of *Achaemenid History* volumes 1–8 by author) Sancisi-Weerdenburg, Kuhrt, and Root 1994: 437–42.

8. It is this type of scenario at the first-millennium site of Hasanlu, Iran (to which we shall return later), that makes it such a rich context for investigations of the material and physical record.

9. For a recent overview of work to date on the extraordinarily rich material from Hasanlu, with bibliography, see Dyson and Voigt 1989.

10. The dating for this fire at Gordion has recently been pushed up to ca. 800 on the basis of numerous radiocarbon dates. Discussion is soon to be published by M. M. Voigt and G. K. Sams.

11. For Sardis, see ongoing excavation reports in *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* and the *American Journal of Archaeology*. The ongoing monograph series for the excavation's publications is produced by Harvard University Press. Hanfmann 1983 remains a useful overview.

12. Pers. com., December 1998. This is a modification of Summers's earlier framing of the likely scenario around the founding of Kerkenes. He had originally (1997: 94 and 87) postulated that Kerkenes " was built by the Medes after the conclusion of their war with Lydia that ended in 585 B.C." He envisioned at that time that "The war between the Medes and the Lydians, [is] perhaps best understood as a series of annual campaigns with both protagonists fighting towards the practical limits imposed by the distance from their respective home bases" (1997: 87)—without the Medes having established a fortified colonial outpost on the western periphery in order to strengthen their position in this drawn-out series of military engagements.

13. Plans of the columned halls at Kerkenes are currently under final revision by the excavators based on findings in 2002. Thus they are not available for illustration as this manuscript goes to press. Differences in proportions between the columned halls at Kerkenes and those at known excavated Median sites in the

heartland have made Summers more cautious about the significance of these many-columned buildings as *key* indices of Median occupation than he was in 1997 (Summers: pers. com., fall 2002). But we are at a very early stage in understanding how proportional aesthetics relate to the overarching investment in the many-columned layout in Iron Age Iran. Differences between the halls at Pasargadae and Persepolis in the Achaemenid empire suggest that even at this later date there were variants in play. Yet the importance of the many-columned hall as a general type with significant social resonances is clear. For a short review of the many-columned halls at Median Nush-i Jan and Godin, see Roaf 1995; more detailed presentations in advance of the final report occur in D. Stronach 1969; 1975; 1985, as well as D. Stronach and Roaf 1973 and 1978. For Baba Jan, see Goff 1969a and 1969b. Accessible primary documentation of hypostyle halls of Pasargadae, Persepolis, and Susa is found in D. Stronach 1978, Schmidt 1953, and Perrot 1981, respectively. Although neither Achaemenid-period nor Median-period palatial structures have yet been unearthed in the Iranian excavations at Ecbatana, royally inscribed (as well as uninscribed) column bases found at the site (combined with textual references to restorations of an Apadana there) indicate that hypostyle halls were surely part of the Ecbatana landscape in Achaemenid times (Knapton, Sarraf, and Curtis 2001; Boucharlat 1998). It would be surprising indeed to find that Ecbatana had not been the locus of grand many-columned halls in Median times, forming a prestige model for later Achaemenid Persian royal installations everywhere.

14. G. D. Summers, pers. com., June 2002. The buildings look like megarons on the magnetometric and resistivity survey maps.

15. Early on, P. R. Helm (1981) challenged our reliance upon Herodotus to provide an accurate sense of Median history. Later a hot debate ensued specifically concerning the degree to which Media could be considered an empire. Key players were the historian H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (arguing against the notion of a centrally organized Median state, much less empire) and the anthropologist/archaeologist S. C. Brown (arguing that the Assyrian texts taken in conjunction with the archaeological indices in western Iran actually support this presentation of Media as an increasingly organized, centrally controlled state with expansionist practices) (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1988; 1994; Brown 1988; 1990).

16. Both in print and in conference dialogues, archaeologists coming from a variety of slants on a multidisciplinary field stress the importance of seeing the Median state as an expansionist power—even though we cannot yet assess the precise nature or degree of administrative control it exercised in various areas. See, e.g., Young 1997: 448; Roaf 1995: 61 ("the Medes had gained and lost control of a vast empire"); Negahban 1998: 51 (on a strong Median presence in the east); Zimansky (1998: 37) accepts the concept that the Medes "eventually took control of Urartu, but it may already have been in ruins [through Scythian incursions] by the time they got there." This basic stance emerges strongly among several papers (as yet unpublished) presented at a conference on the Medes held in Padua, Italy, in 2001. Historians of the Near East working primarily with Near Eastern texts are perforce more cautious. Waters (2000) is, for instance, extremely circumspect in relation to the southern Zagros region in the aftermath of the Assyrian sack of Elamite Susa in the 640s. He says (2000: 102, emphasis mine): "three external factors must be kept in mind with regard to Neo-Elamite history: the Neo-Babylonian empire in Mesopotamia, *the pre-eminence of the Medes in northern Iran*, and the rise of a Persian kingdom in Fars." He continues (p. 107, emphasis mine): "After the sack of Susa, Mesopotamian sources provide limited information on Elam until the early Persian period. Analysis of the late Elamite sources indicates that Elam persisted in its fragmented state until it lost its independence to Persia. . . . The Neo-Elamites were also affected by *the expansion of their Iranian neighbors, particularly the Medes and Persians,* but Elam's relations with these peoples are obscure." Briant (concerned primarily with the issue of the Median state as a possible structural, administrative model for the Achaemenid Persian empire) does not choose to call the Median enterprise an "empire," but he does acknowledge its hegemonic power (1996: 34–36). The fact that we have yet to locate any written records in the Median language poses a significant difficulty for the text-based historian. See, however, Muscarella's apt warning that we not take the lack of retrieved Median texts as a sign of anything but the fact that we have not yet recovered any (1994: 59).

17. It was surrounded by hard-packed clay with a pH of 6 to 7, moderate dampness, and little soluble salt that protected the ivory from radical temperature change or moisture fluctuation. Very poor aeration limited microbiological influences. The stability and neutrality of the soil preserved both the organic and inorganic components of the panel, as well as its essential structure.

18. Following careful extraction in a block of soil, cleaning and conservation were carried out by Simone A. Korolnik. Initial cleaning and consolidation were done at the expedition base, while x-rays were taken and more extensive conservation undertaken over seven weeks at the laboratory of the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara, where the artifact is currently on display (Korolnik 1997). Conservation of this ivory was possible thanks to the generosity of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, the British Academy, and the Ankara Sheraton.

19. The room may not have burned in the torching of Kerkenes because—unlike the columned hall and the other structures within the urban block that formed its architectural setting—its walls were stone to the ceiling rather than timber frame filled with mudbrick. These stone walls are even now preserved to a height of approximately 2 m. If the wind was blowing from its usual strong northerly direction at the time of the general conflagration at Kerkenes, it would have shunted the fire in the columned hall away from this range of rooms. They therefore did not burn with the same intensity as the buildings to the south and east, apart from the wooden door frame that opened directly onto the narrow alley behind the columned hall.

20. For useful discussions of two-story buildings and the ways

in which small finds behave in the debris of such constructions, see, e.g., Dyson 1989a; 1989b; Muscarella 1980; 1989.

21. Other finds from the room were a polished bone spatula, a faceted carnelian bead, a burnished bronze bowl-like object (cut down from some larger piece and incorporating five suspension or attachment holes and one extant pin), and a trefoil-mouthed, flat-based, burnished gray ware jug. All of these objects derived from the upper story.

22. On the basis of meticulous cleaning that took place in 1998 we can say that it lacked any applied embellishment (such as lime-plastered walls) or any installations such as ovens or hearths. The only natural light in the lower chamber appears to have come through the door, making the space rather dark and airless. The upper floor may have had windows, but we do not know this.

23. At Persepolis in the heyday of the Achaemenid Persian empire we see a variety of activities taking place in the treasury, including (but not limited to) the storage of intrinsically valuable objects of gold and silver, courtly paraphernalia and furnishings, antiquities, trophies, and weaponry (Schmidt 1957). Items were certainly removed from the Persepolis Treasury, on demand, for active use. Utilitarian artifacts comingled with the precious ones there—in a space that served administrative needs, as well as secure-storage needs, and incorporated expansive spaces and proximity to the audience hall called the Throne Hall or the Hall of One Hundred Columns in the archaeological literature.

24. At this time, it is impossible to distinguish different sources of ivory (i.e., from African versus Indian elephants or various subspecies) on the basis of visual analysis. Geographical convenience might seem to suggest that the Kerkenes panel is carved of African ivory (obtained via trade from Africa to the Levant and thence eastward) rather than Indian ivory (obtained via overland routes). But there is enough evidence of widespread contact across the Asian continent that we should resist assumptions on this matter. For the characteristics of different ivories, see C. H. Brown 1975. Lafontaine and Wood (1982) distinguish between African and Indian ivories, although their conclusions cannot be replicated with reference to other ivory samples. Greep (1987) and Minney (1991) both summarize and discuss the characteristics of different elephant ivories in objects they have conserved. I am indebted to S. A. Korohnk for pointing me to these references. Current attempts to use DNA in distinguishing Indian and African ivories may prove of interest.

25. Pliny the Elder (writing his encyclopedic *Natural History* in the first century C.E.) discusses carving tools and polishing agents currently in use (*HN* 4). For modern discussions of ancient carving tools and polishing agents, see Krzyszkowska 1990; Burack 1984: esp. 41–49; Evely 1992; St. Clair and McLachlan 1989: 5–6.

26. Ancient recipes exist for softening and straightening ivory: e.g., Pausanias (5.12), writing in the second half of the first century C.E.: "the horn of both oxen and elephants can be by the

action of fire made straight from curved and can in fact be turned into any shape," and Theophilus (*De diversis artibus* 3.93), who recommends heating ivory in wine or vinegar or anointing it with oil over a fire and then wrapping it in leather to soften the ivory enough to straighten it. For excellent recent discussion specifically of ancient Greek practices of straightening and otherwise molding the original shape of an ivory tusk before carving it, see Lapatin 1997; 2001.

27. The fact that the bottom edge of the panel is also polished, and that all of the front surface is equally glossy regardless of its depth of relief, precludes the possibility that the sheen is the result of wear.

28. Tests have as yet been done neither on the amber nor on the gold to determine their probable sources. Careful examination with the eye and a low-powered microscope have provided insufficient information to know whence the gold and amber ornamentation on the ivory came. If the suggestion is indeed correct that yellow "butter" amber is from the Baltic and red amber from the Black Sea, this panel shows the collection of materials from various parts of Anatolia and southern areas but not from the distant north. For a discussion of different ambers and their chemical qualities, see, e.g., Strong 1966: 1–16 and Knigge 1976: 60–83. More generally for the whole range of ancient craft materials including ivory, gold, silver, amber, and glass pastes, see Moorey 1994.

29. Tests have not yet been made to determine the precise composition of the metal. Although no trace of adhesive has been preserved, the slight roughness of the ivory under the reflectors may have assisted the binding properties of an adhesive agent.

30. See the ivory double reels inlaid with amber, which may have decorated the handles of flywhisks (Hogarth 1908: esp. pl. 36, nos. 2, 4, 25, 26). On relations of the Ephesus ivories to Lydia, see Bammer 1984.

31. As with the ivory under the metal reflectors for the amber beads, the unsmoothed irregular surface left inside the meander by the drill holes would have assisted the adherence of the inlay to the ivory surface.

32. Publications of the remarkable array of furniture from Gordion include Acar 1996; Ardıçoğlu 1994; and especially Simpson 1996; 1985; 1995; n.d.; forthcoming; and Simpson and Spirydowicz 1999. I am very grateful to Dr. Simpson for her helpful comments on furniture-making practices in Anatolia. Joining practices as gleaned from the Nimrud ivories of the Assyrian empire are also relevant (Herrmann 1986: 56–57).

33. See, e.g., Richter 1966: 49–52; Herrmann 1996: pls. 41, 42; Calmeyer 1996: pls. 72–73. Specifically in the Greek sphere, some Bronze Age Mycenaean stools seem to have had inlaid friezes. But stools of later date (more contemporary with the Kerkenes ivory) were generally not ornamented with friezes along their sides (viz., Sakellarakis 1996: pl. 27).

34. Henceforth I shall use *chair* to refer to all backed types including thrones. I shall use the word *couch* instead of the Greek word *kline* (pl. *klinai*) because it has specific Greek cultural connotations that should be avoided here.

35. For Gordion, see, e.g., Korte and Korte 1904: 110 and Knigge 1976: 63; for Salamis, see Karageorghis 1973; Barnett 1982: 49–50; and Herrmann 1986: 35–36. For a wooden example from the Kerameikos in Athens, with applied decoration in amber and ivory, see Knigge 1976. Couches inlaid with ivory have also been found at Vergina and Kertch. I am indebted to J. L. Fitton of the British Museum for showing me the Kertch ivories in March 1998; the Vergina ivories are discussed in Andronicos 1984: 122. Although these couches were all inlaid with ivory, none of the ivories resembles that from Kerkenes, being either flat inlays or more rounded inserts rather than a long relief panel. Both the Vergina and the Kertch ivories probably postdate ours considerably.

36. We must avoid an uncritical assumption that representations necessarily render *realia* in some pure documentary sense, for indeed there are certainly cases in which depictions of items may have been symbolically charged to suit narrative subtexts. A classic example is the tableau of Assurbanipal and his queen, where renderings of *realia* have been convincingly studied as statements of conquest (Albenda 1976 and 1977). Yet it remains essential to take the representational information into account because surviving furniture remains rare. Many examples are collected in Richter 1966: 52–63. The range of decoration is great. See, e.g., nos. 286 (animals and rosettes), 297 (galloping horses with riders), 316 (lion and bull confronting each other with a four-petaled rosette in between; snakes and more rosettes on the sides).

37. In Greek archaeology, the term "Orientalizing" refers both to a phenomenon and to a time period. Temporally it designates the period at which the assimilation of Near Eastern motifs into the decorative tradition of pot painting made by or at least for Greeks (and Etruscans) reached its first height in ca. 700–600.

38. Gül Gürtekin, of Ege Üniversesi in Izmir, is engaged in a thorough study of Wild Goat pots and their significance.

39. I am grateful to the members of the departments of Western Asiatic Antiquities and Greek and Roman Antiquities, especially to J. L. Fitton, L. Burn, and D. Collon, for corroborating these suspicions in the course of several fruitful days spent at the British Museum in November 1996 and March 1997.

40. The ivories of Ephesus are, of course, well known and were originally published in Hogarth 1908. See also Bammer 1984. The ivories from the tumuli at Bayındır, in Lycia, which date between the ninth and the fifth centuries and show tremendous links between southwestern Turkey and Phrygia, are published in Özgen and Özgen 1988 and Özgen 1994. That there were interactions between central Anatolia and the southwest is made clear by the presence of Phrygian graffiti on silver and bronze vessels from one of the Bayındır tumuli (Varınhoğlu 1992).

41. Tumulus B was originally dated to ca. 630 due to our understanding at the time of the chronology of the so-called Samian lekythoi, which were found in the tomb along with the ivory pin or spindle whorl. Recent developments force a down-dating of the lekythoi and hence also the tomb. K. De Vries, pers. com. 2002. The ivory is accessioned as TumB No. 7 (now in Ankara). It was found on the floor of the tomb outside the coffin, at the head end (Kohler 1995: 9–24, figs. 3–9, and pl. 9 A–C).

42. Uşak 1.129.96, published as no. 151 in Özgen et al. 1996. Its provenance is uncertain, but it was sold to dealers during the same time as the objects of the "Lydian Treasure" (which were eventually purchased by the Metropolitan Museum). It may have come from tombs in the area near Güre, perhaps from those at Yoncalı Mevkisi or from İkiztepe.

43. Walter-Karydi 1973: nos. 515, 516, 518, 523, 527, 562, 652. She suggests, on the basis of excavated parallels, that all of the Wild Goat vessels cited here were made on the island of Rhodes and date to the early sixth century (1973: 50–56). Those vessels that she dates more closely she puts between ca. 580 and 570.

44. A similar point has been made for southwestern Anatolia in the Achaemenid empire (Mellink 1998).

45. Groups the paylists mention as working alongside the Medes include people from Persia, Egypt, Elam, Ionia, Lydia, and Byblos (Weidner 1939).

46. I am grateful to M. C. Root, M. B. Garrison, and the Persepolis Seal Project for permission to include a photograph of this seal, PFS 93*. For publications, see Garrison (1991) on the use of the seal in administrative contexts; Garrison and Root (1996) for the final composite drawing of the seal's impression plus much bibliography; Garrison and Root (2001: introduction) for the usage of royal name seals; and the definitive publication, Garrison and Root (forthcoming).

47. Burney (1999) stresses the continued eastern associations of the Medes after their installation in the northwestern Zagros.

48. For Median cities on Assyrian reliefs, see Gunter 1982: pls. 2, 3, 4.

49. Gifts should not be thought of as being donated willingly; they may be necessary components of maintaining a treaty. "These total services and counter-services are committed to in a somewhat voluntary form by presents and gifts, although in the final analysis they are strictly compulsory, on pain of private or public warfare" (Mauss 1990: 5). The same idea is rendered somewhat differently by Hobbes (1950) in his discussion of the Laws of Nature, pt. 1, chap. 15 (quoted also in Sahlins 1972: 178). Naturally, such reciprocal ties do not imply unification of disparate peoples; indeed reciprocity of gift exchange, in correlating the opposition of separate parties, may perpetuate that opposition. This has been discussed by Sahlins 1972: 170. See also Yan 1996: introduction.

50. For the crucial role women play in production as well as in gift exchange in general, see Weiner 1992. For the inclusion of women in gift-giving, see Levi-Strauss 1969: 63–65 and Strathern 1988. For gift-giving and treaties, see Mauss 1990: 13: "to refuse to give, to fail to invite, just as to refuse to accept, is tantamount to declaring war." See also Sahlins 1972: 174. The idea of maintaining control over certain objects while still creating the bond of reciprocal obligations formed by gift-giving is explored by Weiner (1992).

51. Ornate furniture was associated with gift-giving, as is clear in Herodotus's description of Croesus's tremendous sacrifice, burning couches overlaid in gold and silver to Apollo (1.50); and with the gift of a throne from Midas to the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. Sacrifice often took the form of reciprocal gift-giving, *do ut des*, whereby the mortal offered good things to the gods in expectation of receiving good things in return. This is clear from the inscription on the bronze statuette dedicated by Mantiklos to Apollo, Boston 3.997: "Mantiklos gave me to the far-darter (Apollo) as tithe; now you, Phoibos Apollo, give something good to me in return." The connection between sacrifice and gift-giving is described by Mauss 1990: 13: "The institution of 'total services' does not merely carry with it the obligation to reciprocate presents received. It also supposed two other obligations just as important: the obligation, on the one hand, to give presents, and on the other, to receive them." See also Mauss and Hubert (1964: 97): "This procedure [that unites the concept of widely disparate forms of sacrifice] consists in establishing a means of communication between the sacred and the profane worlds through the mediation of a victim, that is, of a thing that in the course of the ceremony is destroyed." For an excellent recent summary of research into gift-giving, see Godelier 1999.

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CINDY L. NIMCHUK

The "Archers" of Darius:

Coinage or Tokens of Royal Esteem?

ABSTRACT

This article reconsiders the traditional view that the Achaemenid imperial coinage bearing emblems of the Royal Archer (in gold darics and silver sigloi) was instituted by Darius I primarily to serve economic needs as a mode of payment for mercenaries in the west. Traditionally, the Achaemenid Archers are thought to be direct functional successors of the Lydian Croeseid Lion-and-Bull bimetallic coinage. Here, by contrast, the communicative and ideological aspects of the Archers are emphasized over the economic. Reassessment of the state of our knowledge of the introductory phases of the Archer series and of the weight ratios in the Achaemenid system suggests that, unlike the Croeseids, these coins were not initially intended to facilitate monetary exchange. Furthermore, iconographical analysis of the Type I and Type II Archers designed in the reign of Darius I shows the force of the messages these items conveyed as tokens of wealth, power, obligation, identity, and protection. The primary intended recipients of these messages were, the article argues, Persian elites in Asia Minor, with non-Persian elites as a secondary audience. The Archers can thus be considered as part of the system of royal gifting from the king to his nobles that reinforced symbolic relationships by offering tokens of value well beyond the mere guaranteed weight and content of the metal. Rethinking the question of the balance among ideological, political, and economic elements of the Archers provides new perspectives on early coinage and early Achaemenid history.

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FIG. 1.
*Drawing of a millennial
1999 coin issue, Royal
Canadian Mint. Adapted
from http://www.mint.ca/
en/collectors_corner/
circulation/millennium/
1999coins/millennium25/
december99.html.*

FIG. 2.
*Drawing of a millennial
2000 coin issue, Royal
Canadian Mint. Adapted
from http://www.mint.ca/
en/collectors_corner/
circulation/millennium/
2000coins/millennium25/
june00.html.*

FIG. 3.
*Drawing of the obverse of
a Croeseid stater (ca. 2:1).
Adapted by the author
from Carradice 1987:
pl. X, fig. 2.*

FIG. 4.
*Drawings of obverses of (a) a Type I Archer, (b) a Type II Archer, (c) a Type III Archer, and (d) a Type IV
Archer (ca. 2:1). Adapted by the author from Alram 1993: figs. I–IV.*

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INTRODUCTION

MONEY CAN COME IN many forms. It is generally considered to be any item or unit that serves as a means of storing value or as a medium of exchange or payment of value that can be measured according to a standard that qualifies and guarantees its worth by a recognizable measure. Currency in the form of coinage is one particular form of money. But, that said, the functions of coinage are not restricted to the sphere of economics, as is the concept covered by the generic term "money." Coinage (like paper currency imprinted with imagery) also acts within the social spheres of politics and ideology. The distinction between money and coinage is particularly crucial when discussing the ancient Near Eastern traditions of exchange prevalent in Mesopotamia and to which the Medes and the Persians both fell heir. The first known coins in the sense in which we shall use the term here (weighed metal pieces stamped with imagery) were made of electrum and were struck in Lydia, probably a little before 600 B.C.E.[1] But forms of metallic money *without applied imagery* had existed in Mesopotamia long before this (Powell 1978; 1996). At the Median site of Nush-i Jan a silver hoard including cut-up ingots offers material evidence of Iranian adoption of this type of system in the centuries immediately preceding the formation of the Achaemenid empire (Curtis 1984). In short, there was no strictly *economic necessity* for Darius I (the Great; r. 521–486 B.C.E.) to devise a system of coinage. Yet, as we shall see, the traditional view holds that the primary motive for the creation of the Archer series of gold and silver coins under Darius I was, indeed, economic. This article will argue for a rebalancing of the relative importance of economic and ideological motives in the development and deployment of the Archer coins of Darius.

Today we consider coins as small change, almost a nuisance as they collect in odd locations. How often do we stop to look at the images on our coins to consider what they might imply? Far less than was the case in earlier eras, no doubt. We are increasingly removed from a sense of identification with the ultimate governmental issuing authority of the coinage (and the paper money for that matter) we use in the

modern era of money machines and credit cards. And certainly with the ever-lessening buying power of our coins, we handle them less and less in whatever cash transactions we still engage in. Yet despite this decrease in use of currency generally (in favor of the credit card) and use of the coin in particular (because of its severely deflated buying power), the link between political legitimacy and economics that currency symbolizes remains important. Why else would so much time and trouble be taken to form images for our paper and metal monies? When we do stop to consider our image-emblazoned currency, we recognize that the images we see were intended to send messages from our issuing authorities to us, their audience. At the very least the images remind us subliminally of the identity of the issuing authority (to whom we ultimately owe the presence of the monetary item).

The lingering power of the communicative strategies of coinage even in the modern age reasserts itself when commemorative issues are designed. In Canada, for instance, twenty-four new reverse designs for 25-cent coins were commissioned to celebrate the millennium, twelve each for 1999 and 2000. The new images for 1999 paid homage to Canada's past; those for 2000 addressed hopes for Canada's future (Royal Canadian Mint 1999; 2000). Thus one of the 1999 issues (fig. 1), entitled "This Is Canada," is a visual statement of elements that made Canada great: its natural beauty (mountains), its indigenous populations (a plains teepee), its emergent urbanism (a village-turned-city), its agriculture, and its industry. One of the 2000 issues (fig. 2), entitled "Harmony," characterized the abstract notion of unity in a pluralistic society. Here six abstractly and identically rendered human figures form the contours of a maple leaf (the symbol of Canada), with their hands joined. Both of these commemorative series incorporate bilingual inscriptions, reinforcing the strong political message of a unity in diversity meant to neutralize ethnic and cultural tensions.

This very recent example suggests an important ongoing feature of coinage as a medium of message conveyance. Today, when the practical utility of metal currency as money is decreasing, its symbolic function as a message conveyor reasserts itself perhaps most emphatically. The millennial Canadian

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coins were intended to spread a worldview that the issuing authority felt compelled to propagate—even if (or perhaps especially if) it was not a message characterizing a reality that all receivers of the message necessarily felt invested in.

The propagandistic agenda of coin imagery thus remains an important part of its meaning even to this day. Given that the ideological functions of coinage still operate under modern conditions, we are entitled to consider how much more important the power of coin imagery was to ancient audiences. It is with this in mind that we here reassess the relative balance of image communication and economic practicality in the creation of the Archer coinage of the Achaemenid empire.

When Darius I had the image of a crowned archer placed on roundish pieces of silver or gold of a standardized weight and purity, the institution of coins and coinage was only about a century old, give or take a few decades. As we have said, money in the form of weighed pieces of precious metal had long existed in the Near East. What was unusual, from a Near Eastern perspective, was the placing of an image on the metal. I will argue here that the Persian Archers, both in gold and silver, were instituted principally as objects with ideological significance. They were devised and received as precious and prestigious gifts of guaranteed intrinsic as well as symbolic value, bearing a specific message aimed at a particular audience. Their nonsymbolic economic utility (e.g., as regulators and facilitators of gold-silver exchange values) was, I suggest, a secondary function and one that was exploited for its potential as a bimetallic system only decades after the issuing of the first Archers.

CROESEIDS AND ARCHERS: NUMISMATIC DISCUSSIONS[2]

In order to appreciate the validity of this nontraditional thesis, it is crucial first to rehearse and then to reassess some aspects of the historical/numismatic literature that have long sustained the traditional notion of an economic motivation for Darius's invention of the Archers. To start with, we take a closer look at the Croeseid coins of Lydia and their relation to the early Archer series. The two series are closely connected in scholarship, with assumptions about historical and functional ties directing the force of traditional interpretation. Croeseids—the Lydian gold and silver parallel issues with the Lion-and-Bull image on the obverse (fig. 3)—are widely famous because they are emblematic of the fabled wealth of King Croesus of Lydia. For specialists, they are particularly important because they are acknowledged as the earliest known bimetallic series—that is, the first known coinage in a parallel gold and silver issue, with a deliberate and rational exchange ratio created between the two. It is important to note at the outset that neither Croeseids nor Archers bear date formulae or other inscriptional information of any sort. This is on one level an interesting similarity between the two issues. On another level, it complicates discussion, forcing numerous historical arguments to be couched in frustratingly qualified terms, as we shall see.

Historical Overview. Tradition holds that gold and silver Croeseids were first minted (at Sardis) by Croesus (r. ca. 560–547 B.C.E.) (Kraay 1976).[3] Martin Price (1984: 211–21) once argued for the attribution of the entire Croeseid series to the Achaemenid kings. Although this idea has not won acceptance, it does show how fluid the evidence remains in terms of materially demonstrable chronological frameworks.[4] The widely held view is that, when the Achaemenid Persian Cyrus II (the Great) defeated Croesus in 547, the Lydian kingdom along with its customs and traditions (including the minting of gold and silver coins) came under Persian control. Thus the Croeseids continued to be minted at Sardis by Cyrus. Exactly how long this practice may have continued—plausibly down into the reign of Darius—remains a matter of debate (Le Rider 2001: 101–21, for a review of the evidence). Whatever may have been the time span of the continued minting of the Lion-and-Bull Croeseids under the Achaemenids, it is clear that during the reign of Darius I, a new coinage was introduced: the Persian Archer series. It bore a distinctive and very different type of imagery displaying a crowned and robed bow-wielding figure in four iconographical variants (fig. 4).

The introduction of the Archer series has been ascribed to Darius I on the basis of the testimony of classical sources. Herodotus (e.g., 3.89–97) discusses

FIG. 5.
A Type II Archer used as a seal (PFS 1393s) on Persepolis Fortification tablet 1495 (ca. 2:1). Photo courtesy of M. B. Garrison, M.C. Root, and the Persepolis Seal Project.

the economic and administrative reforms of this king; the name "daric" applied to the gold pieces by classical authors reinforces the idea that Darius was the innovator here. This understanding has certainly not been refuted by any archaeological evidence or hoard analyses. Furthermore, the well-demonstrated visionary impulses of Darius in empire management (viz., most comprehensively, Briant 1996) and visualized strategies of ideological reinforcement (Root 1979; 1990; 2000) make his patronage of the first Archers logical.

We now have positive and remarkable proof that by 500 B.C.E. *at the latest* the Type II Archer was already in circulation—and at the center of the empire rather than locally in the region of the assumed mint location at Sardis. In the 1980s it was discovered that a Type II Archer coin had been used as a seal on an administration tablet in the Persepolis Fortification archive (Root 1988; here fig. 5). PFS 1393s occurs on PF 1495 (Hallock 1969: 419), which bears the date of the twelfth month of year 22 in the reign of Darius (500 B.C.E.). This information gives us a precious fixed point by which time the Type II Ar-

cher had to have been devised and struck, with enough time allowed for an exemplar to have come into the possession of a personage working in Persepolis on administrative matters (more on this later). The available evidence does not reveal how long before its appearance as PFS 1393s on the Fortification tablets the Type II Archers were first minted. In theory, we have a range between 521 and 500.

The two Apadana foundation deposits from Persepolis have been brought to bear on the chronology of the introduction of the Archer series. Each deposit included a gold and a silver plaque inscribed with a trilingual text (DPh), four gold Croeseids (style F, therefore late in the series), and two Greek silver coins—but not a single Archer.[5] The Apadana must have been begun by about 515. The absence of any Archers in the deposits has been used to argue that the series did not exist at the time; but the same negative evidence has also been explained as a rhetorical device to emphasize the deposition of coins emblematic specifically of non-Persian entities brought under Achaemenid dominion.[6] The absence of Archers in the Apadana deposit cannot be viewed as evidence that they did not exist (even in the Type I form) by ca. 515.[7]

The Type I Archer has long been thought to be the earliest of the iconographical variants in the series (hence its numerical designation). This assumption has been based in part on the fact that no example of Type I has yet been found in gold. The minting of Type I in silver without a gold counterpart has been seen as suggesting an initiatory phase of the larger system that would develop with the introduction of Type II (in both silver and gold). This argument *ex silentio* that darics were not introduced until the Type II variant was created is fragile, of course. There are, after all, only five Type II gold Archers known at present (Le Rider 2001: 142). The low number of surviving Type II Archers warns us that the gold Type I Archer may also have existed and simply not yet been retrieved. At the moment, however, we do have Type II gold Archers, albeit in such a small quantity, whereas the last 150 years of excavation in the Greater Mediterranean and of research on ancient coins have not yielded even one Type I in gold. The dating of Type I as the first in the Archer series also relates to perceptions about its iconography and style (see the section "Communication:

Image and Audience" below). Margaret Root has warned that nothing inherent in the artistic elements of the design necessarily indicates the chronological precedence of Type I (Root 1989: 44–45). But conventional wisdom maintains the ordering of the Type I and Type II issues (e.g., Descat 1989: 18).

Accepting this wisdom for lack of an alternative, what evidence is there upon which to determine a date for the introduction of this first Archer? Once the Apadana deposits disappear as a point of reference *after* which the Type I would have to have been struck, we are left with subjective estimations of probable time lags between Type I and Type II. David Stronach (1989: 264–66) suggests a space of about ten years between the issuing of Type I and Type II. This would place the introduction of the Type I sigloi at about 510 *or earlier* (sometime in the first decade of the reign of Darius). This dating really remains open to debate based on varying notions of how style worked in official Achaemenid art.

The dates of issue for the Type IIIa–b and Type IV Archers do not have the advantage of evidence in the form of a coin used as a seal on a dated document. Types IIIa and IIIb are generally ascribed to the end of Darius's reign or the early years of the reign of Xerxes (r. 486–465). The inauguration of Type IV is dated to the middle of the fifth century (late Xerxes–early Artaxerxes I [r. 465–425]).[8] The typology and internal chronology of the Archers has been refined over time. The current order of the types was established, in large measure, through the work of Sydney Noe (1956: 40–44) and E. S. G. Robinson (1958: 188–90). More recently, Ian Carradice (1987: 76–78; 1998a: 20–23; 1998b: 79–80), Stronach (1989: 258–61), and Michael Alram (1993: 29–46) have offered further refinements.

Notions of Functional and Systemic Continuity. Despite their radical departure from the Croeseids in imagery, the gold darics and silver sigloi of the Achaemenid empire are seen as functionally continuing the innovative bimetallic system of the Croeseids. Thus the Archers have typically been understood as intended for a monetary purpose: the facilitating of rationalized economic exchange between lower and higher denominations (e.g., Head 1967 [1877]: 22–30; Schlumberger 1953: 12; Robinson 1958: 188;

Carradice 1987: 73, 75; Le Rider 2001).[9] The Archers are generally thought to have been minted initially, and perhaps always, at Sardis, where metal sources and minting technology were well established. This location has seemed logical also because the Archers are conventionally understood to have been intended to circulate in Asia Minor (for the sigloi) and the Mediterranean more widely (for the darics). Thus, the continued minting of the imperial issue at the western fringe of the empire rather than at its Persian center has typically been taken for granted.[10] This hypothesis reinforces the idea of continuity of economic motivation and rationale underlying the invention of the Archers.

Let us then look at basic physical characteristics of the Croeseid coinage and at the economic system it expresses. The main unit of the Croeseid silver issues seems to have been the stater, at a weight standard of ca. 10.70 g.[11] The gold issues are commonly thought to have been struck to two weight standards, designated in the literature as "heavy" and "light."[12] The "heavy" gold stater was on the same standard as the silver stater, weighing ca. 10.70 g, while the "light" gold stater was ca. 8.05 g. Both the gold and silver coins register a high degree of purity: four gold coins at 99 percent; one silver at 100 percent; six silver at 99 percent; and one silver at 97 percent (all with an accuracy of ±1 percent).[13] Other physical characteristics of the Croeseids also distinguish them. At a depth of ca. 3–5 mm, the staters and half-staters are quite thick compared to most other ancient coins.[14] The design of both the gold and the silver issues is the same, with the obverse depicting the Lion-and-Bull emblem. In the place of any figural image or other decorative element on the reverse, the staters and half-staters bear two square incuse punch marks, one small and one larger (with one punch mark occurring on the smaller fractional coins).[15]

In many of these basic physical features the Archers, both darics and sigloi, are similar to the Croeseid gold and silver coins. Like the Croeseids, the Archers are distinctively thick, at approximately 3–6 mm.[16] And like the Croesids, the Archers bear representational imagery only on the obverse, with the reverse reserved for an incuse mark. Comparative statistics on purity of metals across the two coinages are also quite close. Although rarely tested, the

darics have long been thought to be exceptionally pure. This belief is based in part on Herodotus (4.166), commenting that Darius had refined gold to the highest purity possible and coined it. Two analyses support Herodotus's testimony (Caley 1944; Tuplin 1989: 72–73; here appendix Ia), reporting an average purity of 98 percent. The sigloi also have not undergone extensive testing, but much of what has been done has focused (usefully) on hoard evidence rather than on isolated pieces (appendix Ib). The fabric of the sigloi is similar to that of the Croeseid silver half-staters (Kraay 1976: 32). An early test (Caley 1944) gave a range between 88.4 and 96.35 percent purity for sigloi.[17] But later testing has reported a range between 96.1 and 98.1 percent. In sum, recent analyses show a high purity for the sigloi even though it is slightly lower than the purity of the silver Croeseids. The significance of this close similarity must be tempered by the fact that the purity of *all* archaic silver issues submitted to testing never appears to drop below 95 percent (Gale, Gentner, and Wagner 1980: 48). Thus the purity of the Achaemenid sigloi is roughly in keeping with Croeseid precedents—but it is also in keeping with standards of the time much more broadly.[18]

These similarities notwithstanding, there is a key area of divergence between the Croeseids and the early Archers in monetary terms. The gold:silver ratios, the fractional values, and the weights of the Croeseids and Archers have often been linked, to show yet another set of congruences between the two series as economic entities. But there are serious difficulties here that demand reassessment. That reassessment will allow us to see the Achaemenid invention of the Persian Archers in a new light.

The Gold:Silver Ratio, Fractional Issues, and Weights. The silver stater of the Croesid coinage was also struck in fractions of $1/2$ (the half-stater), $1/3$, $1/6$, $1/12$, and $1/24$. Fractions of $1/3$, $1/6$, and $1/12$ were apparently also struck in both the "heavy" and "light" Croeseid gold standards. We see here a rationally articulated system of value exchange between the two metals. The weights of the heaviest Croeseid denomination (the stater) in each metal are equivalent, indicating that the ratio of gold:silver might be a whole number (or a simple fraction), likely between 1:10

and 1:15.[19] The range of extant denominations of the gold Croeseids exchanges well with the Croeseid silver denominations at a ratio of 1:12. This ratio fits the evidence such as we have it and expresses a simple relation of equivalents between gold and silver.[20]

Despite the evidence of the material itself, the gold and silver Croeseids are usually interpreted (albeit with expressed ambivalence) as having been struck on a gold:silver ratio of 1:13 $1/3$ (e.g., Price 1989: 9–14; Descat 1989: 15–31). The background for this interpretation is the force of tradition urging that we see the Croeseids as the direct functional inspiration for the early Achaemenid Archer coins. Since the Archers are typically thought to have functioned on this unwieldy ratio, the Croeseids must have as well. Such argumentation is circuitous and deeply problematic.

I propose here that the Croeseids were struck using a straightforward 1:12 ratio of gold to silver. Others have argued this before me (e.g., Giesecke 1938: 51–52; Jones 1998: 259–61). But the conventional interpretation has held sway, forcing the evidence on the Croeseids and the Archers to conform to a common exchange ratio. This position is untenable. The Croeseid system seems to have been a true bimetallic one, whereas the Archer series at its outset seems not to have laid claim to that particular feature of Lydian precedent.

We have already pointed out that the Type I Archer seems not have existed in a gold form at all. This strongly urges that at its inception the Archer series was not conceived of either as a replacement for or as a simultaneously available alternative to the bimetallic Croeseids. Furthermore, in contrast to the Croeseid system, where a coherent and well-attested range of fractional denominations in gold and silver existed, fractional denominations for Archers are extremely rare. For the Type I Archer, only one fractional silver piece has been reported by Paul Naster, and he is somewhat doubtful about it. The existence of this piece does not automatically indicate it was meant to function in an economic range of fractions of the siglos. The known Type II fractional pieces offer a possibly larger range, but it is difficult to fathom their purpose. Only the three gold specimens at $1/12$ and the two silver specimens at $1/3$ offer more than one example each at a particular weight standard. The extant numbers reported are too few to build upon

them an understanding of any role they may have played in an economic system. To make things even more difficult, none of these fractional Archers has been reported in a recorded hoard (appendix IIa–b). Among this very small number of examples of fractional strikes, several bear otherwise unknown figural image types. This seems to reinforce the probability that they are anomalous items that cannot be taken as proof that the Achaemenid coinage continued the rationalized and straightforward fractional system used for the Croeseids.

When we look at weights of the two systems, we confront anomalies as well—again calling into question the idea that the Achaemenid Archers, in their initial phase, were intended to play the same economic role as the Croeseids. It is true that the first sigloi at ca. 5.40 g have the same weight as the Croeseid silver half-staters at ca. 5.35 g. The darics were, however, issued at the shekel weight standard of ca. 8.40 g.[21] This weight standard is the one Darius consciously adopted as *the* royal weight standard for universal purposes. In this, he certainly did not follow Croeseid precedent. Thus the daric was somewhat heavier than the "light" gold Croeseid staters.[22] Against this standard for the daric, the siglos (at ca. 5.40 g) is $9/14$ the weight of the daric. This is a relationship that does not lend itself to ease of exchange. The result is that the exchange of a daric for an integral number of sigloi would require the gold:silver ratio to be nonintegral and based on divisions of 14ths. Thus, the early sigloi and darics do not use a tidy exchange equation, in contrast to the Croeseids (appendix III). It is only after the raising of the sigloi weight to ca. 5.60 g (with Type IIIb, no earlier than the end of the reign of Darius) that sigloi and darics are adjusted to a weight relationship that facilitated ease of exchange through the production of sigloi in an integral number in relation to the daric (appendix IV).[23] What is expressed in the later Archer types approximates the weight relationship of the later Croeseid silver half-stater and the "light" gold stater. This shift, at a later moment in Achaemenid history than the heady early years of Darius, may indeed imply a deliberate patterning after the Croeseid economic paradigm on certain key elements.

The apparently awkward weight relationship, arising from the use of the weight of the silver

Croeseid half-stater for the early siglos and the weight of a full shekel for the early daric, has been explained as indicating the striking of the gold and silver Archers at a ratio of 1:13, on the assumption that one daric is exchanged for twenty sigloi.[24] When the weight of the siglos is raised to ca. 5.60 g (with Type IIIb), it is taken as an indication that the ratio has *returned* to the "traditional" value of 1:13 $1/3$ (Robinson 1958: 191).[25] There are underlying assumptions in the above explanation: that darics and sigloi were intended to be exchanged from their inception; that the value of their exchange was meant to stay stable through time, in contrast to the fluctuating value of gold and silver bullion; that this stable value was a gold:silver ratio of 1:13 $1/3$; and that one daric was meant to exchange for twenty sigloi.

Whence comes the insistence on a 1:13 $1/3$ gold:silver ratio for Achaemenid coinage as a traditional one going back to Croeseid patterns? Herodotus mentions a gold:silver ratio of 1:13 (3.95) in a commentary on the calculation of the silver equivalent of the gold tribute coming from India into the Persian coffers.[26] But he does not say whether this value dates to Darius's reign or whether it reflects, rather, Herodotus's own era roughly fifty years later. Neither does he tell us whether he is giving an exact ratio or one that has been rounded off. It is also unclear whether the 1:13 ratio he mentions refers to gold dust, the means of payment by the Indian district, or gold bullion.[27] And nowhere does the Greek historian discuss coinage per se in this passage. When Herodotus refers to the king's surplus wealth, he states that it was kept in ingot form and that the king cut off only as much as he needed for *money* (3.96).[28] Indeed, this passage describes Darius melting down the tribute he receives in order to turn it into ingots. Although not explicitly stated, the implication is that Darius melted down coins from the west as well as tribute in precious metals coming to him in other forms from all over the empire.

A passage in Xenophon's *Anabasis* has also been used to calculate the gold:silver ratio and has undeniably created a certain amount of confusion in the scholarship on the Archers. At 1.7.18 we are told that Cyrus the Younger (d. 401 B.C.E., younger brother of Artaxerxes II, r. 405–359) had promised 10 talents to a seer if his prediction turned out to be true.

It did, and so Cyrus gave the seer 3,000 darics. From this anecdote, scholars have calculated that 3,000 darics were equivalent to 10 talents, and 300 darics to 1 talent. We are left to assume that the talents are supposed to be silver, since 3,000 darics at ca. 8.40 g (= 25.2 kg) would not come close to being 10 talents (ca. 320 kg) in weight. This passage describes a scenario long after the reign of Darius I. It does not tell us what (if any) ratio was used when the darics were originally instituted in the reign of that king. It only tells us a story about the amount promised by Cyrus the Younger and what he actually paid—about a hundred years after the issuing of the first Archers. To make matters even more open to varying interpretations, Xenophon does not specify the weight system he used in the calculation embedded in this tale. It is not clear whether Cyrus the Younger would have been referring to the Mesopotamian weight system operative in the Achaemenid court circles he would have known or a Greek weight system used by the Greek soldiers in his employ. Persians living in Asia Minor would plausibly have become familiar with non-Mesopotamian weights and Greek coinage by this period, so Cyrus the Younger could have used either one.[29] Thus the posited relation of 3,000 darics = 10 talents can be calculated in different ways using different ancient weight systems, resulting in different gold:silver ratios (e.g., 1:12 using the Babylonian system, 1:10 $^2/_3$ using the Greek) (appendix Va–b).[30]

One must bear in mind that none of the Greek sources from which the scholarship draws support is contemporary with the first issuing of the Archers. In addition, and most important, we must also acknowledge that none of the Greek sources in fact states unambiguously that 1 daric was equal in value to 20 sigloi or that the ratio of gold to silver was 1:13 $^1/_3$. Among other additional problems is the fact that ratios of gold to silver fluctuated markedly in antiquity. Given this, it is especially dangerous to rely on an anecdote in Herodotus or Xenophon to establish economic facts.

The compulsion to force the classical sources to state a 1:13 $^1/_3$ ratio appears to go back to the nineteenth century and the early days of the modern exploration of Babylonia and Assyria. As Marvin Powell has noted in his study of Mesopotamian weight systems, the understanding of Babylonian metrology

FIG. 6.
Drawing of a Type I Archer (ca. 2:1). Adapted by the author from Alram 1993: fig. I.

took some time to sort out (Powell 1979: 74–79). Elaborate misunderstandings of the Babylonian weight systems, coupled with the overzealous and uncritical use of the Greek sources, allowed nineteenth-century scholars to bring forth the 1:13 $^1/_3$ ratio.[31] Once conjured up, they became established. They have rarely been questioned since.

The circular path of reasoning that has led scholars to try to make Croeseids and the early Archers conform to the same economic system has led to misunderstandings of both series. When we approach the early Archers from the vantage point of symbolic value rather than as vestiges of a direct continuation of the Croeseid bimetallic system in the economic sense, we can appreciate their profound significance on an entirely different level.

COMMUNICATION: IMAGE AND AUDIENCE

The four basic obverse Archer images all display a figure wearing the crenelated Achaemenid crown and the pleated court robe with full sleeves. This figure is now generally accepted as representing the notion of the Achaemenid king and Achaemenid kingship (Root 1979; 1989: 46). Other coinages (those of Ionian cities and later of the satraps) were certainly struck within the confines of the empire and presumably with the tacit if not overt permission of the reigning king. The Achaemenid Archers are the only coins, however, that can be argued to represent official imperial authority emanating directly from the royal house (viz., Root 1988: 1–12; 1989: 33–50; Stronach 1989: 255–83).

The Type I image displays a half-length royal figure—the head and torso of a Persian king, facing right, holding a bow in his left hand and two arrows in his right (fig. 6). In this image, the royal figure wears his voluminous sleeves down. He does not wear a quiver.

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FIG. 7.
Drawing of a Type II Archer (ca. 2:1). Adapted by the author from Alram 1993: fig. II.

FIG. 8.
Drawing of a Type III Archer (ca. 2:1). Adapted by the author from Alram 1993: fig. III.

FIG. 9.
Drawing of a Type IV Archer (ca. 2:1). Adapted by the author from Alram 1993: fig. IV.

The Type II, Type III, and Type IV images all display a full-length figure of the Persian king in the *knielauf* posture, facing right as in the Type I image. These renderings depart markedly from the Type I not only in their full-figured aspect but also in their aggressive attitude. They display the archer figure in court robe but now with sleeves pushed up for action. In Types II through IV the figure also wears a quiver (most prominent in the Type II issue), emphasizing his preparedness for engagement. In Type II, the figure is shown in the act of drawing his bow (fig. 7). In Type III, the figure thrusts his bow forward in his left hand, while in his right hand he carries a spear (fig. 8). Type IV is a variant of Type III. Here the royal figure again thrusts forth a bow in his left hand, but in his right hand he draws a dagger back behind him (fig. 9).

The importance of the imagery of the Archers has come to the forefront in recent years. Root has addressed the question of the message and audience of the Archer coin series, noting that the archer images project "a particular message out from the heart of the empire" (Root 1991: 15; see also Root 1988: 11–12; 1989). In imagery and style, the sigloi and darics expressed "a quintessentially Persian, Achaemenid, manifestation of imperial power" (Root 1991: 16). While the Archer coins are meant specifically to evoke concepts of the royal image and the

ideology of Achaemenid kingship, they also resonate with images of the bow-wielding hunter (with or without royal regalia) that proliferate on early Achaemenid seals from workshops in Persepolis. Although used by a wide range of seal owners with extraordinarily diverse stylistic predilections, the archer image is prominent among those seals carved in the Court Style, which had a limited patronage access (Root 1991: 16; Garrison 2000: 135–41; Garrison and Root 2001; Garrison and Root forthcoming for all the archer seals on Fortification tablets 1–2087). By tracking artistic hands at work carving seals in the extensive corpus of those used on dated PF tablets 1–2087, Mark Garrison has been able to posit a timeframe for the experimentation leading to a canonized Persepolis Court Style, including distinctive elements such as the ways of rendering the Persian court robe. He determines that this important creative initiative must have begun very early in the reign of Darius and resolved itself into a canonized style by 510 B.C.E. at the latest (1988; 1991: 18). This dating accords well with how we envision the chronology of emergence of the stylistic and iconographical markers of the Type I Archer. It reinforces the idea that creative agendas in official seal and coin imagery were part of the same initiative, with similar motivations of message conveyance (Root 1979). Wherever the Archer series was actually minted, it was definitely a core element of the Achaemenid imperial program as manifested in Persepolis.

The Archer motif is also found on Achaemenid-period seals and coins used in Asia Minor. The seals impressed on bullae from Daskyleion, the satrapal capital of Hellespontine Phrygia, are particularly important here (Kaptan 1996; 2000: 219–21; 2002).

The archer appears not only on official seals and coins of the empire but also on monumental reliefs of Achaemenid art. The motif of the bow-bearing Persian was full of symbolic import as a signifier of ideologies of kingship and noble affiliation with dynastic identity (Root 1979: 164, 167 n. 17, 168–69; 1989; in press). As such, it is in the reign of Darius that we have our earliest testimony of the imagery as an Achaemenid emblem. In monumental form, the image is, as far as we currently know, limited to figures of the king or his elite guard holding the equipment of the bowman in a ceremonial (rather than

action-oriented) context (Root 1979; Garrison 2000: 134–36). The link between the king and his bow is an important one that appears both visually and textually on monuments of Darius I. This king is portrayed holding his bow (Bisitun; Naqsh-i Rustam), and/or accompanied by bow-bearers (on his relief at Bisitun, on his tomb façade at Naqsh-i Rustam, and on the original central panels of the Apadana at Persepolis).[32] In official texts, Darius comments that he is a well-trained archer, on foot and on horseback (DNb §8h: Kent: 1953: 140; DB: Kent 1953; Schmitt 1991; Garrison 2000: 134–36). Darius's martial abilities are not only personal skills; they are royal skills that he uses, as king, to protect his people and his empire (Nimchuk 2001: 89).

Robinson (1958: 189) recognized that the style and imagery of Type I reflected a Neo-Assyrian type, similar to renderings of Aššur. The Type I imagery and style are reminiscent of the Bisitun relief, which itself has Neo-Assyrian elements of style and iconography (Root 1979: 202–18; 2000; Stronach 1989: 265).[33] The pose of the Type I king is stately and controlled, with a focus that is more mental than physical. This aspect of the Type I royal image is also seen in Darius's tomb relief, which shows Darius in a similar calm stillness (Nimchuk 2001: 74–75). The Type I king seems implicitly situated in a moment of time in which he is the focus of attention. Any movement will be the duty of others. And it will all be directed toward him. This combination of royal stillness and approaching movement is found explicitly in the original Apadana central panels from Persepolis and the Bisitun relief. The use of a half-figure echoes the divine timelessness of the Ahuramazda and Aššur half-figures; indeed it may have been meant deliberately to recall the cosmic realm and the image of the Achaemenid patron deity Ahuramazda emergent from the winged symbol. It was Ahuramazda who bestowed kingship on Darius and was a crucial participant in Darius's vision of world order, as expressed in complex visual and verbal renditions on the Bisitun monument and Darius's tomb (Root 1979; Nimchuk 2001: 10–40, 68–91). Root (1989: 47–48) has suggested that the image is meant to invoke memories of the way in which most people of the empire will, in actuality, have experienced any visual encounter with the king: appearing

in state and visible only from the waist up. This type of encounter would have occurred as the king rode in ceremonial processions in his chariot, as Root suggests. It will also have been the essential manifestation of the royal presence perceived by those privileged to appear before the king enthroned. We do not have any preserved monumental representations of the Achaemenid king visible half-length holding his bow as an emblem of power as he rides in a chariot or sits enthroned in state. On the original Apadana central panels, the enthroned king holds a staff and a lotus—with his bow held for him by the royal bow-bearer. But this type of imagery has a long tradition in Neo-Assyrian art, which Darius reworked masterfully toward his reshaped vision of empire (Root 1979; Garrison and Root 2001; here fig. 10).

The calmness of the king as we experience it in the Type I emblem also engenders the ideas of order and strength, ideas prevalent in both the Bisitun relief and tomb façade of Darius (Nimchuk 2001: 10–40, 68–91). The bow and arrows are part of this message of order, in that military strength is required to establish and protect order; the military power is suggested by the quiescent aspect of the bow and

arrows—in an important sense more a powerful message than an active martial representation (Root 1979: 164, 167 n. 17, 168–69; Nimchuk 2001: 81–83). The Persian robe and royal crown emphasize the courtly element. The king has not pushed up his sleeves for aggressive action, as is so often seen on Achaemenid imagery of heroic encounter and the hunt (see Garrison and Root 2001; forthcoming). The image is quintessentially regal. It proclaims that a Persian is king and that this Persian king is at the center of the order he has created with the aid of Ahuramazda.

It is possible to view the Type I Archer as a form of ruler portraiture (Root 1991: 17).[34] As such, the Type I image may claim both that a Persian is king and that Darius is the particular Persian who is king (Vargyas 1999: 261).[35] Not only does the image establish Darius's legitimacy as king; the image itself establishes Darius's metaphoric presence wherever the darics and sigloi are located in the empire (cf. Root 1991: 15–16). The order of the empire is due to Darius, who was given the kingdom by Ahuramazda; part of that order has been achieved through military means. Order also implies prosperity, as evidenced by the value of the metal (silver in the case of the Type I issue); this prosperity is due to Darius. Thus the recipient is made aware that he owes his own prosperity (in the form of the Archer) on a more ideological level to the order (represented by the image) and on a more practical level to Darius himself (the ultimate source of the siglos).

The Type II Archer is an active image, delivering a similar, albeit more secular, message of the power of the Persian king and the order of the empire. The archer is kneeling, about to shoot his bow. Movement is implied in the pose. Root has noted that the image appears to have been isolated and taken directly from Achaemenid seals that portray archers engaged in the hunt (Root 1991: 16; Garrison 2000: 134–41). There is a tension in the image between the (unseen) forces approaching and the outward-aimed arrow. This imagery portrays the king both as hunter (aggressor) and as protector; indeed, the two roles merge, since a hunter (like a hero) often fulfills simultaneous missions as agent against threatening forces and protector of the weak.[36] Narrative scenes showing the king kneeling in the hunt are found in Neo-Assyrian reliefs (Root 1989: 49). The image fits

into the Near Eastern iconographic tradition of hunter/protector (Root 1989: 45–46, 49–50). In this message the king is actively protecting the empire (along with its inhabitants) and defending order. By extension, this protection provides stability, which enhances the wealth of the empire and specifically of the recipient.[37] As with the Type I Archer, the Persian crown and court robe of the king send the message of the power of the Persians, reflecting the textual instances in which Darius proclaims his Persianness and the control of the empire by a Persian. Stronach (1989: 269) has commented that Darius may have used the early Archers to communicate "a more assertive 'Persian identity' in the character of Achaemenid kingship."[38] Significantly, such an assertive proclamation of identity here, fusing notions of aggression against enemies (those who do not cooperate, in Darius's words) and protection of those who are weak and needy (as well as cooperative) enables this emblem of Persianness to address the imperial family at large. Any royal insistence on belonging to a specific ethnic group runs the risk of exclusion, of the creation of a marginalized "Other." The Archer successfully avoids this pitfall and offers an image that can be aggressive but also incorporating. It allows the king to address all subjects, not only Persians, in his protective stance. Such a multilevel message can be seen in the monumental images and inscriptions of Darius, which have specific messages aimed at specific audiences (Nimchuk 2001: 10–112); here we see the multilevel message operating in a smaller format—but with a potentially far-reaching range of effectiveness.

Who, indeed, was the intended audience for the Archer's message? It is generally thought that the sigloi were meant to pay Greek mercenary troops in Asia Minor, as a royal silver coinage in line with those of Ionian cities. Root at one point followed this supposition, arguing that the message of the coins would have been well suited to this purpose because of its universal legibility according to various cultural traditions (Root 1991: 16–17). The Type II Archer in particular, she proposed, would be powerfully resonant in the West, given the familiarity of the archer image in association with Herakles (Root 1989: 49–50). Peter Vargyas (2000: 36–38) has recently expressed skepticism about the notion that the Archer

imagery was aimed at a Greek audience, whether the audience was Greek troops receiving sigloi or Greek politicians receiving darics. As he points out, archaic coinages use symbols that are pertinent to the minting city, and the Persians would be no different.[39]

The messages conveyed by the Type I and II Archers have been recognized as partaking of the worldview promulgated by Darius in his monumental images and inscriptions. Thus I would expect the same audience, or type of audience, for the Archers as for the monuments. Although Darius's world vision speaks to several audiences, first and foremost are Persians of elite status (Nimchuk 2001: 10–112). To such an audience, the Type I image would not only emphasize the legitimacy of Darius's rule (echoing the Bisitun monument); it would also include the elite Persian audience in the wealth, rule, and prosperity of the kingdom. On the one hand, the Persian audience would understand that this prosperity is due to Darius's management of an empire given to him by the Persian patron deity; in order to enjoy the prosperity, the systems of cooperation must be maintained, and the Persians must support their king. On the other hand, the delivery medium would be somewhat foreign, since coinage was not a feature of Persian culture. The foreign nature of the carrier would imply Persian control of a foreign form, with the adaptation of the form to suit Persian royal interests. To a Persian audience, the Type II image would reinforce the message of inclusion through the use of the active, protective imagery. The Persian king as a Persian man, fulfilling his role in the ordering of the world, would represent the Persian elite male in his role as warrior and protector. Through such imagery, the Persian elite on a broader level are bound together as a ruling stratum, helping maintain order—and their own privileged place— in the empire. In this way, the Persian king coopts the Persian elite into supporting his worldview (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1990: 269), thereby strengthening his own position against possible rivals, foreign or domestic (Nimchuk 2001: 84–85).

A secondary level of audience would be the local (Lydian?) elite, who might receive the Archers from a resident Persian or possibly as a gift from the king himself.[40] While they would understand the general messages of order and prosperity, the Persian identity of the coin would provide a different impact, at once claiming that a foreigner (specifically a Persian) is in charge and at the same time reminding the recipient of his inclusion in the empire. This message of foreignness is in tension with the physical medium of the message, a coin that would have a familiar weight and feel to an elite Lydian.[41] A similar tension operates in the Egyptian monuments of Darius, which blend Egyptian form with Persian content.[42] Despite the foreign identity of the king, the order and prosperity implied by the image and the physical fact of the coin would increase the obligation of the recipient to support the Persian king by upholding his vision of empire.

The message in the Archer imagery takes us beyond considerations of economics. Darius devised an imperial vision in which the empire was based on his rule over willingly supportive nations rather than conquered victims (Root 1979: passim). Whether this was in reality the case was less important than Darius's will to have this vision become the official imperial ideology (Briant 1996: 177–265). In order to be effective, Darius's new vision of empire needed to be communicated to the people of the empire. Dissemination necessitated knowing which audiences to target for particular messages (Nimchuk 2001). The sigloi and daric Archers instituted by Darius can be viewed within this larger context of communication.

The most common means of monetary valuation in the Near East was silver, although it was not the only item to fulfill this function (barley, gold, and copper were also in use at various times and places). Items would be equated to a certain amount of silver, which was weighed in amounts of talents, minas, shekels, and fractions of a shekel.[43] Persians would not have used coins as counted units; any sigloi would be treated as bullion, in the manner of jewelry or precious metal tableware used in a monetary fashion.[44] Silver and gold in the Near East were valued commodities: both metals were used to make jewelry, vessels, assorted dining implements, and even inscriptional plaques (the DPh texts in the Apadana foundation deposit are composed of gold and silver). But such items fulfilled varied primary functions. Economic ones were secondary.[45] In this same fashion, the use of silver for the Type I sigloi does not automatically prove that they were initially designed to fill an economic niche.[46]

It is interesting to note Strabo's report (15.3.21) that the Persian kings used silver and gold mainly for gifts and storing in treasuries rather than for coinage.[47] Royal gifts were highly prized, with a symbolic worth greater than the intrinsic value of the gift itself. Such gifts would reveal the royal esteem felt toward the recipient and increase his status through the act of having the gift bestowed. At the same time, the recipient would acknowledge the king's authority and the obligation implied by the gift (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1989: 133–35; Briant 1996: 316–27).

The Archer imagery, used in the context of a gift given by the king, would communicate several messages that enhanced the gifting relationship in a social and political sense. Given the importance of silver in the Near East, the initial issue of the Archers in silver would of course have had an intrinsic economic worth, but at a level secondary to the symbolism and status of receiving a royal present. A later issue in gold (the Type II daric) would have further symbolic and intrinsic value, offering a refining of the status associated with a royal gift. The standardized value range of the items would be useful for spreading Darius's message as well, since the king could easily vary the size of his gift according to the status of the recipient.

Nor would the Archers be the first instance of such a gift item. Francis Joannès reports that gifts were given by Hammurabi (eighteenth century B.C.E.) to soldiers of Zimri-lim, the king of Mari; the gifts were presented according to exacting rules depending on the rank of the recipient and the value of the gifts. They included gold or silver "rings" of 5 or 10 shekels and silver pieces called *kaniktum* of 1, 2, or 3 shekels.[48] These silver pieces were imprinted with a mark of some kind; moreover, their values were based on the current weight standard, and their stated value was higher than their actual weighed value. Joannès postulates that the missing portion of the weight would be the value of the workmanship of the item.[49] He states that they were not meant for mercantile circulation, and they were not used in exchange. While the characteristics of the *kaniktum* suggest those of money, the time period and the particular circumstances of their issue weigh against this interpretation to Joannès (1989: 81), and he designates them "medallions."[50]

Joannès (1989: 81) comments on the parallel between these silver medallions of Hammurabi and the gold darics: both were marked, had a weight based on the current standard, and were not involved in mercantile circulation. Pierre Briant (1996: 960) and Georges Le Rider (2001: 19–20) reject the implication that the darics were not meant to be a "coinage" and consider that they operated primarily in a monetary role of payment and exchange. Vargyas (2000), by contrast, has argued that the darics primarily served the purpose of prestige and played little role in the economy.

The parallels between the medallions of Hammurabi and the silver and gold Archers do add impact to the argument that the Archers can be considered gift items. That both used a standard in which the shekel was ca. 8.40 g is not surprising, given that Darius used the Babylonian standard for his weight system. The use of silver as a valued gift item is an important point, particularly when the pieces of silver have been marked and have been given according to the rank of the recipient.[51]

In a similar vein, Price suggests that the early electrum coinages can be considered as gifts more than coins as we understand them. These early electrum issues may have been used as gift bonuses, with regular remuneration for a service being paid in terms of room and board. The recipient could use the electrum to purchase other items or as a means of storing wealth. In this case, the stamping of the electrum would indicate the issuer rather than acting as a guarantee for circulation purposes (Price 1983: 6–7).

The rarity of the Types I, II, and IIIa Archers limits the use of hoard information in discussions of their intended function.[52] Eight hoards include Type I and/or Type II sigloi: three including both Type I and II sigloi; one with a single Type II siglos; four including Type II and Type III.[53] Of these eight hoards, four also include silver Croeseids (mainly half-staters).[54] Four of the eight hoards are from Asia Minor, two from Syria, one from Egypt, and one from an unknown provenance.[55] A hoard recently studied by Carradice has led him to conclude that the late Croeseid silver half-staters had a larger volume of issues than the early sigloi, based on die linkages (Carradice 1998a: 10). This could also indicate a shift in the primary focus of the first sigloi, if the argument

that the late Croeseids were struck by the Achaemenid kings holds valid.

At the very least, the sigloi hoards indicate that, whatever their original purpose as conceived by Darius, the sigloi were considered a means of storing wealth. The presence of the hoards does not, however, prove they were necessarily issued for military payments or retail exchange.[56] No darics of types II or IIIa have yet been found in hoards.[57] That the later (Type IIIb–IV) darics do circulate more widely, as witnessed by their "international" findspots, may be due to the political circumstances in the Aegean in the fifth and fourth centuries more than to Darius's original intent in producing them.

The Type II Archer used as a seal on a Persepolis Fortification tablet dated to 500 B.C.E. (Root 1988) comes into play again here. Whether this impressed image (fig. 5) was made by a siglos or a daric, the Archer was in the hands of someone involved in the administration of the empire and likely of elite status. The owner of the Archer, Miššabadda, was in charge of moving the tax dues of Udana to Susa (PF 1495: Hallock 1969: 419). Jonathan Kagan (1994: 24 n. 7) reports the use of the same coin by the same person on an unpublished tablet. Deniz Kaptan (2000: 216) has commented that this use of an Archer reveals that a Persian in Parsa would think of the Archer as a type of seal—that is, serving as a mark of identification rather than focusing on its economic use. Was Miššabadda's coin a gift from the king—an item of which he was inordinately proud and which he chose to use instead of his regular seal because of its special cachet? Miššabadda was operating in the heartland of the empire when he used his Archer as a seal. Classical sources recount informative instances of the gifting of darics in international politics of the fifth and fourth centuries (Lewis 1989), thus lending credence to the idea that our Persian tax agent in Persepolis belonged to an inner circle of court members who were also entitled to receive this form of prestige largesse.

Recent studies have taken the larger context of the reign of Darius into consideration for the Archers. Briant emphasizes that sigloi and darics have different origins and different functions: the sigloi were created primarily to finance army operations in Asia Minor; the darics, on the other hand, were intended to show power and prestige in terms of finance (relating to the value of Sardis gold), politics and policy (setting a royal weight standard), and ideology (claiming his status as founder). Darics could be used as royal gifts and in this way could be deliberately redistributed (Briant 1996: 420–21). Although Briant (1996: 959–60) supports this ideological importance of the darics, he still considers them to be money or coins. Vargyas recently has also argued for the separate functions of sigloi and darics. Although he emphasizes the symbolic nature of the sigloi, Vargyas (1999: 258–62) nonetheless places the discussion in the overall context of the monetary reforms of Darius, giving precedence to the military payment function associated with sigloi.[58] In regard to the darics, Vargyas (2000) sees them as primarily issued for the purpose of prestige, playing an almost negligible part in the economics of the empire.

In both studies, although the ideological impact of the darics has been considered, the role of the sigloi has been seen as mainly that of payment for military purposes, either associated with Darius's conquest of Babylon in 522 B.C.E.[59] or his expedition to Thrace in ca. 515–512 (Vargyas 1999).[60] In either case, the main motivation for the issuing of the sigloi is seen as payment for military expenses. The metaphorical use of the term "archers" to characterize the emblem on Achaemenid coinage but thereby also to allude to the actual archers of the Achaemenid military (viz., Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 20) contributes to the armature of this assumption.

If military payments were the primary need, why would Darius not have used the Croeseids, which he is thought to have continued issuing, or bullion? Moreover, Darius's troops, many of whom would have been elite Persians, would likely be accustomed to being "paid" in a portion of the booty gained by the king at the place of victory (if one could speak in terms of payment for a nonstanding military force) or possibly a grant of land. The Achaemenid empire at this stage did not have a professional standing army, so payment in terms of wages was not an issue. Certainly the Persians would not be accustomed to payment in coinage, since coinage was foreign to the Near Eastern currency system.[61]

The impetus for the design of the Archers, both silver and gold, can instead be attributed to their

communicative function. The imagery of the Archers expressed Darius's new vision of empire and king-ship (Root 1989: 45–50); the wealth represented by the Archers expressed the order and stability of Darius's rule. The Archers themselves became the means to deliver this message. To Persian eyes, this would have been akin to blending the impact of a seal with the impact of precious metal (Kaptan 2000: 216).

The Type I siglos imagery fits into Darius's pro-gram of communicating his world vision. The likely earliest expression of this vision is the Bisitun monu-ment, dated to ca. 520–519 B.C.E. The impact of the Type I image would probably be greater in the con-text of knowledge of the Bisitun monument. Darius states that he had the inscription sent throughout the empire (DB §70) (Schmitt 1991: 73–74; Kent 1953: 130, 132). Fragments of a smaller version of the Bisitun relief have been found in Babylon (Seidl 1976; 1999), suggesting that the visual image was distributed along with the text. Thus, throughout the empire, the Persians would have had a larger con-text for the Archer imagery. I suggest, then, that the Type I siglos should not be dated earlier than the Bisitun monument, ca. 520–519 B.C.E. The calmness, order, and prosperity conveyed by the Type I imag-ery offer an official counterpoint to the turmoil of Darius's claiming of the throne. In this larger con-text, the claim of legitimacy would have been part of Darius's larger overall message communicated to the Persian elite (and others) through various visual and textual media. The imagery of the Type I siglos would have been both a subtle and not-so-subtle means of reinforcing Darius's position, communicat-ing that he is the ultimate authority while at the same time coopting the support of the Persian elite. Such a gift item from the king would have been visible, portable, and easily spread through the elite levels of Persian and non-Persian society, perhaps especially in Asia Minor.

The Type II Archer, in gold and silver, focuses Darius's message of consolidation of the empire un-der the protective guidance of the Persian king. As such, the Type II image may indicate a chronologi-cal development in the programmatic expression of Darius's view of kingship and imperial order. The use of both gold and silver likely added a new level

to the status differentiation implied by the gift of Ar-chers. Perhaps the emergence of the gold coinage was especially charged with symbolic significance. Plutarch (*Artaxerxes* 5.1) records that Artaxerxes gave a gift of a golden cup and 1,000 darics to a man who had pleased him. Herodotus (4.166) recounts a story that emphasizes Darius's view of his darics (and presumably sigloi) as specifically charged with royal association and prerogative.

While both sigloi and darics did manifestly hold intrinsic value, their worth was tied to and enhanced by their status as gifts given by the king and symbol-izing his authority and friendship. In this context, the story of Pythius having just under four million darics is interesting. Herodotus reports (7.27–29) that Pythius had about seven thousand darics short of four million. This shortfall was made up by Xerxes, as a gift/reward for Pythius's hosting of Xerxes's army and offering of financial support for the expedition to Greece. The precise accuracy of the figures given by Herodotus may be suspect. Four million darics may simply be his way of saying Pythius was very wealthy (the wealthiest man after the king [7.27]).[62] Whether or not the amount is accurate, we see here an association of darics with an elite Lydian who al-ready had a gift relationship with Darius, since Pythius had once given Darius a golden plane tree and vine (7.27).

CONCLUSION

The silver and gold Archers are recognized as part of Darius's program to express and disseminate his imperial vision. The Type I Archer conveys a mes-sage of world order in religious, military, social, eco-nomic, and political terms, thus linking cosmic and secular aspects of that order. The Type II Archer conveys a more secular image of kingship and con-solidation of the empire. I have here suggested that the primary reason for the conception of the Archers was not to serve an economic function in some part of the empire but to spread Darius's worldview to and through the Persian and non-Persian elite levels of society more directly in the form of tokens of royal esteem. Coinage as a concept was relatively new in

the sixth century, new enough to be adapted to a different purpose. Darius took advantage of a readily available form, in which economic and ideological values were already mingled, and adapted it to his communicative purpose. His concern was to use these small pieces of precious metal to emphasize his view of the world and his role as Great King in that world. Darius could offer gifts of Archers (the gift could vary in amount depending on the status of the recipient) to elite Persians, along with other items of esteem (Gunter and Root 1998). The advantage to gifting the Archers was that they were portable and divisible; the images could be (re)distributed to many others of lower status, thus spreading the message to a further level of audience. That Darius knew the Archers could be used as money is beyond doubt. But the adoption and adaptation of a coin shape does not necessitate that the item was primarily issued to fill an economic role—witness the medallions and tokens issued throughout the history of coinage that were not coins yet were made of precious metals (Grierson 1975: 162–81). The demonstration in the early part of this article that Darius specifically did *not* adopt the practical aspects of the Lydian bimetallic system shows that he had other agendas in mind when he created the early Archers. Darius borrowed the idea, shape, and precious metals of the Croeseids and adapted the design to communicate his imperial vision to a specific audience. Such an innovative means (to Darius's eye) of emphasizing both ideology and reality suited Darius brilliantly in his task of consolidating a vast empire. □

Appendices

Caley 1944, testing 10 darics (cf. Tuplin 1989: 72):
Yielded an average of 98% (min. 96.7%, max. 98.7%) gold.

Tuplin 1989, testing 2 darics dating to the fourth century:
Yielded results of 99.3% and 98.9% gold.

(1) Early report by Caley (Noe 1956: 21–22):
Values of 96.35% silver, 93%, 94%, 88.4%, and 90.1%. Caley also commented that the differences could be related to the date of issue of the sigloi.

(2) Three sigloi from the Asyut hoard (Gale, Gentner, and Wagner 1980: 16–17 [*IGCH* no. 1644]; Thompson, Mørkholm, and Kraay 1973 for the *IGCH* listing):
Range in purity = 96.1% to 97.2% silver.
Since the sigloi from the Asyut hoard are of Types II and IIIa, they fall into the earlier issues at ca. 5.40 g.

(3) Seven sigloi from a Babylonian hoard (*IGCH* no. 1747: Thompson, Mørkholm, and Kraay 1973; Reade 1986: 79–89, with appendix 2 by M. R. Cowell [p. 89]):
Six of these ranged in purity from 96.4% silver to 97.4% silver; the seventh siglos was tested at 98.1% silver. Six of the sigloi are of Type IIIb, and one is Type IV, thus falling into the 5.60 g range. This hoard has been ascribed a deposition date of 390–385 B.C.E., although the sigloi are likely earlier than this as they are reported to be worn.

N.B.: It is apparent from these reports that a change in weight for the sigloi in later Achaemenid times did not mean a change in the percentage of silver.

A. Le Rider (2001: 143–44) reports a few gold fractions:
(1) at least two $^1/_{12}$ pieces displaying the Type II Archer image, with weights of ca. 0.75 g and ca. 0.72 g.
(2) a few $^1/_{54}$ or $^1/_{60}$ pieces, displaying an anomalous emblem—the head of a crowned figure (the king), with weights of ca. 0.155 g. Le Rider comments that the reduction of the royal image in these pieces may simply reflect the necessities of working on the limited surface area. The option of considering these items as $^1/_{60}$ pieces is appealing, since 0.140 g would be a sixtieth of 8.40 g. The $^1/_{12}$ pieces in group (1) here are a bit overweight as well.

B. Hill 1967 [1922]: *Persia* 184, pl. xxvii.22, in the British Museum:
(1) a $^1/_{12}$ gold piece displaying the Type II image, with a weight of ca. 0.68 g.

APPENDIX IIb
ATTESTED SILVER FRACTIONAL
DENOMINATIONS IN THE ARCHER SERIES

A. Naster (1970: 130 n. 9) notes ten possible fractional sigloi:
   (1) possibly one $^1/_6$ (or $^1/_8$) of Type I, weighing ca. 0.78 g
   (Naster is somewhat skeptical about the accuracy of the
   reported description of this piece)
   (2) two $^1/_3$ pieces of Type II, weighing ca. 1.72 g and 1.75 g
   (3) one $^1/_6$ piece of Type II, weighing ca. 0.90 g
   (4) one possible $^1/_4$ of Type II, weighing ca. 1.48 g
   (5) one $^1/_8$ of Type III, weighing ca. 0.71 g
   (6) one possible $^1/_3$ or $^1/_4$ of Type IV (pierced), weighing
   ca. 1.20 g (Naster calls this piece a $^1/_3$)
   (7) one possible $^1/_6$ of Type IV, weighing ca. 0.65 g (this
   may rather be a $^1/_8$)
   (8) one possible $^1/_5$ of Type IV, weighing ca. 1.10 g
   (9) one $^1/_3$ piece of anomalous (untyped) imagery, weigh-
   ing ca. 1.70 g

*N.B.: Naster notes that these ten pieces do not correspond to the
normal fractional units found in Greek coinage. One should re-
member, however, that the Achaemenids were not Greeks, and
their weight system of shekel fractions did encompass fractions
such as $^1/_4$, $^1/_8$, and $^1/_5$.*

B. Three additional fractional silver pieces can be added to
Naster's list:
   (1) one possible $^2/_3$ of Type II, weighing ca. 3.69 g (British
   Museum 1985-4-3-24)
   (2) one possible $^1/_3$ of Type II, weighing ca. 1.58 g (British
   Museum 1927-4-3-72)
   (3) one $^1/_8$ of Type IV, weighing ca. 0.66 g

*N.B.: It is not clear at present whether item (B.3) here is perhaps
the same piece reported by Naster [item (A.7) above].*

APPENDIX III
VARIABLE POSSIBILITIES IN EQUIVALENCE OF ONE DARIC:
THE EARLY ARCHERS
(darics at ca. 8.40 g, sigloi at ca. 5.40 g)

Daric :	Sigloi ::	Gold:silver ratio of exchange
1 =	15	1:9 $^9/_{14}$
1 =	16	1:10 $^4/_{14}$ (or 10 $^2/_7$)
1 =	17	1:10 $^{13}/_{14}$
1 =	18	1:11 $^8/_{14}$ (or 11 $^4/_7$)
1 =	19	1:12 $^3/_{14}$
1 =	20	1:12 $^{12}/_{14}$ (or 12 $^6/_7$)
1 =	21	1:13 $^7/_{14}$ (or 13 $^1/_2$)
1 =	22	1:14 $^2/_{14}$ (or 14 $^1/_7$)
1 =	23	1:14 $^{11}/_{14}$
1 =	24	1:15 $^6/_{14}$ (or 15 $^3/_7$)

APPENDIX IV
VARIABLE POSSIBILITIES IN EQUIVALENCE OF ONE DARIC:
THE LATER DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARCHERS
(darics at ca. 8.40 g, sigloi at ca. 5.60 g)

Daric :	Sigloi ::	Gold:silver
1 =	15	1:10
1 =	16	1:10 $^2/_3$
1 =	17	1:11 $^1/_3$
1 =	18	1:12
1 =	19	1:12 $^2/_3$
1 =	20	1:13 $^1/_3$
1 =	21	1:14
1 =	22	1:14 $^2/_3$
1 =	23	1:15 $^1/_3$
1 =	24	1:16

APPENDIX Va
CALCULATION OF EQUIVALENCES OF DARICS
TO SIGLOI WITH REFERENCE TO
THE BABYLONIAN WEIGHT SYSTEM

3,000 darics =10 (Babylonian) talents of silver. Thus 300 darics
= 1 talent.
   1 talent =60 minas = 3,600 shekels.
      Therefore 300 darics also = 60 minas = 3,600 shekels.
      Therefore, 1 daric = 12 shekels of silver.

1 siglos (at 5.60 g)[63] = $^2/_3$ shekel, 3 sigloi = 2 shekels, and 18
   sigloi = 12 shekels in weight.
      Therefore, 1 daric = 18 sigloi at a ratio of 1:12.
Thus the ratio of gold: silver is 1:12.

APPENDIX Vb
CALCULATION OF EQUIVALENCES OF DARICS
TO SIGLOI WITH REFERENCE TO
THE EUBOIO-ATTIC WEIGHT SYSTEM
(see Kraay 1976: appendix I, 329–30)

3,000 darics =10 (Attic) talents of silver. Thus 300 darics = 1
talent.
   Therefore 5 darics = 1 Attic mina = 100 Attic drachmae
      1 daric = 20 drachmae
      20 drachmae = 120 obols
      7 $^1/_2$ obols = 1 siglos.
         Thus 20 drachmae = 16 sigloi = 1 daric.
      16 sigloi at 5.60 g would equal 89.60 g of silver.
Thus the ratio of gold:silver is 1:10 $^2/_3$.

Notes

1. The proposal that electrum coinage began ca. 630–600 B.C.E. has become more generally accepted over the earlier date of ca. 700–650. For the arguments for the later date, see Karwiese 1995.

2. The conclusions presented here are based in part on work done for my dissertation (Nimchuk 2001: 113–47). The Croeseid evidence will be presented in a forthcoming article on Croeseid coinage. In the present article, many details of numismatic technicality on Croeseids and Archers have been distilled for a wide audience.

3. For gold and silver refining at Sardis, see Ramage and Craddock 2000: esp. chaps. 1, 4, 7, 10, and epilogue.

4. *Editor's note:* Croeseids recently excavated at Sardis under the mid-sixth-century destruction level support the traditional attribution of the initiation of this series by the Lydians—before the Achaemenid conquest (pers. com. E. R. M. Dusinberre, October 2002).

5. For photographs and commentary, see Schmidt 1957: 110, 113–14. See also Root 1988: 3; Kagan 1994: 36–43; Vargyas 2000: 41–42. For Croeseid styles, see Nimchuk 2001: 118–33.

6. For example, Vickers (1985) has argued for the introduction of the Archers after the deposit; Root (1988: 1–12) has convincingly argued for the introduction of the Archers prior to the deposit.

7. A further study of the Apadana foundation deposits, in terms of what is included, what is excluded, and why, would enhance our understanding of this deposit and its significance to Darius as the Achaemenid king. The use of both silver and gold in the deposit is striking; not only are coins included, but the plaques

themselves are made from these same metals. For a recent discussion of the date of the Apadana, see Jacobs 1997.

8. Carradice (1987: 73–93, esp. 92) gives dates of ca. 480s for the start of Type IIIb and ca. 450 for Type IV. Stronach (1989: 261) dates the IIIa and IIIb Archers to the 480s (with the IIIa continuing to the 450s, and the IIIb to the last quarter of the century), and the Type IV Archers from the middle of the century (to ca. 300 B.C.E.). Alram (1993: 45) places the initiation of Type IIIb Archers in the reign of Xerxes and of Type IV in the reign of Artaxerxes I. All three scholars base their opinions on the dating of coin hoards.

9. Both the bimetallic series of the Croeseid coins and that of the Achaemenid Archer coins are included by classicists and numismatists under the umbrella of "Greek" coinages, thus ascribing to Greek culture the development of this type of money system. In fact, of course, neither was formulated under Greek authority. Quite the contrary: Herodotus called Croesus *barbaros*, a foreigner (1.6), and there was never any question but that the Achaemenids were considered *barbaroi* in Greek eyes.

10. Suggestions for a second or alternate mint for the Archers have occasionally been made, particularly in connection with the later issues. See, e.g., Carradice 1987: 84–85.

11. Discussions of the exact weight standards used for the gold and silver Croeseids have been numerous. I am following the weight standards calculated by Naster (1976). The slight difference in the reported weight standard of the silver stater at 10.70 g and the "heavy" gold stater at 10.71 g is likely a product of ancient and modern inaccuracies in the measurement of mass. The "light" gold Croeseid is reported as ca. 8.05–8.06 g. The terminology of the Croeseids in scholarship is unanimously given as "stater," "half-stater," and various fractions of a stater.

12. Evidence from the styles, style distributions, and die links suggests that the gold Croeseids were struck to one weight standard rather than two as is generally thought. In such a case, the "light" gold stater would be a $^3/_4$ stater, based on the full stater of ca. 10.70 g. See Nimchuk 2001: 133–36. I am here following the designations of "heavy" and "light"; the question of the weight standard of the gold Croeseids will be examined in a forthcoming article.

13. See Cowell and Hyne (2000: 170–73 and tables 7.4–7.5), who tested a number of gold and silver Croeseids from the British Museum.

14. The fractional coins are, of course, smaller in size and proportionally thinner.

15. This placement puts the larger punch opposite the lion and the smaller punch opposite the bull.

Surprisingly, given their importance in the sequence of early coinage, a comprehensive stylistic and die-link study of

the Croeseids has not appeared. The two most complete published studies to date are Naster 1965 and Carradice 1987. See also Nimchuk (2001: 113–33) for styles and linkages.

16. For the casting and shaping of blanks for the sigloi, see Noe 1956: 16–19.

17. Caley suggested that the range of purity values seen in his testing might reflect date of issue. This has subsequently been refuted.

18. Like other silver issues of the archaic age, the sigloi have a higher silver content than modern sterling silver, which is minted at 92.5 percent.

19. This is a reasonable range of the gold:silver ratio in the Near East. Manganaro (1974: 58–63), using a somewhat broken text on a silver tablet found under the base of the Artemision at Ephesus, calculates an exchange rate of 1:14 $^1/_2$ for gold:silver. The basis deposit is now generally thought to date to ca. 630–600 B.C.E.—to well before the beginning of the reign of Cyrus II in 550, in any event (Karwiese 1995).

20. The gold:silver ratio for the Croeseids is also calculated by means of exchange with electrum coinage. See Jones (1998: 259–60) for a concise explanation.

21. The Achaemenid shekel of ca. 8.40 g is based on a mina of ca. 504 g, calculated from the stone weights of Darius found in the Persepolis Treasury (Schmidt 1957: 105–7). The Achaemenid weight system is adapted from the Babylonian, in which 60 shekels equals 1 mina, and 60 minas equal 1 talent in weight. For ancient weights and scales, see Powell 1971: 182–85; 1979: 72–74, 79–89. For the Achaemenid weights, see Powell 1987–90: 509, 511. See also Bivar (1983: 624), who has noted that there are problems in dealing with these inscribed weights since most are damaged and lower than the theoretical weights calculated by scholars.

22. Robinson (1958: 189) claimed that the daric was originally struck at the weight of the "light" gold Croeseid stater, using as evidence a single daric at ca. 7.87 g. Robinson's argument does not hold as it is based on a single coin, and one that may have been struck underweight at that.

23. As with the Croeseids, several values exist in the literature for the various Archer weight standards. For simple ease of calculation, I am using the figures given by Schlumberger (1953: 12, 16) of a daric of 8.40 g, a light siglos of 5.40 g and a heavy siglos of 5.60 g. These figures accord well with Powell's (1987–90: 509, 511) calculation of the shekel weight of Darius.

24. 8.40 g × 13 = 109.2 g. So one would need 109.2 g of silver, which would be 20 pieces at 5.46 g or 20 and a fraction at 5.40 g.

25. But see Vargyas (1999: 252–53), who notes that the weights of the early sigloi and darics do not support "the supposed gold/

silver ratio." He does, however, follow Robinson's argument for the initially lower weight of the darics.

26. The topic of the taxation outlined by Herodotus and its relation to the fiscal structure of the empire under Darius has been much discussed. See Briant 1996: chaps. 10–11.

27. These problems have been noted, for example, by Jones (1998: 261).

28. Herodotus uses the generic term χρῆμα, "money," rather than a more specific term, such as νόμισμα, indicating coinage, or στατήρ, indicating a stater weight or coin.

29. Since Xenophon himself was an Athenian, he would have been most familiar with the Attic weight system and might have put Athenian practice into the mouth of Cyrus the Younger. Le Rider (2001: 159–60 and 159 n. 4) observes that O. Viedebantt made this same calculation of darics to the Attic standard in 1917, arguing that Xenophon would have reported in a system familiar to his readers—the Attic system—rather than in the system most familiar to his Persian protagonist. Le Rider himself thinks the system Xenophon refers to is actually a "Persian" system.

30. It is clear from Babylonian textual evidence that the ratio of gold:silver in Babylon varied through time from 1:3 to 1:15, the latter value attributed to the reign of Cambyses (Dubberstein 1939: 23 n. 8; Leemans 1971: 512–13; Sack 1994: 92 no. 7; Zaccagnini 1997: 364). The gold:silver ratio at Athens and in Lydia also fluctuated; the value at Athens ranges from a high of 1:16.66 before 434/3 B.C.E. to a low of 1:11.01 in 402/1 (Lewis 1968), and Lydia was using a ratio of 1:14 $^1/_2$ sometime prior to ca. 550 B.C.E. (Manganaro 1974).

31. Barclay Head, for example, argued that 100 sigloi/drachmae = 1 Persian/Babylonian silver mina of 560 g, and 6,000 sigloi/ drachmae = 1 talent. He then was able to claim that Xenophon's statement referred to sigloi and that 300 darics = 1 talent = 6,000 sigloi, which gives 1 daric = 20 sigloi. And at a ratio of 1:13 $^1/_3$, 1 daric would be equivalent to 112 g of silver, or 20 sigloi at 5.60 g each (Head 1967 [1877]: 29–30). Unfortunately, Head argued on the basis that sigloi and drachmae were interchangeable. This meant that since an Attic mina held 100 drachmae, so too a Babylonian mina would have 100 sigloi, and a Babylonian talent of 60 minae would have 6,000 sigloi, thus leading to the 1:13 $^1/_3$ ratio (Head 1967 [1877]: 4–7; cf. Le Rider 2001: 154–60).

32. Schmidt 1970; Schmidt 1953; and Root 1979 respectively.

33. Textual elements of Neo-Assyrian epigraphs are also present in the Bisitun text; see Nimchuk 2001: 24–38, 182–90.

34. The image of the Persian king, instituted by Darius, quickly became canonical. While there were variations in the stylistic depictions of Darius at Bisitun, Persepolis, and Naqsh-i Rustam, the overall image of the king remained constant. The images of Darius and Xerxes associated with their respective palaces, for

example, are distinguished by their identification texts rather than individualistic portraiture (see Nimchuk 2001: 96–102). That said, the image of the Persian king as formulated by Darius likely had some referential resemblance to Darius himself, even if the image chosen was idealized in some manner. To this extent, the royal image as instituted by Darius can be said to represent a type of portraiture.

35. Note that this claim to legitimacy is prevalent in the Bisitun inscription and imagery: Root 1979: 172–74; Nimchuk 2001: 10–40.

36. Stronach (1989: 270–72) has noted the similarities between the motif of the Archer and the royal hero motif on reliefs at Persepolis. See also Kaptan 2000: 219–20. The opponent of the king or hero is usually a mythical or wild animal representing the forces of chaos. For multiple meanings of the heroic encounter in Near Eastern tradition and in the Achaemenid manifestations, see now Garrison and Root 2001.

37. The royal concern over protection of the empire is evident in Darius's inscriptions, particularly the tomb inscriptions, DNa and b, for which see Kent 1953: 138, 140.

38. For Darius's proclamation of his Persian identity, see, for example, DNa §2 (royal titulary), §3 (lands conquered excepting Persia), §4 (Persian conquest of a large empire) in Kent 1953: 138. See also Nimchuk 2001: 73–85.

39. Vargyas also notes the illogic in the idea that the Persian king would be more concerned with producing an image aimed at Greeks than one aimed at Lydians, the originators of coinage and occupants of the most important western satrapy in the empire.

40. That the main local audience would be Lydians is based on the prevalence of Archer hoards found around Sardis, their presumed minting locale. That a local Lydian would receive gifts from the king is not unlikely (viz., the story of Pythius in Herodotus 7.28).

41. Presumably those of elite status would have been somewhat familiar with various coins of electrum, gold, and silver.

42. This blend of foreign (i.e., Persian) and local elements can be seen in the Susa statue and the Canal Stelae of Darius; see Nimchuk 2001: 41–67; Razmjou, this volume.

43. Powell (1971: 208–12; 1987–90: 508–14) has made a study of the Near Eastern weight systems. See also Bivar 1971: 99; Bongenaar 1999. Fales (1997: 296–97) discusses the situation in the Neo-Assyrian empire, where copper was more commonly used as valuation at the beginning of the empire but was displaced by the use of silver; see also Radner 1999.

44. Reade (1986: 79–89) discusses a hoard found in Babylonia, comprised of silver coins (both whole and fragmentary, i.e., cut) of various types, a silver jar handle, silver jewelry, pieces of silver cut from tableware, silver sheet, a gold earring, and several amulets.

45. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1989: 133–35) has noted the wealth of silver and gold objects used by the Persian elite, as reported by the Greek historians. For the DPh plaques, see Schmidt 1953: 70.

46. Bongenaar (1999: 174) comments that the high value of silver in comparison with other commodities would negate its use as an everyday money in Mesopotamia. The difference in value between gold and silver tends to make us think of silver as an "everyday" currency and gold as a "big ticket item" currency. Bongenaar, however, notes that one shekel of silver would be a month's wages (174).

47. Strabo also notes that the Persian kings only struck in coin what they needed in order to pay expenditures (possibly based on Herodotus 3.96).

48. These "rings" are not finger jewelry per se but rather pieces in the shape of a spiral. See Powell 1978: 211–43. According to Joannès, the texts show a difference between the stated value of a *kaniktum* and the actual weight of the intrinsic metal: a *kaniktum* valued at 1 shekel of silver has an actual weight of $^2/_3$ of a shekel (ca. 5.60 g), a 2-shekel piece weighing in actuality 1 $^2/_3$ shekels (ca. 14.03 g), and a 3-shekel piece weighing 2 $^2/_3$ shekels (ca. 22.45 g) (Joannès 1989: 80–81). Joannès states that the weight of the 3-shekel piece was 2 $^1/_2$ shekels, equivalent to 22.45 g. Given the weight of 22.45 g, 2 $^1/_2$ is a mistake for 2 $^2/_3$.

49. The value of the workmanship for the *kaniktum* would appear to be $^1/_3$ of a shekel, no matter the weight. Perhaps this would be due to the size of the item, larger sizes being easier to work than smaller. The charge for workmanship is odd in a gift item. For precious metal objects at full weight, see Vickers 1990; 1991. Two things should be noted, however: the span in time between Hammurabi and the items considered by Vickers; and the weight or size of the items (the *kaniktum* is small in comparison).

50. Le Rider (2001: 20), however, postulates that the *kaniktum* could have been turned in to the palace in exchange for other commodities.

51. This is not to say that Darius based his sigloi and darics on these tokens of Hammurabi. It is possible that Darius and/or his advisors were aware of these gifts as part of the legacy of knowledge about the past kept alive in various ways in the Near East and subsequently retooled by the Achaemenids (Root 1994). Mechanisms for knowledge transmission were varied and included historical tradition passed down through generations by those of elite status whose ancestors were recipients of such tokens or by those in whose tradition the creation and caring for such items rested (e.g., silversmiths, temple and palace caretakers, priests). The collection from Ur of impressions of seals, coins, and metalware motifs used by an engraver in the fourth century b.c.e. shows one practical means by which visual ideas were kept in circulation for future reference (Legrain 1951: 47–53; Garrison and Root 2001: 39 for further bibliography).

52. For the sigloi hoards, see Carradice 1987: 79; 1998a: 1–2, 18–20.

53. Types I and II sigloi: *IGCH* no. 1166. Types I, II, and III sigloi: *IGCH* no. 1178 (with *Coin Hoards* II.11), and hoard A reported in Carradice 1998a. Type II siglos: *Coin Hoards* I.14. Type II and IIIa sigloi: *IGCH* nos. 1175, 1183, 1644 (with *Coin Hoards* II.17), and *Coin Hoards* VI.4. Note as well that *IGCH* no. 1166 also included a silver pectoral, and 1644 included silver ingots.

54. *IGCH* nos. 1166, 1175, 1178, and hoard A in Carradice 1998a.

55. Asia Minor: *IGCH* nos. 1166, 1175, 1178 (with *Coin Hoards* II.11), 1183. Syria: *Coin Hoards* I.14, VI.4. Egypt: *IGCH* no. 1644 (with *Coin Hoards* II.17). Unprovenanced: hoard A in Carradice 1998a, who comments that the hoard likely came from a spot close to Sardis (9). The larger volumes of sigloi (compared to the total number of silver pieces in the hoards) are found in the Asia Minor hoards.

56. Vargyas (1999: 249) notes that the presence of a high volume of Archers does not necessarily prove they were "used as coins," i.e., counted rather than weighed." The incidence of countermarks or punchmarks on the silver Croeseids and Archers may point to the verification of their purity and weight, highlighting the idea that they were not strictly counted and taken at "face value." For countermarks, see Noe 1956: 19–20, 37–39; Carradice 1998a: 11–12. Kim (2001: 18) points out that silver continued to be weighed after the advent of coinage; see also Osborne 1996: 250–59. Powell (1978: 218–19) has contested the idea that the introduction of coinage in the Aegean caused an immediate cessation of weighing and a total shift to counting as the sole means of assessing value.

57. For the darics, see Carradice 1987: 86–87. The earliest dated daric hoard is the Athos hoard from Macedonia, which has been dated to the reign of Xerxes, for which see Nicolet-Pierre 1992. Le Rider (2001: 142) notes that of the five Type II darics known to him, each was struck with a different obverse die, and only two of the darics may have shared a reverse punch, suggesting that the Type II issue was larger than indicated by the number of surviving darics. Die studies of the sigloi and darics are ongoing, and future research hopefully will clarify the extent of the issues.

58. Vargyas bases his argument in large part on the discussion of the Akkadian phrase *kaspu ginnu*, used as a qualification of silver in Babylonian texts of the Achaemenid period. For a critique of Vargyas's article, see Le Rider 2001: 30–35. The exact meanings of the increasing number of terms used to describe silver in the Achaemenid period is a topic of ongoing discussion; see, e.g., Powell 1978: 222–27; 1996: 230–38; Bongenaar 1999: 172–74.

59. According to the Bisitun text, Gaumata was killed in September 522 B.C.E. (DB §13) (Kent 1953: 120; Briant 1996: 120). The revolt in Babylon was put down in December of 522 (DB §18–20) (Kent 1953: 120, 123; Briant 1996: 127). Scholars date Darius's rule either from 522, when he defeated Gaumata and claimed the Persian throne, or from the end of the revolts in 521.

60. The exact date of the Thracian expedition remains open to debate, but in general terms it can be said to date to ca. 515–512 B.C.E.; see Briant 1996: 420–21; Descat 1989: 27, 29.

61. The Persepolis Fortification tablets and Treasury tablets record the payment of wages and travel supplies in terms of rations (foodstuff), as well as some payment in weighed silver bullion respectively (Hallock 1969; Cameron 1948).

62. In this same way, Herodotus's estimate for the size of Xerxes's army is wildly overstated (7.60, where he claims that the land army was 1,700,000); for a discussion on the overestimate of Xerxes's forces, see Young 1980.

The use of the term "daric staters" here has been argued to be a weight reference rather than a coin reference, for which see Price 1989: 11–12; Le Rider 2001: 154.

63. This calculation uses the weight of the heavier siglos, which would have been current at the time. Note that the weight relationship between the daric and the siglos at 5.40 g is less simple, with the siglos being $^9/_{14}$ of the weight of the daric.

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Assessing the Damage: Notes on the Life and Demise of the Statue of Darius from Susa

ABSTRACT

The Egyptian-made statue of Darius the Great, discovered at Susa (in Khuzistan, southwestern Iran) in 1972, has become justifiably famous and oft-illustrated. Its imposing colossal monumentality, its important multilingual inscriptions, and its rich iconography have been extensively discussed. Many questions remain, however, surrounding its eventual removal from Egypt to Iran, the circumstances of its new placement at the Gate of Darius in Susa, and most importantly the physical evidence attesting to its demise. The biography of this monument once it was moved from the Egyptian satrapal periphery to its new life in one of the royal cities of the Achaemenid imperial center is considered here. Particular emphasis is placed at once on the remarkable degree of preservation it enjoyed (in contrast to the other Achaemenid monuments on the Apadana mound at Susa) and also on the varied forms of massive damage the image sustained. Close analysis of the statue in the National Museum of Iran, Tehran, permits its condition to be interpreted with forensic precision. Results suggest that the statue of Darius was damaged through a combination of causes and motivations ranging from natural forces to multiple forms of violent human intervention. The acts of deliberate damage range across the full spectrum from random individual vandalism to injuries specifically inflicted for political reasons with calculated and informed symbolic efficiency of purpose.

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FIG. 1.
The statue of Darius in situ shortly after discovery.
After CDAFI *4 1974: pl. III.*

FIG. 2.
Front view of the statue of Darius after
conservation and installation in the
National Museum of Iran, Tehran. Photo
by the author, courtesy of the National
Museum of Iran, Tehran.

Remains of a colossal freestanding statue of an Achaemenid Persian king were excavated in 1972 at Susa by the French Archaeological Delegation led by Jean Perrot (fig. 1).[1] The upper third of the statue (including the head) is missing, and no remnants of a crown or other disengaged elements have been discovered. As preserved, the statue shows a standing figure in the Persian court robe and strapless royal Persian shoes. It stands upon a rectangular base measuring 51 cm H × 64 cm W × 1.04 m D. The maximum preserved height of the figure itself is 1.95 m. Thus, with the base included, the maximum preserved height is 2.46 m. In its original

state, the height of the figure alone must have measured about 3 m (or even more depending upon the type of crown worn). Combined with the base, it would have measured a total of about 3.5 m in height. Thus the figure is about 1.5 times life-sized, and its setting atop the base makes it a truly imposing vision (fig. 2).

Carved entirely from a single block of stone, the statue includes a back pillar that emerges from the base and extends all the way up the back of the preserved portion of the figure (fig. 3). This structural feature of the statue is an obvious sign of its connection to Egyptian sculptural tradition. Furthermore, the stance of the figure is Egyptian. Its left leg is pushed forward, with the stone between the two legs left engaged as a solid mass. The left arm is bent, with clenched hand holding the stem of a flower (probably a lotus) pressed against the torso above the waist; the right arm is held rigidly down along the leg, with the fist enclosing the characteristic short Egyptian emblematic staff. On the front and back of the base, flanked by hieroglyphic inscriptions, are carved the fecundity figures of Upper and Lower Egypt, binding together the lotus and papyrus in a symbolic display of unification under the rule of Darius (fig. 4). On each side of the base are carved twelve figures with upraised hands, each personifying a different land of the Achaemenid empire. Each figure kneels atop a fortification ring enclosing the name of the land he represents, evoking an age-old Egyptian formula

FIG. 3.
Side view of the statue of Darius showing the back pillar. Photo by the author, courtesy of the National Museum of Iran, Tehran.

FIG. 4.
Front of the base of the statue showing the binding imagery. Photo by the author, courtesy of the National Museum of Iran, Tehran.

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FIG. 5.
View of the long side of the base of the statue under the king's left side. Photo by the author, courtesy of the National Museum of Iran, Tehran.

FIG. 6.
Front view of the statue showing the variety of inscriptions on the royal robe. Photo by the author, courtesy of the National Museum of Iran, Tehran.

for the representation of enemies under the foot of pharaoh (fig. 5).

Inscriptions on the robe appear in Egyptian hieroglyphs as well as in the three cuneiform-written languages typically used for official Achaemenid texts—Old Persian, Elamite, and Akkadian (fig. 6). The texts refer to a King Darius. A range of combined evidence, including the name of the king's father in the inscription, makes it clear that this statue must be an image of the first Darius (Darius the Great: r. 522–486 B.C.E.), as well as linking the statue to the cult of Atum at Heliopolis (a city at the southern tip of the Nile delta on the west side of the river).[2] Since its preliminary publication in 1972, this extraordinary discovery has been the subject of much discussion and analysis of its inscriptions, its Egyptian origins, the nature of its architectural context at Susa (one of the major royal cities of the Achaemenid empire), and its

elaborate blending of official Achaemenid Persian and Egyptian pharaonic iconography.[3] Yet until now only limited observations have been made on the life history of the statue. In particular, the monument has not been systematically scrutinized in an effort to understand the full nature and historical context of the repeated damage it sustained throughout the ages before its excavation thirty years ago.

In order to pursue this topic, it is first important to review selected evidence of the active life of the statue. Its biography played a key role in determining its fate.

Analyses of the stone of the statue, taken together with historical considerations, indicate that it was almost certainly quarried at Wadi Hammamat in southern Egypt, where work in the reign of Darius I is known to have taken place (Trichet and Poupet 1974, recently reaffirmed in Trichet and Vallat 1990; Perrot

and Ladiray 1997: 74). Furthermore, the trilingual inscription in Old Persian, Elamite, and Akkadian refers to the monument as *"the statue of stone that Darius the King commanded to be made in Egypt* so that those seeing it will know that the Persian Man has taken Egypt" (Vallat 1974: 162–63; emphasis mine).[4] Thus, there are many indications of an Egyptian connection here: the material, the important Egyptian inspiration for key iconographical elements, and the textual validations of both Egyptian production and intended Egyptian cult associations.

Nevertheless, the statue also reveals the strength of Achaemenid Persian patronage combined with additional elements that further reinforce the hybrid aspect of this monument both technically and iconographically. The personifications on the base turn the bound enemies of traditional Egyptian iconography into supporting cooperative agents in a harmonious imperial enterprise.[5] The inclusion of the cuneiform texts (including formulae familiar from other Achaemenid cuneiform inscriptions) is an obvious Persianizing element. Furthermore, the cuneiform inscriptions are placed along the vertical pleats of the court robe. This is a well-documented Achaemenid practice for royal representations and diverges prominently from the standard Egyptian practice of rendering titulary and prayer formulae on the back pillar (Bianchi 1995: 2543), which continued in the Late Period through Achaemenid, Ptolemaic, and Roman times (Bothmer 1960: e.g., pls. 60–61, 64, and 65). On the statue of Darius, the back pillar is, however, left uninscribed. Remnants of red paint have been detected on the statue, although there are no vestiges of guidelines for painted embellishment. The sculptures of Persepolis were painted, often but not always with preliminary sketches applied to guide the detailing (Tilia 1978). In contrast, the use of paint to decorate sculptures in hard stone in Egypt of the Late Period was extremely rare (Bothmer 1960: 27). Interestingly, the Persian court robe and shoes (as well as the Persian bracelet with calf-head finials and the Persian dagger with winged bull decorations) displayed on this figure are important physical manifestations of Achaemenid Persian identity overlaid onto a traditional Egyptian sculptural format. The

FIG. 7.
View of the left hand of Darius showing vestiges of the lower part of the stem of a flower. Photo by the author, courtesy of the National Museum of Iran, Tehran.

figure holds a flower in his left hand. Only a small section of the stem remains above and below the king's fist (fig. 7). This iconography reminds us of representations of the king on reliefs at Persepolis where the royal figure holds a lotus in his left hand in a variety of ceremonial contexts.[6] We do not know what type of crown the king wore. Stronach (1972: 242) has noted a satrapal coin type displaying a figure in Persian court robe and Egyptian crown as providing support for reconstructing a similar combination on the statue of Darius. But it is equally possible in my view that the visual message of the figure of the king on this statue was meant to establish *in Egypt* the Persian aspect of his persona as ruler *of Egypt*. In this case, he might have mandated a Persian royal crown.[7]

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FIG 8.
*Map showing the
transport route of the
statue of Darius from
Heliopolis to Susa.
Courtesy of M. C. Root.*

THE ORIGINAL INTENDED PLACEMENT
OF THE STATUE

As noted, the Egyptian inscriptions refer to Atum of Heliopolis. It is universally agreed that this statue of Darius (or, perhaps, its prototype) must have been made specifically for a temple of Atum at this important Egyptian city and cult center (fig. 8). There are at least two possible explanations for the situation: (1) the statue is an Egyptian-made copy of the original statue meant for Heliopolis (with this copy intended from the start for shipment to Susa); or (2) the statue discovered at Susa is itself the original statue, made in the reign of Darius specifically for the Egyptian temple and only removed from Heliopolis to Susa at some later time either in his reign or later in the Achaemenid period. Both scenarios allow for the rich blending of Egyptian and Achaemenid Persian features presented to us in this statue. But the second scenario is most probable and is generally accepted.[8]

Lending support to this view is the observation that the statue may originally have been intended for placement where the back as well as the front and sides would be visible. This is suggested by the appearance of a duplicate of the binding imagery and hieroglyphic text on the back of the base. Although the carving on the back is rendered without modeling, in contrast to the modeled forms on the front (see *CDAFI* 4 1974: pl. XXX, 1–2), this in itself does not argue against a possible original placement where the back was visible. The codes of Egyptian sculptural practice allowed for varying degrees of completeness and refinement in different parts of the same monument even in areas that were clearly visible (Bianchi 1995: 2543). Thus, the replication of image and text on the back of the base (even in more schematic form) may suggest that the statue was made for a specific place where its positioning rendered it visible at the back (noted early by Stronach 1972: 245). This would argue for the statue having been originally made for a placement other than its final one, where it was set close against the wall of the gate at Susa and totally invisible at the back.

Regardless of this factor, the inclusion of the Egyptian unification imagery on the back of the base emphasizes the originally Egyptian context for the statue's display. This imagery is a hallmark of Egyptian pharaonic sculpture, and its repetition on the back of the statue would have had meaning in Egyptian culture even if the back were not visible. By contrast, it is not typical Achaemenid practice to carve
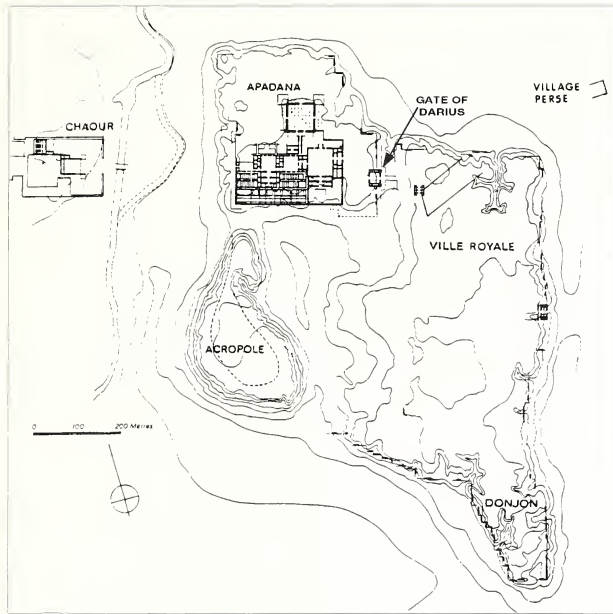
hidden elements of sculptures.[9] It is not likely in my view that a *copy* of the Heliopolis statue made specifically for this placement at Susa would have added the binding imagery on the (invisible) back side.

As we have noted, the inclusion of cuneiform texts and their placement on the pleats of the court robe speak strongly for Achaemenid patronage oversight in the designing of the sculpture. Yet it has been observed that rhetorical features of the Old Persian text diverge from otherwise typical Old Persian texts of Darius and strongly argue for an intended Egyptian audience (Herrenschmidt 1977: 37). Similarly, the exact way the cuneiform texts are oriented along the pleats of the court robe diverges from standard Achaemenid practice. On the statue of Darius the cuneiform signs are placed so that readers must turn their heads sideways to read them (Perrot and Ladiray 1997). These factors further suggest that, although the monument was meant to invoke Achaemenid visions of kingship and identity, it was intended to do this in an Egyptian context—not an Iranian one.

Finally, the geographical correlation of the personifications of the lands of the empire on the sides of the base is not consistent with the orientation they would have had if rendered from the start for the specific cardinal placement we witness at Susa (Perrot and Ladiray 1997: 74–75). This further supports the idea that the Egyptian-made statue of Darius was not created for this location.

THE PLACEMENT OF THE STATUE AT SUSA AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

The statue of Darius was found at the south side of the western door of the monumental entrance gate giving access on the eastern edge to the palatial complex ("palais royal") of the Apadana mound at Susa (fig. 9). The statue faced the royal palaces. This Gate of Darius (the "Porte de Darius," as the publications of the French expedition call it) was an imposing edifice with interior columns that probably measured 12 or 13 m in height. At the eastern door of the gate,
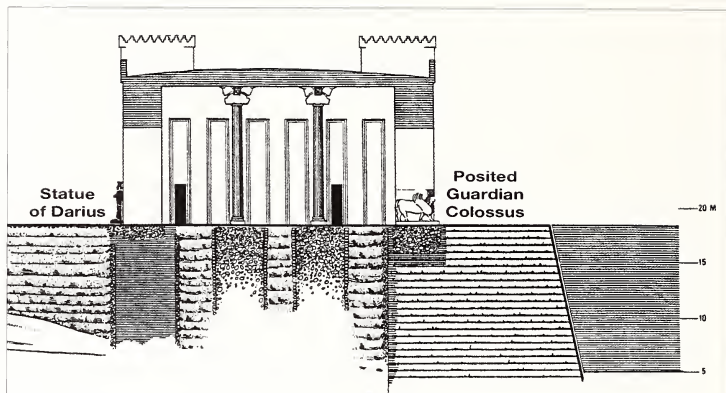
massive stone foundations on either side suggest by their shape, depth, and disposition the likelihood that colossal attached stone sculptures of winged bulls or manbulls originally looked out over the city below the Apadana mound, very much as they do at the Persepolis Gate of All Nations (fig. 10) (Perrot and Ladiray 1974: 49; 1997: diagram on p. 77). It seems, however, that unlike the situation at Persepolis (where attached bull/manbull colossi guard both main axial doors) the gate at Susa was planned from the start to incorporate a pair of freestanding statues at the western door. Judging by the foundations, both these images were always intended to be of fairly contained base measurements rather than repeating the more massive dimensions required for the posited guardian bull colossi at the eastern door (Perrot and Ladiray 1974: 52–53).

Although no remains of the second sculpture (the mate to the statue of Darius we are studying here) have been found in situ, symmetry was a basic law of architectural and spatial design and of the placement of reliefs and entrance sculptures in Achaemenid art. Because no remains of the second statue itself were found in situ, it is impossible to say whether or not it was made in Egypt of Egyptian granite, like its counterpart. It is certainly possible that it was one of a pair of essentially identical statues, both of which originally stood in Heliopolis and both of which were brought eventually to Susa.

But is it possible, instead, that the second statue

was made *in Iran* as a mate for a single one brought from Egypt? A fragment belonging to the head and face (with long royal beard) of a statue about the size of the Egyptian-made Darius statue was found by Mecquenem in Susa. This fragment is now in the Louvre (Scheil 1929: 57 and pl. 13; Mequenem 1938: 324; Root 1979: 110–12 and pl. XXXI, 31a; Luschey 1983: 193; Muscarella 1992: 219–20). It is carved of a dark gray limestone that is in color very similar to the dark gray granite of the Darius statue.[10] Thus it would have been a suitable material for preserving a sense of visual symmetry between the pair. The dark limestone of this face fragment from Susa is a stone available in the Zagros mountains of western Iran, and surely the monument was carved locally (a suggestion favored by Luschey 1983 and Muscarella 1992: 220). Documentation of the excavation of the fragment is vague but suggests a location in the Apadana and thus close to the Gate of Darius (Mecquenem 1947: 47). There are no other identified fragments of a monumental freestanding sculpture from Susa carved out of this dark limestone.

Multiple fragments of colossal statuary from Susa made of a white limestone include one preserving a section of drapery of the Persian court robe that bears a cuneiform inscription naming Darius (Muscarella 1992: 219; Root 1979, 110–16 and pl. XXXIIa; Luschey 1983: 194). Another of these fragments preserves part of a colossal foot with strapped (nonroyal) Persian shoe. This probably

belonged to a statue of a hero grappling with a lion or other powerful creature since the hero figures on the Persepolis reliefs consistently wear the strapped shoes.[11] Given the emphasis on symmetry in Achaemenid art mentioned above, it is doubtful that (1) the dark granite Darius statue would have been paired with a statue of white stone and that (2) a hero statue would have been paired with the very differently posed Egyptian statue of Darius.

Wherever exactly on the Apadana mound the monuments now preserved only in these limestone fragments were originally installed, they are all now reduced to small, isolated remnants of statues found as scattered debris. The two-thirds preserved state of the granite statue of Darius, still standing in situ at the gate when unearthed by the excavators, is strikingly different. The limestone monuments for which the assorted fragments are evidence did not withstand the forces of destruction nearly as well as the granite sculpture did. This fact alone suggests the likelihood that indeed the mate of the statue of Darius was made locally of the relatively friable Zagros limestone rather than made in the Nile valley of the very hard Egyptian granite. The degree of preservation of the statue of Darius from Egypt is directly attributable to its material and also to the special care taken to secure it in place.[12]

The sculpture was attached to its stone foundation blocks by molten lead that was poured between the statue base and the surface of these blocks. The excavators retrieved several kilos of metal here (Perrot and Ladiray 1974: 50). The use of so much lead to fix the statue in place may have been thought necessary because of the perceived instability of such a tall and heavy granite monument resting on a base of relatively small area.[13] This extraordinary precaution may also have been taken because of the special value of the statue as a symbol of Darius's conquest of Egypt brought to Susa from the Nile. Attention to the cult of Atum at Heliopolis was extremely important in the exercise of Egyptian pharaonic legitimacy throughout Egyptian history even into Ptolemaic and Roman times (Shaw and Nicholson 1995: 45–46, 124; Baines and Mālek 1996: 173–74). We know little of Heliopolis archaeologically because of its situation largely under suburban Cairo. Thus we are not in a position to discuss Persian-period indications of the statue's original setting. Nevertheless, the significance of Heliopolis in Egyptian royal observance of Atum is paramount. This factor is crucial for appreciating the profound meaning for Darius of being in a position to commission a sculpture for dedication there as ruling pharaoh from Persia.

DAMAGE TO THE STATUE OF DARIUS: A PREAMBLE

The partially preserved statue of Darius is the only well-preserved element found in situ from the superstructure of the Gate of Darius at Susa.[14] I have already suggested reasons for this remarkable fact. Given the extreme fragmentation of the other statues known from the Apadana mound (combined with the fact that no monumental freestanding representations of Achaemenid royalty have yet been discovered at other sites), the statue of Darius provides a unique opportunity to assess with some breadth of evidence the manner in which one such royal Achaemenid image met its ultimate fate.

In addition to two complete fractures of the statue (to be discussed below), many scratches, hack marks, and chips (both large and small) are visible on the royal image, its back pillar, and its base. They indicate multiple types of damage sustained, and they provide evidence that can be interpreted forensically. It is evident that at some point in time the original sanctity and respect accorded this image (and other similar monuments at Susa) ceased. The statue fell prey to attack by one or more, probably numerous, individuals. It also fell prey to neglect that allowed natural forces to damage it irreparably. First we must assess the nature of the damages. Then we can try to determine when the various types were inflicted, by whom, and under what historical circumstances. In order to do this, it is important to take a broad look at the types of scenarios most usually observed in studies of deliberate damage to sculptural images.

Deliberate vandalism to ancient remains has occurred throughout history. Leaving to one side for the moment the issue of natural damage, we can divide such acts of human-inflicted damage into three categories:

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(1) damage inflicted by common people who are motivated by either practical or casual actions rather than ideology;

(2) damage caused by the violence of invading armies;

(3) damage caused by the specific command of rulers or in response to ideological motivations directly inspired by such authority.

Damage caused by all three categories of behavior has resulted in a vast loss of cultural heritage throughout history. Such actions have allowed and continue to allow ancient sites, monuments, and artifacts to disappear and gradually to be forgotten over time along with the cultural significance they once held. Of course there are interesting exceptions to this generalized negative aspect. Sometimes a defaced or otherwise destructively altered monument is invested (either by the perpetrators of the damage or by others) with a new cultural relevance that replaces the original one but does perpetuate some positive recognition of the monument as important, meaningful, and perhaps even laden with religious sanctity or political prestige. In this article we are, however, concerned with a scenario that cannot be said to have this type of redeeming historical quality.

Common people acting independently rather than as part of a concerted military operation can inflict various types of damage. At Persepolis, the Persian heartland capital of the Achaemenid empire, we have evidence from the beginning of the twelfth century C.E. of common folk using the Persepolis ruins as a source for limestone that was thought to have medicinal properties. Ibn-e Balkhi wrote of Persepolis that it

was made of a white stone like marble and in the whole of Pars there is no stone like it. No one knows the source of this stone; but it is good for curing injuries. Pieces of the stone are taken from Persepolis; and when someone receives an injury, [the stone] is filed down and [the powder] is applied to the injured spot, which will be cured in time. (Ibn-e Balkhi 1363 A.H.: 126, trans. S. Razmjou)

There are many archaeologically documented cases of ancient buildings, sculptures, and other types

of monuments being broken and dismantled to serve practical uses when, for whatever reasons, the original reverence for the thing has diminished or when the desire or need for material is stronger than any hesitancy to damage cultural heritage. Frequently common people have, for instance, removed stone from abandoned sites to use in their own humble constructions—for items such as grinding stones or stone thresholds.

Sometimes common people have inflicted damage upon antiquities with seemingly thoughtless and wanton disregard for the cultural value of the victimized monument and apparently for no particular practical or ideological purpose. A good example of this type of damage is the evidence at Persepolis and Bisotun for the use of Achaemenid relief sculptures for rifle practice. Traces of such shots can be seen on window jamb reliefs in the Hadish (Palace of Xerxes) at Persepolis and on the figure of King Darius I and his prostrate prisoner, Gaumata, carved on the great inscribed rock relief high up on the cliff face at Bisotun (fig. 11).[15] These shots are generally thought to have been made by the Khans or other armed travelers of the last centuries.

Damage inflicted by invading armies is of course a major source of destruction throughout history and one that Iran has suffered repeatedly over time. One example of this type of vandalism is the destruction and looting visited upon the Elamite cities (especially the city of Susa) by Assyrian soldiers in the reign of Assurbanipal (seventh century B.C.E.). The words of Assurbanipal glorifying the work of his army are truly shocking. He describes in detail the destruction of cities and towns in a 600+ km area, including the smashing of cult statues and other sculptures, the razing of the ziggurat at Susa, and the pillaging of the tombs of the Elamite kings. This tabulation includes a sentence that suggests the utter ruination of a civilization:

In a month of days I leveled the whole of Elam, I deprived its fields of the sounds of human voices, the tread of cattle and sheep, the refrain of joyous animals. (Potts 1999: 284–85, quoting Brinkman 1991: 50)

Assurbanipal's proud statements indicate that the damage wrought by his soldiers occurred with his
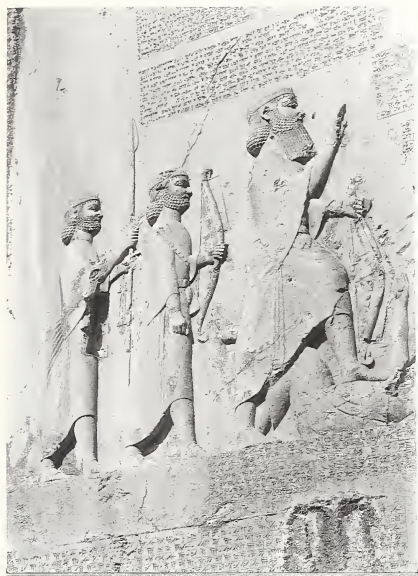
FIG. 11.
Detail of the figure of Darius on the rock relief at Bisotun, displaying damage at the shoulder sustained from a rifle shot. Photo by George Cameron, courtesy of the Cameron Archive, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan.

royal approval. In that sense it might be considered a form of damage caused by rulers (our third category). Yet in physical terms plundering armies who were under orders (as the Assyrian army apparently was) to destroy totally rather than simply to punish symbolically often caused a particular form of damage. It tended to be massive in scale and level of indiscriminate destruction.

Damage caused by rulers is often, as we have noted, closely associated with such massive destruction inflicted by marauding armies acting in the course of warfare. The other type of ruler-initiated destruction involves a more specifically targeted and symbolic type of action. Many examples of this can be seen throughout history. In ancient Egypt, the names of certain pharaohs inscribed on their monu-

ments were erased by the order of later authorities. The name of Queen Hatshepsut was, for instance, erased by the order of Thutmosis III from her images; the names of Akhenaton, Tut-ankh-Amun, and Ay were erased from their monuments by the order of Horemheb (Clayton 1997: 108 and 138). The erasure of the royal name was, in symbolic terms, a destruction of the life force and identity of the image.

Other types of symbolic destruction include systematic damage to key features of a figure, such as the eyes, again to disempower the image. We see such damage to images of the king on the original central panels of the Apadana at Persepolis, which had already been removed to a new indoor location in a ceremonial courtyard of the Treasury (Schmidt 1953: pls. 121–22). A great deal of looting took place in the Treasury during the storming of Persepolis by the soldiers of Alexander of Macedon in 330 B.C.E. (Schmidt 1957). And it is likely that the eyes of the royal images were hacked as a symbolic statement relating to the taking of the City of the Persians in that siege. Certain other damage to reliefs at Persepolis, specifically involving a combination of faces, hands, and feet of figures, is more likely instead to have occurred at the time of the Arab invasions. That particular pattern of destruction conforms to specific radical religious beliefs that would have been held by the invaders in this historical circumstance. Similarly, archaeological evidence of the locations where such damage was sustained suggests a much later period. To be sure, a close analytical study of all the indications of damage on the Persepolis sculptural remains has not yet been undertaken and would be a welcome contribution to knowledge.[16]

Another type of damage inflicted on antiquities at the command of rulers occurs when the motivation is not political/religious zeal or retaliation but rather stems from a practical desire to make use of a site for a new monument even when this may mean encroaching on a more ancient preexisting monument. We can see this type of situation clearly on several rock reliefs of Iran. The Sasanian king Bahram II (r. 276–293 C.E.) seems to have been responsible for erasing most of an early Neo-Elamite rock relief in order to take advantage of a prime section of cliff face for his own memorializing relief at Naqsh-i Rustam near Persepolis (Schmidt 1970: pls. 86–88; Ghirshman

1962: 170). Another example is a "donation inscription" of Sheikh Ali Khan Zanganeh, of the Qajar period (eighteenth–twentieth centuries C.E.), which was added to the cliff face at Bisotun, seriously damaging a Parthian relief carved there (Ghirshman 1962: 52 and pl. 64).

DAMAGE TO THE STATUE OF DARIUS:
AN INTERPRETIVE INVENTORY

The types of damage inflicted on the statue of Darius relate closely to several of the scenarios discussed above. As noted earlier, no part of the upper third of the statue has yet been found at Susa. Thus one might surmise that it had been attacked in Egypt (perhaps by Egyptian rebels during the uprisings in the reign of Xerxes, r. 486–465). This scenario would suggest that once the Persians had reasserted control in Egypt (still in the reign of Xerxes), the radically damaged statue was brought to the palatial area of the Apadana mound at Susa. This idea is, however, not acceptable. Rebels in a situation of this sort would be likely much more thoroughly to destroy a statue such as this, which casts the ruler of an occupying foreign power in the guise of a traditional religiously infused iconography of kingship. Furthermore, it seems implausible that the Achaemenids would take a royal image (with its upper third missing) all the way to Susa, exposing the disrespect it endured in Egypt to a heartland audience including the royal family, governmental officials, and visiting delegates of other lands. Such a severely damaged monument might be brought to Iran after desecration in Egypt to be included in a treasury collection of revered historical monuments.[17] But it is not conceivable that it would be set up in this condition as a gateway image.

The statue must have been brought (with great labor) by ship to Iran still in its complete state (fig. 8).[18] In my opinion, this transfer would have taken place not too long after its creation and installation at Heliopolis.[19] Its removal to Susa seems to have taken place while Egypt was still in Achaemenid hands (before the revolts under Xerxes, when the statue surely would have been subject to destruction by local rebels). The Gate of Darius at Susa was largely constructed under Darius, although not completed until the reign of Xerxes (Perrot and Ladiray 1974: 51–52). As we have already noted, it was planned from the beginning to receive two statues at the western door supported by foundations conforming to the physical support requirements of the Egyptian-made statue. The damage sustained by the sculpture needs to be assessed in the context of this historical situation.

Deliberate damage to the statue by human hands seems to have been caused by three distinct types of violence, perhaps representing three different episodes. These episodes correspond to the categories of human-inflicted damage that have already been outlined. In addition, other aspects of damage were caused by natural forces. Below, I discuss the damage in a postulated chronological sequence.

(1) Human Interventions. Many indications of deliberate human-inflicted damage have been obvious since the initial discovery of the monument. They deserve systematic interpretation, especially because the classical authors tell us that Alexander of Macedon simply walked into Susa unopposed in 331 B.C.E. Unlike the situation at Persepolis, these sources say nothing about violent sacking and destruction. Rather, they suggest a totally peaceful acceptance of the inevitability of Macedonian takeover. The archaeological record tells a different story; the statue of Darius is part of that story.

Multiple deep hacking marks, made by sharp tools including one with a small branched tip, can be seen behind the left arm in a vertical line extending down the preserved length of the sleeve (figs. 12–13; additional images at *CDAFI* 4 1974: pl. XXIV). This same type of tool was also used on the opposite side of the statue, this time along the edge of the sleeve at the right wrist of the royal figure (fig. 14; additional images at *CDAFI* 4 1974: pl. XXVI, 1). The attempt to chop off the king's right hand at the wrist (where the hacking occurs along the sleeve) failed to achieve this result. Nevertheless, the right hand was partially destroyed at the front edge in a separate effort (figs. 15-16). Destruction of the right hand is a symbolic act of vandalism. And it is particularly interesting that this destruction here removes from the right hand the short Egyptian emblematic staff that originally protruded from the clenched fist at the front (as well

FIG. 12.
Hack marks on the statue of Darius in a vertical line behind the left arm along the sleeve, made by sharp tools including one with a small branched tip. Photo by the author, courtesy of the National Museum of Iran, Tehran.

FIG. 13.
Detail showing hack marks on the statue along the edge of the left sleeve. Photo by the author, courtesy of the National Museum of Iran, Tehran.

FIG. 14.
Detail of the statue showing hack marks on the right sleeve at the wrist. Photo by the author, courtesy of the National Museum of Iran, Tehran.

FIG. 15.
Detail of the right hand of the statue showing destruction of the front section of the fist. Photo by the author, courtesy of the National Museum of Iran, Tehran.

FIG. 16.
Detail of hack marks on the right hand of the statue. Photo by the author, courtesy of the National Museum of Iran, Tehran.

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as the back). The back end of the staff is still intact (fig. 14).

Other similar traces of hacking, this time with a sharp-headed tool, can be found on the dagger that is held in place by the king's belt at the midsection of the statue (fig. 17). Interestingly, no hacking marks of the particular type we have been discussing are found on the inscriptions. This reinforces the view that the main purpose of the hacking damage was the physical dismantling of the statue. The apparently symbolically motivated attack on the right hand was secondary.

On the rear of the statue's body and base there are almost no traces of the hacking marks or abrasions that are apparent on many areas of the front of the image. This can be explained by the fact that the statue was still in its original position, on its stone foundation blocks, backed up against the wall of the Gate of Darius, when the damage to the front was inflicted. By contrast, both edges of the back pillar that supports the image from behind exhibit evidence of massive gashes produced by blows from the sides while the statue was in place against the wall of the gate (figs. 3, 12, 14). These blows were inflicted in a sustained and systematic manner. We must postulate that the attackers understood two competing practical factors: (1) that the weakening of the back pillar would be key to their ability to topple or dismantle the monument; but (2) that due to the superior quality of the stone and the protected siting of the back pillar, it would be very difficult to get at it. Although they did inflict damage to the edges of the pillar, it was superficial in the sense that it did not pose a structural threat to the monument. These attackers did not achieve their ultimate goal of radically breaking the statue. The great hardness of the granite (combined with the difficult angle of attack caused by the positioning against the wall of the gate) defeated them.

(2) Damage by Individuals Committing Random Acts of Violence. Another type of damage to the statue seems to have been produced by individuals for the purpose of releasing hostile energy by performing random destructive acts upon it. The upper part of the statue still preserved for analysis reveals much evidence of being struck at the stomach, the arms,

and the left hand, which lies along the torso. Some of the actions upon these areas resulted in distinctive deep linear scratches that end in a small chip (figs. 18–20). Others resulted in chips at discrete single points. These types of damage are very familiar to experienced archers. Based upon my own experiments shooting arrows at hard stone surfaces, I have determined that these marks on the statue must have been caused by shooting arrows at the statue. The scratches ending in a peak or small point were produced by arrows shot at a slightly oblique angle. The single discrete chips were caused by arrows shot at the statue straight on. At some time before the midsection of the image became buried under accumulating debris, the statue of Darius was used for target practice by men armed with bows and arrows.

Other traces of scattered damage indicate use of a weapon larger and stronger than an arrow. These various types of damage suggest infliction by light spears thrown forcefully from a distance as well as by an instrument with a blade, such as a sword. The latter type of damage is especially visible on the left hand (fig. 21) and stomach. Undoubtedly the perpetrators of all these forms of target practice were aware that their activities would not cause serious damage to the statue. Rather, their intention was casual amusement in the enactment of audacious behavior, displaying public irreverence toward the memory of the glory of the Persian kings. Such activities must have taken place in conjunction with the occupation of the city by the Macedonians. The number and density of injuries from this hostile target practice increase toward the upper part of the preserved section of the statue. No doubt the action culminated at the face and head.

(3) Symbolic Damage Meant to Erase Identity. We also see evidence on the statue of Darius of damage intentionally inflicted as a symbolic act to erase the statue's meaning and identity. Along the pleats of the royal robe covering the forward (left) leg a long inscription in Egyptian hieroglyphs runs from top to bottom. This entire text is in pristine condition except for the exact place at which the royal name and titulary of Darius are written within a traditional Egyptian royal cartouche. At this spot a round, sharp-headed tool was used to render a series of violent blows that left
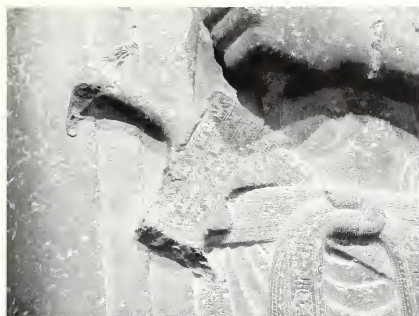
FIG. 17.
Detail of the statue showing the dagger and stomach area. Photo by the author, courtesy of the National Museum of Iran, Tehran.

FIG. 18.
Detail of the statue showing deep scratches ending in chips. Photo by the author, courtesy of the National Museum of Iran, Tehran.

FIG. 20.
Detail of deep scratches ending in chips on the left sleeve of the statue. Photo by the author, courtesy of the National Museum of Iran, Tehran.
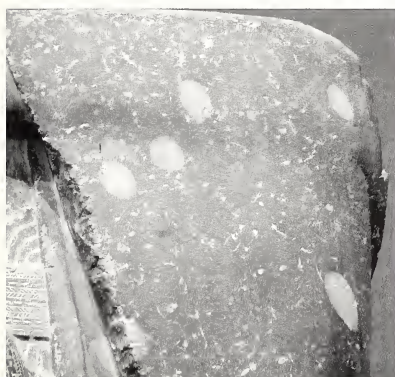
FIG. 19.
Detail of the left sleeve of the statue showing deep scratches ending in chips. Photo by the author, courtesy of the National Museum of Iran, Tehran.

FIG. 21.
Detail of the left hand of the statue showing damage by a bladed instrument such as a sword. Photo by the author, courtesy of the National Museum of Iran, Tehran.

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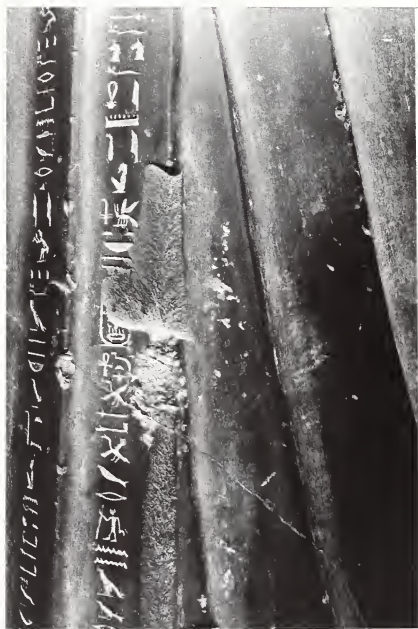
FIG. 23 (ABOVE).
Detail of the statue showing the cartouches on the belt ties of the royal robe. Photo by the author, courtesy of the National Museum of Iran, Tehran.

FIG. 22 (LEFT).
Radical damage to the cartouche on the pleat of the royal robe of the statue. Photo by the author, courtesy of the National Museum of Iran, Tehran.

numerous distinctive marks (fig. 22). Despite the hardness of the stone, these blows damaged the cartouche, part of the royal title framed by it, and the royal epithet, "living forever." Only the last character of the name of Darius, representing "sh," remains preserved within the lower part of the cartouche. Some blows missed the cartouche completely and instead struck the folds of the royal robe to either side. There are three more cartouches enclosing the royal name of the king on the statue (figs. 4 [inscription on the upper surface of the base], 23). These have sustained only a few strikes. Yet it is significant that these royal cartouches (both the radically damaged one and the three slightly damaged ones) are the only areas on the entire extensive sequence of hieroglyphic texts on the statue and its base that have received any *human-inflicted* damage. Most of these strikes were clearly delivered from right to left at a consistent 45-degree angle. This observation about consistency suggests that one right-handed individual was responsible for the physical blows producing this particular damage.

The person who struck at the cartouches in this symbolic manner either knew something about Egyptian hieroglyphic forms and formulae himself or was under the orders of an individual who knew the significance of the cartouche format as an indicator of royal identification. The personage giving the orders would not need to have been functionally literate in the Egyptian hieroglyphic script. He would simply have needed to be able to identify the cartouche forms for the individual charged with inflicting the blows. It is most likely that immediately after the taking of Susa a Macedonian in Alexander's army performed this hostile but essentially symbolic act. The entourage and army of Alexander initially came to Susa on their eastward military push in 331 after having spent significant time in Egypt. The classical sources recount Alexander's Egyptian sojourn in some detail, mentioning the construction and dedication of monuments to Alexander in pharaonic mode at the Temple of Amun (e.g., Diodorus 17.49–52). These testimonia of extensive building activity immediately on the heels of the

occupation are verified by archaeological remains that demonstrate Egyptian imagery put to the service of Alexander (e.g., Clayton 1997: 207–8; Mysliwiec 2000). Representational programs for Alexander included the ubiquitous creation of traditional Egyptian cartouches embracing the name and titulary of the Macedonian conqueror; these parallel in format and significance those that had been created about 175 years earlier for the *Persian* conqueror of Egypt: Darius I. This experience alone with the workings of Egyptian pharaonic iconography (including the symbolic concept of the cartouche) made the Macedonian conqueror capable of discerning the political statement made by the selective defacement of one or more of the cartouches included within the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the statue of Darius at Susa. Perhaps a humble Macedonian soldier would not have understood these things despite having come to Iran from the Egyptian campaign. But a well-placed advisor in Alexander's camp would indeed have been in a position to encourage such a purposeful and informed act of symbolic vandalism in the name of a leader who claimed for himself the legacies of the Achaemenid empire.

SUMMARY OF THE SEQUENCE OF HUMAN-INFLICTED DAMAGE

The damage inflicted by target practice with a bow and arrow represents a form of symbolic vandalism to the statue that is different from but related to the type of symbolic assault on the cartouches. In both cases, the purpose was in some sense to insult the royal image rather than to dismember and dismantle it. An examination of the edge of the statue at the waist-level fracture suggests that the marks produced by target-practice vandalism in this area were made before the statue was fractured at this place. The marks appear to be continuations of scarring that resulted from blows that struck along the now-lost upper section and followed through seamlessly along the section preserved at the edge of the fracture. These marks increase in number as they get closer to the upper edge. This evidence indicates that the statue was there in its entirety during the Macedonian siege of Susa. Initially the monument was subjected to the two forms of symbolic vandalism we have just

discussed. It was only later attacks that aimed specifically to dismantle the image. If the statue had already been broken into pieces, it would not have been an enticing target for this type of vandalism. For sharpshooters, it would have been less appealing because it would have lacked the primary psychological focal areas of chest and (especially) head. For the individual who specifically struck at the cartouches of Darius, the absence of the upper section would similarly have made the statue a much less compelling focus of symbolic blows against titulary identifiers.

Considering what we have observed so far, we postulate that the varieties of human-inflicted damage to the statue were perpetrated by Macedonians in a range of scenarios soon after the arrival of Alexander at Susa with his forces. Episodes of wanton casual violence against the image in the guise of target practice by bow and arrow, spear, and sword seem to have occurred while the statue was still whole. Similarly, the symbolic damage to the cartouches is likely to have occurred before the upper part of the statue was broken off. Initial attempts by the invading forces to topple and dismantle the statue were unsuccessful. By contrast, the invaders did succeed in the total destruction of the other sculptural elements of the Gate of Darius.

The reconstruction offered here identifies the Macedonian invaders of Iran as the probable perpetrators of the multiple forms of intentional human-inflicted damage seen on the statue. This opinion differs from what others have suggested in the past (notably Boucharlat 1990). Based on the classical historians of Alexander, there is (as already noted) a generally held belief that no significant destruction occurred when the Macedonians took Susa. Diodorus (17.65.3), for instance, describes a totally peaceful takeover:

> From there he [Alexander] entered Susianê without opposition and took over the fabulous palace of the kings. The satrap Abuleutes surrendered the city to him voluntarily, and some have written that he did this in compliance with orders given by Dareius to his trusted officials. The king of Persia hoped by this policy, it is suggested, that Alexander would be kept busy with dazzling distractions and the acquisition of brilliant cities

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and huge treasures, while he, Dareius, won time by his flight to prepare for renewed warfare. (Welles 1963: 305)

The condition of the remains of Achaemenid Susa suggests a very different scenario. It is difficult to reconcile the classical testimonia with the archaeological evidence of violent and widespread destruction. It has often been pointed out that for such an important royal city of the empire, the remains of Achaemenid Susa are meager, especially by comparison with Persepolis, where ruins of the palatial compound on the citadel platform (the Takht) are relatively intact. Yet, for Persepolis, Diodorus and others recount the Macedonians' utter looting and destruction—first of the palaces and other installations in the plain and ultimately of the citadel with its ceremonial buildings and its Treasury. This is not the place to explore problems of the classical sources as evidence. For the purposes of this presentation, it is simply important to note that we cannot take these narratives totally at face value concerning the fate of the various royal cities of the empire. We must work with the archaeology as a primary evidentiary resource. The archaeology of Susa urges that we acknowledge massive destruction at the Gate of Darius and elsewhere on the Apadana mound.[20] If Diodorus's description of the ravaging of Persepolis (17.70–71) had instead been applied to the Apadana mound at Susa, we would not confront such a difficult conflict between literary and archaeological evidence. His words about the fate of Persepolis actually capture the archaeological feel of the remnants of Achaemenid Susa and the scenario of rampant destruction inflicted on the statue of Darius after all the limestone sculptures had been smashed to small pieces. Of Persepolis, Diodorus says in part:

Alexander described it to the Macedonians as the most hateful of the cities of Asia, and gave it over to his soldiers to plunder, all but the palaces [on the Takht]. It was the richest city under the sun and the private houses had been furnished with every sort of wealth over the years. The Macedonians raced into it slaughtering all the men whom they met and plundering the residences. . . .

The enormous palaces fell victim to insult and utter destruction.

The Macedonians gave themselves up to this orgy of plunder for a whole day and still could not satisfy their boundless greed for more. Such was their lust for loot withal that they fought with each other and killed many of their fellows who had appropriated a greater portion of it. The richest of the finds some cut through with their swords so that each might have his own part. Some cut off the hands of those who were grasping at disputed property being driven mad by their passions. . . .

As Persepolis had exceeded all other cities in prosperity, so in the same measure it now exceeds all others in misery. (Welles 1963: 319, 320)

Plutarch (*Alexander* 37.2) adds an interesting scene in his description of the sacking of Persepolis:

Among other things, he [Alexander] happened to observe a large statue of Xerxes thrown carelessly to the ground in the confusion made by the multitude of soldiers pressing into the palace. He stood still, and accosting it as if it had been alive, "Shall we," said he, "neglectfully pass you by, now that you are prostrate on the ground, because you once invaded Greece, or shall we erect you again in consideration of the greatness of your mind and other virtues?" But at last, after he had paused some time and silently considered with himself, he went on without taking any further notice of it. (Clough 1964: 218)

Whether or not this episode actually happened is relatively unimportant. The passage is significant not because it tells a literally true story but rather because it reveals a sense of how the story of the desecration of Achaemenid royal statuary was used by a classical writer. It describes a *type* of event (Alexander's encounter with a vandalized statue of a Persian king). In that context, it portrays a believable idea about Alexander's ethos as a conqueror toward images of the Persian kings. That ethos matches what is reflected in the state of the statue of Darius at Susa. Scorn and animosity created an environment that sanctioned extreme violence.

THE FRACTURING OF THE STATUE: DAMAGE BY MAN OR NATURE?

In my opinion the statue of Darius remained complete (including the upper third that is now missing) during the process of vandalism and politically motivated damage that most plausibly occurred during and immediately after the Macedonian takeover. What, then, caused the sculpture to break apart? When and why did this occur?

By the time of its discovery in 1972, the statue had suffered two complete breaks as well as several minor cracks running in the same direction as the complete breaks. One of the complete breaks severs the image below the knees. The other separates the upper third of the image just above waist level. An examination of the breaks shows that the statue was fractured along two parallel, diagonal lines. In both cases, as seen from a profile view, the direction of breakage ran from the bottom back to the top front (*CDAFI* 4 1974: pls. II, 1 and IV, 2). This characterization corrects the initial published descriptions (e.g., Kervran 1972: 239). This type of break could only occur when the statue received massive blows or other intense pressure that could force two such clean and parallel fracture lines on a granite monument. In theory, human agents could have inflicted this damage with a massive apparatus such as a battering ram. But there are simply no traces of the use of such an implement on the surface of the statue.

Other indications also speak against the notion that a battering ram caused the monument to break apart. The statue could not have been rammed with a mechanical device from the back because it remained in situ against the wall of the gate. It could not have been hit from the sides because, if it had been, it would have fallen to one side or the other. Instead, the bottom two-thirds of the statue remained upright despite the slight displacement of the lowest section. Ramming from the front is not indicated because such an action would have simply pressed the statue up against the gate, preventing any serious damage. (In addition, the lack of corroborating surface damage of the relevant type speaks against a frontal assault with a battering ram.)

If the statue was not battered by the massive force of a mechanical ramming device, then how was it broken? There are two possible scenarios.

Scenario 1: Early Interpretations. Upon discovery in 1972, the statue was positioned at a slight incline toward the back. The excavators initially proposed that the two breaks occurred at different times. The upper break, it was thought, was produced first, while the statue remained exposed (not yet covered by accumulating earth and debris). This damage was thought to have been produced by a blow at chest level. It is implied that the upper third of the statue has totally disappeared because it was carried away (or smashed into irretrievable small bits?) by its attackers after having been broken from the rest of the monument. The lower break was considered to have occurred much later. Earth and debris gradually accumulated around the statue of Darius and new constructions were built up around it. By sometime in the Sasanian period it had become completely buried. Then, somewhat later, construction activity accidentally revealed part of the statue. Sometime before that, when the monument had been clear at the front all the way to the foundations, it had been tilted back to see whether any treasure was buried under its stone foundation blocks (or perhaps in order to mine the lead that joined the base to the foundation blocks).[21] Early interpretations suggested that the lower break to the statue was related to this shifting of its position.

Scenario 1: Critique. I have already refuted the likelihood that the uppermost part of the statue was broken off by human agents using a battering ram–type device. The idea that the statue was tilted back using a lever of some kind in a search for valuables is, however, credible. The position of the statue at the time of its excavation lends support to such a theory (figs. 1, 24).[22] We can posit that the damage to the front edge of its base occurred when a lever and other implements were used to force the monument upward at the front edge (fig. 25).[23] Recent publications have suggested that when the statue was tilted up and back, soil and debris created pressure that broke it *in both places* at once. This is a revision of the initial interpretation that the upper break was caused by human attack and only the lower break was caused by natural forces.[24]

FIG. 25 (ABOVE).
Damage to the upper edge of the base of the statue caused by attempts to dislodge it. Photo by the author, courtesy of the National Museum of Iran, Tehran.

FIG. 24 (LEFT).
Frontal view of the statue of Darius at the time of its discovery, showing how it had tilted to its right under the stress of vandalism and falling debris. Photo courtesy of Mr. Abbas Etemad.

Scenario 2: A Synthesis of New Observations. A slightly different theory emerges from my analytical survey of the direction of the two parallel fractures that sliced the statue into three parts. First, it is taken as a given that the statue was indeed tilted back by human agents using a lever (as described in scenario 1 above). This activity, I suggest, occurred while the statue was still intact (having suffered the various mutilations described earlier but not having actually succumbed to the attempts to break it apart). The statue would have had to be pushed forward a bit in order to effect this tilting, which could explain some of the traces of damage to the sides of the back pillar.

My analysis indicates that after the statue was tilted back, great pressure was exerted on it by natural forces simultaneously from the top and the back. Both the direction of action of the breaks and the type of fracturing produced support this idea. When the break below the knees occurred, the entire upper part of the statue (still intact, including the now-missing upper third) slipped slightly back and downward because of the inclined angle of the statue caused by the deliberate tilting with a lever. The backward tilt

and the slippage of the upper part of the statue is clear from the excavation photographs and drawings.

Since the statue was close to the wall of the gate and then was pressed up against it through the powerful force of the leverage that tilted it backward, it is likely that the wall at the back created significant pressure on the monument, now in this precarious, unstable situation. Perhaps later, when the gate began to fall into total ruin, its collapsing superstructure contributed enough additional and countervailing pressure from the top to break the statue clear through along the two parallel diagonal fracture lines. The gate had very thick, high brick walls, and its roof was supported by towering stone columns 12 or 13 m in height. It was a structure capable of generating a huge amount of debris. The pressure from this debris would have exacerbated the countervailing pressure already being exerted on the statue from the back by the lower wall of the gate.

To test this idea, I made a small plaster model of the statue and submitted it to simultaneous sustained pressure from the top and from the back. The model broke into three parts along the same trajectory of
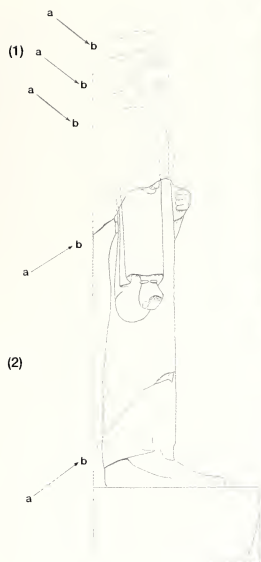
FIG. 27 (ABOVE).
Crushed area at the front of the right shoulder of the statue. Photo by the author, courtesy of the National Museum of Iran, Tehran.

FIG. 26 (LEFT).
Reconstruction drawing of the statue of Darius (suggesting the lost upper third) showing forces exerted in trajectories from a to b by (1) fallen debris and (2) pressure from leverage up and against the wall of the gate. Rendering by the author.

movement as I have proposed for the statue of Darius: two parallel diagonal fractures occurring from bottom back to top front (fig. 26).

The angle of the fractures and the support of the strong wall and debris behind the statue kept the two lower sections in place (with only minor shifting) from the time of the breaks until 1972. The wall (working against the angle at which the levering up of the statue left it vulnerable) exerted part of the pressure that ultimately caused its fracturing. At the same time, however, it helped protect the monument from any further damage in its final broken state.

The fate of the uppermost section of the statue remains as much a mystery in scenario 2 as it does in scenario 1. The upper third of the original statue was clearly removed at some point after the fracturing by natural causes. It is difficult to establish the cause of the crushed area at the right shoulder just at the edge of the upper break (fig. 27). It may have been the result of rough handling when the upper third was removed from the rest of the statue. The upper part must have been taken to another location to be reused as raw material. Otherwise some

evidence of it would have been found during excavations and subsequent search operations on the Apadana mound (Perrot and Ladiray 1997: 75–76). It is only remotely possible that such fine stone would have been thrown into the river rather than reused somewhere. The missing fragment, which must weigh about two tons, may have remained for a while at some corner of the site but was clearly later removed from that location.

SUMMARY

The inferences made above about how the breaks in the statue occurred are interesting additions to the history of its demise. But the most important element is the affirmation that the actual fracturing of the statue was not caused by deliberate human intention to destroy it. The massive radical damage (the complete severing of the statue along two parallel diagonal breakage points) was caused by the natural effects of extraordinary pressure. This fracturing was unintentionally aided by the great effort of levering the statue

up at the front and tipping it back to search beneath it. At that time, the upper part of the statue must have been carried off (probably for reuse as construction material). This final chapter in the story took place long after any memory of the political meaning of the Egyptianizing image of an ancient king would have remained alive. By contrast, the intentional efforts to deface and defile the monument occurred several centuries earlier. Bearing witness to devastation inflicted at Susa in 331 and thereafter, these efforts tell a very different story of the nature of Alexander's encounters there than that offered by the classical sources. This revision to the history accords with new evidence emerging from the field at Susa and from ongoing studies of additional artifacts retrieved earlier. □

Notes

The present paper is a significantly updated and expanded version of an article in Persian (Razmjou 2001). I rendered the translation into English with the editorial collaboration of Margaret Cool Root. From there, much expanded argumentation and documentation proceeded. I am grateful to Professor Root for stimulating collegial dialogue and feedback on issues of substance as well as on editorial matters. The opinions expressed are entirely my own, and I assume full responsibility for any errors. The original article in Persian upon which the present work builds was based on research undertaken for my lecture entitled "The Statue of Darius: Historical Background, Inscriptions, and Conclusions," delivered in February 1999 at the National Museum of Iran, as well as a presentation specifically on the destruction of the statue presented to the seminar on "French Archaeological Research in Iran," held at the museum in conjunction with an exhibition in October 2001.

1. The statue is now in the National Museum of Iran, Tehran: inventory number 4112.

2. The preliminary publications of the monument are Kervran 1972; Stronach 1972; Vallat 1972; and Yoyotte 1972.

3. A group of studies offering more in-depth analysis than the 1972 collection appears in *Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran* (*CDAFI*) 4 (1974). On the archaeology, Perrot and Ladiray. On the texts, Vallat; Yoyotte. On the identification of the stone, Trichet and Poupet. On selected descriptive and iconographical features of the statue, Stronach; Roaf. Since then, the date within the reign of Darius I and the

formal features of the statue have been discussed further, and its iconographical program has been contextualized in terms of its complex relation to ideological constructs of the Achaemenid empire (Root 1979: 68–72, 131–61). See now also Calmeyer 1991: 285–303; Luschey 1983: 191–206; Muscarella 1992: 219–21.

4. Part of this text (known as DSab) is rendered in English and placed in the context of Darius's other inscriptions from Susa in Potts 1999: 327.

5. This motif, contextualized as part of an Achaemenid sculptural program presenting a coherent imperial ideology, was initially characterized in Root 1979: 131–61, elaborated in Root 1990, and summarized in Root 1995.

6. E.g., on the original central panels of the Apadana (formerly known as the Treasury Reliefs), on doorjambs of the Palace of Darius, and on the upper panels of doorjambs of the north and south doors of the Hall of One Hundred Columns of Artaxerxes I (Schmidt 1953: pls. 121–23, 138–41, and 98–99, 105–6, respectively).

7. I am currently working on an article on this topic, tentatively entitled "The Statue of Darius: Possible Reconstructions of the Missing Section."

8. E.g., Stronach 1972: 242; Briant 1996: 229, 492; Perrot and Ladiray 1997: 74. Root (1979: 71) notes evidence of some column bases from Susa made of Egyptian pink granite that was presumably shipped in enormous blocks of raw material for working on site in Iran. But she also opts for the idea that the statue of Darius was made in Egypt.

9. Even on exposed surfaces of architectural reliefs, one can see some areas left unfinished, as tabulated in Tilia 1968. Concerning areas not visible, I have, for instance, observed that some of the animal protome capitals on the Persepolis Takht retain unfinished passages behind the neck.

10. In fact, when the statue of Darius was first discovered, it was assumed, based on appearance alone (prior to scientific analysis), to have been carved of this local Zagros limestone, which is used for columns, column capitals, and reliefs at Susa. It is worth noting that the closest Zagros sources for the "local" limestone are about 50 km distant from Susa. See Trichet and Vallat 1990: 205.

11. Root 1979: 112–23 and pl. XXXIb (compare on pl. XVIb the hero relief type from the Palace of Darius that could have been translated into a freestanding heroic image). See Luschey (1983) for elaboration of this idea.

12. Unlike granite (with its rounded veins), the Zagros limestone is characterized by linear veins that make it vulnerable to fracture. Granite is a rock formed mainly of quartz (mohs hardness of 7) and feldspar (mohs hardness of 6). Limestone is less hard.

13. The complete statue must have weighed about 5 tons complete (Trichet and Vallat 1990: 205).

14. Remnants of stone column bases inscribed by Darius's son and successor, Xerxes, were discovered in the debris and serve to date the structure to a late Darius initiation, with work completed by the heir. But these remains were not still in situ and show that in fact the columns had been broken up.

15. For rifle damage to window jamb reliefs in the Hadish (Palace of Xerxes), see Schmidt 1953: pl. 187 A.

16. Several studies of ancient Near Eastern material show the significance of such a project (e.g., Nylander 1980; Bahrani 1995; Reade 2000).

17. For a discussion of the damaged Mesopotamian monuments collected at Susa, see Amiet and Harper 1992.

18. It would have been transported via the Nile through the canal constructed by Darius leading to the Red Sea, then up the Persian Gulf to the Karoun River, and thence close to Susa (Trichet and Vallat 1990: 206–7; Perrot and Ladiray 1997: 74).

19. Perrot and Ladiray (1974: 52–53) suggested that the statue might have been placed at the Gate of Darius around 490 (with the planning of the structure and its foundation emplacements having already taken place earlier in the reign of Darius). Hinz (1975: 120–21) proposed that Xerxes would have brought the statue to Susa in order to salvage it once Egypt had revolted. It does not seem likely to me that he would have been able to do this once the revolt was under way.

20. For example, we call attention to a fragment of a stone foundation tablet from Susa with an inscription of Darius I, found by the French mission and rediscovered by the author in storage at the National Museum of Iran during the establishment of the Tablet Room (inventory number pending). On this artifact, traces of hacking marks made during the smashing process are clearly visible. The text on this fragment has been reintroduced into the inventory of Old Persian inscriptions by Stève (1987: 55, fig. 44 and 58, fig. 46) as DSe. Other examples of deliberately mutilated Achaemenid artifacts have now been found in excavations conducted by Mir Abedin Kaboli and his team at Susa. I thank Mr. Kaboli for sharing with me unpublished information on recently retrieved archaeological evidence of the violent destruction of Achaemenid Susa.

21. The photographs taken at the time of discovery clearly show this titled position. See *CDAFI* 4 1974: pl. II, 1. The initial interpretation of the breaks appears in Kervran (1972: 238–39, fig. 2).

22. See Kervran (1972: fig. 2) for a diagram showing the displacement of the foundation block and the tilting of the statue visible at the time of its discovery.

23. The excavators, Monique Kervran and Jean Perrot, have reiterated (pers. com.) the theory of deliberate tilting of the statue in search of a foundation deposit.

24. Perrot and Ladiray (1974: 50; 1997: 75–76) suggest that the pressure of the soil and debris around the statue, rather than human agency, created both breaks. Bourcharlat (1990: 230) once emphasized more generally that he saw no evidence of deliberate (human) destruction on the Apadana mound. On the basis of the new evidence from the site, he has altered this opinion.

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JENNIFER E. GATES

The Ethnicity Name Game:

What Lies behind "Graeco-Persian"?

ABSTRACT

The idea that a group's cohesive identity (its ethnicity) will be re-
flected in and discernible through the stylistic idiosyncrasies of its
visual culture has long been central to the art historical and archaeo-
logical approach. This is, however, a problematic premise. Style
cannot be linked productively to ethnicity without a direct social
context that can characterize the nature of the population group at
issue and provide cues to possible versions of meaning. The per-
sistent and tortured use of the term "Graeco-Persian style" is a prime
example of difficulties caused by the approach—especially when it
is deployed within a narrow and predetermined eurocentric
worldview. Invented by a classicist at the beginning of the twenti-
eth century, the term has continued to exert tremendous influence
on scholarship despite its serious flaws, even on the level of de-
scribing what it is intended to signify visually. It has served to de-
scribe and explain collections of predominantly unprovenanced
seals produced in the Achaemenid empire in terms of their imag-
ined relations to a notionally pure Greek idiom. Here analysis of
securely contextualized seal impressions from the Persepolis For-
tification and Treasury archives excavated in the Achaemenid heart-
land capital highlights the problematic nature of assumptions be-
hind the term "Graeco-Persian." In particular, PT4 866, a clay la-
bel from the Persepolis Treasury archive bearing impressions of
six discrete seals, is examined to illustrate the value of focusing on
contextualized artifacts in discussions of stylistic variability in im-
perial glyptic production and use. Style, we find, was one element
in a tool kit for communicating a fluid notion of identity in the
Achaemenid empire. Relationships that emerge suggest the signifi-
cance of a more nuanced concept of the linkages between style and
identity. A notion of situational, rather than ethnic, identity becomes
a key element in this imperial milieu.

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FIG. 1.
Impression of the seal of Gobryas, PFS 857s (ca. 3:1), applied to Persepolis Fortification tablet 688, showing two lions attacking a stag. PFS 857s usage date: in 499 B.C.E. Photo courtesy of M. B. Garrison, M. C. Root, and the Persepolis Seal Project.

I share with Robert Byron his inability to be moved by these *jolies laides* at any human level, in the way that most of us can be moved by the variety and drama of the Assyrian reliefs, or mesmerized by the elegance of Egyptian and Oriental art, and even no little affected by Greek art of the High Classical period . . . [which] led to the creation of what long proved to be an adequate working idiom for the western world.

Boardman 2000: 225

A RCHAEOLOGICAL/ART HISTORICAL encounters with an ancient artifact typically strive to determine what it really *was*: by whom it was created and used, what it was destined to mean and to whom, when and under what set of conditions it operated. The productive pursuit of such an inquiry requires some kind of cultural framework within which to situate the object, a framework that facilitates assessment of its relationships. Style is an important factor in such an analysis. But it needs to be evaluated according to rigorous standards of visual categorization of forms and techniques of production. Even when stylistic analysis of an artifact is practiced according to carefully posed criteria, its results are of limited diagnostic value for understanding anything about culture if the artifact and its typologized stylistic qualities are viewed in isolation from its relational conditions. Indeed, cultural inquiry is ill-served when an artifact is analyzed according to flawed analytical criteria of style, isolated from relational conditions, and subjected to an investigative approach driven by a predetermined mindset. This three-pronged handicap pertains in the case of a class of largely unprovenanced artifacts of the Achaemenid Persian empire: seals in the so-called Graeco-Persian style.

The historiography of the term "Graeco-Persian" reveals its serious flaws as a construct. Following a selective review of these problems and a critique of the premises about ethnicity embedded in some of the most influential literature on the topic, I shall propose an alternative approach to analysis of culturally fluid glyptic styles in the Achaemenid empire.

THE NAME GAME—PROBLEMATIC TERMS OF DISCOURSE

Before diving headlong into this paper, I must lay out a few terminological issues. In the discourse about Graeco-Persian style several key terms have been used so loosely as to be obfuscatory. In much of the scholarship quoted and discussed here, "Persia" is, for instance, used vaguely to refer to the Achaemenid Persian empire. Properly, "Persia" refers specifically to Parsa (now Fars), the region of the modern state of Iran where the sites of Persepolis and Pasargadae are located—the seat and heartland of the Achaemenid Persian empire. The empire, by contrast, encompassed many geographic regions whose local material cultures cannot properly be called "Persian" no matter how infused with heartland Persian stimulus through the processes of empire. By the same token, a Persian person (a "Persian") is properly someone affiliated with Persia either by blood ties to the Persians or by acquired sociopolitical identity.[1]

The adjective "Persian" is frequently used to characterize official imperial manifestations. The term "Achaemenid" should properly characterize the official imperial art, ideology, and projects of the empire (Root 1979). "Achaemenid art" does not have to have been produced in or even for the heartland. Nor does it necessarily have to look formally the same as the court sculptural tradition we are accustomed to considering from the heartland royal cities. A good example of this fluidity is the statue of Darius excavated at Susa. It was originally made in and for an Egyptian context, and many of its formal elements work with Achaemenid iconographical traditions in an Egyptian mode of presentation (Razmjou, this volume). But it is certainly Achaemenid art. It would qualify as Achaemenid art even if it had been excavated at Heliopolis rather than Susa, for it was produced in service of the imperial message. It could be so even if the inscription did not specifically invoke the name of the king himself.

Additional complexities emerge when we look to visual manifestations in the service of regional satrapal courts of the empire. These phenomena must be evaluated on a case-by-case basis, as has now been done for

Sardis (Dusinberre 1997b; 2003). Some aspects of the regional record are part of the official Achaemenid program intended for widespread consumption. Other aspects reflect transformations of ideas made prominent by the Achaemenid program—but translated into an array of formal and iconographical variants based upon local predilections. In cases of this latter sort, it is clearest to deploy the term "art of the Achaemenid empire" rather than "Achaemenid art."

Even more complexities become apparent when we look to visual culture produced for individuals across the vast empire: individuals acting (in their aesthetic and identity preferences) essentially on their own behalf rather than as high-level representatives of the imperial project. By studying seals known through impressions on informative archives of tablets and labels, we can frequently identify individuals as specific personalities and observe them closely in connection with their seals. How, for instance, do we characterize a seal clearly commissioned as a personal accouterment by a demonstrably Persian individual?

The seal of Gobryas (PFS 857s), preserved through an impression on tablet PF 688 of the Persepolis Fortification tablets, is an excellent example of the dilemmas inherent in the ethnicity name game (fig. 1). The Fortification tablets are an archive of administrative documents excavated at Persepolis, dating between 509 and 494 B.C.E. in the reign of Darius I. PFS 857s is a large stamp seal bearing the image of two lions attacking a stag. The man who used it on PF 688 was a member of an elite Persian family. Herodotus mentions him as a close friend and collaborator of Darius and also as the father of the general Mardonius, who led Darius's invasion of mainland Greece. Herodotus also describes close family ties: Gobryas's daughter was married to Darius, and Darius's sister was married to Gobryas. Darius himself refers to Gobryas on his Bisitun inscription. The king also singles out Gobryas by name with an accompanying sculptural representation as the spear-bearer of the king.[2]

We know that PFS 857s was used on a day in 499 B.C.E. in Persepolis, the heart of the Achaemenid empire. We also know something of the circumstances under which Gobryas used this particular seal. He was moving between two locations within Persia—within the Persepolis administrative region—

carrying a sealed document of the king. What we do not know is the name or the declared kinship ethnicity of the artist who produced it. Should this seal be called de facto "Persian" art because we (wonderfully) happen to know that the owner was an ethnic Persian by kinship group and an individual whose Persianness was declared in monumental reference to him on the tomb of his king? Or should it be called "Achaemenid art" because the individual was a highly placed personage within the empire who used it while traveling on business for the king? Getting to the critical point in the debate: Do the solidly grounded answers to either of these questions change utterly if the seal in question does not *look* particularly "Persian" or "Achaemenid"—especially to a scholar of classical art?

PFS 857s has recently been called "virtually early Graeco-Persian" (Boardman 2000: 166). This estimation of its "look" avoids working with Near Eastern backdrops for style and composition and focuses narrowly on traditionally accepted conventions of stylistic categories, which themselves are focused on hegemonic constructs of the superiority of Greek tradition. Furthermore, the estimation of the seal's "look" as an uncomplicated determinant of the Greekness of the artifact in a social sense (and the dominance of Greekness as an aesthetic value) is suspect. Art commissioned by individuals (even highly placed officials of the empire) is subject to many variables, we shall find. Unofficial (in the sense of personally commissioned) art of this sort served a different (but not necessarily oppositional) set of social demands than Achaemenid art strictly speaking. Given the tortured senses of the term "Graeco-Persian," does this naming assist any understanding of what PFS 857s represents as an artifact used within the Achaemenid empire?

In order to embrace these complexities meaningfully, we need to reimagine the imperial project in which individuals such as Gobryas and others of varying social stature were situated. In cultural terms, as we probe layers of art production in this milieu, we should retire the rigidities of the center-periphery model of empire. When we discuss cultural implications of art used by people in the empire (as opposed to Achaemenid art), perhaps we should imagine a vast and diverse project that allowed/

encouraged/sustained a kind of *meteorologically modeled* hegemony: a polity of weather systems—separate phenomena composed of unique geographic and historical influences but ultimately bumping up against other entities responding to larger atmospheric forces in common. These polysemous regional and individualized phenomena existed separate from, but influenced by, the official arts (Achaemenid art). Their relation to Achaemenid visual and societal norms was entwined with many other factors. The challenge is how to encapsulate such a complex situation when we wish to speak of its manifestations in visual culture.

The period of the Achaemenid empire (ca. 550–330 B.C.E.) was a pivotal moment in the cultural history of western Asia and the Greater Mediterranean more broadly. This is true not only in terms of the sheer political and military achievement of the Achaemenid rulers and the unification of a diverse and vast empire but also with regard to the way this critical moment has been constructed as paradigmatic of a "cultural clash" between "Persian" and "Greek" (Hartog 1988; Hall 1989; Cartledge 1993). In this exercise of polarization, more problems of terminology emerge. We have already dealt briefly with the problem of the term "Persian." How is "Greek" used within the discourse of ethnic/cultural hybridity manifest in the Achaemenid empire and encapsulated in the discourse on Graeco-Persian?

The tendency to speak of Ionians and Lydians as well as mainland Greeks as simply "Greeks" contributes to that sense of Greek-Persian polarization that is such a trope in the scholarship. The collapsed terminology also reflects and contributes to a general trend to appropriate, hegemonically and uncritically, as part of a notional Greekness any cultural manifestation that seems useful for a given project in the history of Greek art. This appropriation as "Greek" of arenas of multicultural interaction that are, from the mid-sixth century down through the fourth century, part of the situational context of the Achaemenid empire and its immediate aftermath contributes to the muting of the empire as a cultural phenomenon.[3]

The realities of "Greekness" were complex enough without any need to gather unto it the cultural intricacies of the western reaches of the Achaemenid empire. Western Anatolia had been infused with Hellenic manifestations by colonists from the Greek mainland during a long and sporadic period of emigration from the eleventh through the ninth centuries (Boardman 1980; Graham 1982; 2001; Cook 1982; Descoeudres 1990; Murray 1993; Tsetskhladze and De Angelis 1994). These groups of settlers founded new cities among established cultural groups with their own traditions, including the Carians, Lydians, Lycians, and Hellespontine Phrygians. Ultimately, these regions were heavily influenced by mainland Greece and its own diverse traditions resulting from colonial encounter. It is important to remember, however, that the variously Hellenized regions of western Anatolia continued to possess distinctive cultural characteristics of their own, separated from mainland Greece by centuries of independent existence and subject to the continued influences of indigenous traditions and multiple external cultural interactions as well (Dunbabin 1957; Mitchell 1993). Despite these complexities, western Anatolia is often comfortably described as "Greek" or "Hellenized" as if this were in itself a one-dimensional description. Encounters between peoples emanating from the Achaemenid imperial heartland and peoples in western Anatolia thus become essentialized as cultural clashes between Greek and Persian.

The term "Graeco-Persian" will be seen to play a crucial role as an emblem of these problems and as an agent in their perpetuation. Adding to the difficulties, the term is particularly associated with the notion of a specific art "style" (or grouping of related styles) as manifested on "gems." Both of these last terms are also loaded in the discourse we are about to probe. "Style" is used rather indiscriminately—sometimes seeming to indicate specifics of carving technique, sometimes particular aspects of line and modeling, sometimes specific elements of theme and iconography, sometimes aspects of composition, sometimes a kind of "spirit." It should be clear already that as a collective analytical term, "Graeco-Persian style" is so ambiguous on so many levels that it is an impediment rather than an aid to current explorations of the processes of culture within the Achaemenid empire.

Use of the term "gems" (or "gem stones") to describe intaglio-carved stone artifacts displaying images in "the Graeco-Persian style" exacerbates the

analytical problems. "Gems" suggests pieces of jewelry created and worn for their value as things of beauty, status, personal enhancement, and perhaps magical agencies. It does not suggest an item that might also be used as an administrative tool, marking transactions or ownership by creating impressions in clay. It may be that *some* signet rings once worn by people in Greece were rarely if ever used as sealing tools. But we have abundant evidence that many such items were indeed used to seal documents and commodities across the Achaemenid empire. The persistent use of the term "gems" in the discourse on Graeco-Persian seals dissociates this material from the very contexts of functionality where we shall be able to find relief from the circular argumentation of a century of scholarship. The same criticism applies to the term "seal stones" or "stones" used so often in the discourse on Graeco-Persian art.

ETHNIC NAMING: A DRIVING FORCE IN THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF GRAECO-PERSIAN[4]

The Dominant Paradigm through the 1970s. Adolf Furtwängler (1903: 116–26) was the first to articulate a set of core characteristics that have formed the backdrop for scholarship on Graeco-Persian seals. His goal was to classify the many available seal stones from regions under the purview of the Achaemenid empire. These seals were almost exclusively unprovenanced. He identified two groups: "Persisch" and "Griechisch-Persisch." Even his "Persisch" category was defined as a mix of Oriental and archaic Greek elements (Furtwängler 1903: 117). His "Griechisch-Persisch" category circumscribed a group that in his view bore an almost complete resemblance to Greek art, except for a primitive, mannered stiffness (Furtwängler 1903: 116ff.).[5] This perceived resemblance led him to prioritize (through word order) Greek elements over Oriental and to tip the scales in favor of a Greek heritage for the objects. He claimed them for the Hellenist by proposing that they were produced by Greek artisans who were simply employed by Persian patrons.

This early analysis set the agenda for generations of mainstream scholars with only a few dissenting voices (see "Alternative and Alternating Voices" below). In 1946, Gisela Richter catalogued the many elements of Persian art (by which she meant Achaemenid art in that context) that she believed found their origins in Greek conventions. For Richter, very little of Achaemenid art was *not* Greek in origin. The only non-Greek elements of this monumental court art were, she proposed,

> the costumes . . . the accoutrements, the types of the figures, and the composition are not Greek; and above all the theme—an Oriental potentate with his subjects and tributaries, repeated ad infinitum—is far removed from Greek conceptions. (Richter 1946: 23)

Almost all the details of carving, conventions of figure and drapery, as well as "the delicacy of the work and the lightness of touch in many of the Achaemenian products" were, by contrast, "typically Greek." Some of it was even "*pure* Greek" (emphasis mine). Richter believed that Greek artists "adapted their style in varying degrees to local requirements" (1946: 28) but nevertheless left a distinct calling card in the feeling of their work (1946: 23). She described their position thus:

> Greeks there [in Persia] worked directly for the "king of kings." They were in a subordinate position and had to accommodate themselves to rigorous rules, which demanded stereotyped forms. . . . Moreover, the Greek artists not only worked side by side with Orientals, but had perhaps themselves lived in the Orient for some time . . . and so had become imbued with Oriental conceptions. (Richter 1946: 30)

The mention of Ionian artisans in a late sixth-century inscription by Darius I (DSf) from Susa and some figural graffiti in a presumably Greek style at Persepolis were harnessed by Richter and others to the task of proving that Greek artists were regularly employed in the production of Achaemenid art and were dominant forces in its creation.[6] There was a strong implication that the only thing keeping Achaemenid art from being truly Greek art was that these Greeks were working under the shadow of Oriental domination.[7]

FIG. 2.
Modern impression of a chalcedony scaraboid (enlarged), showing a "Persian" hunting a stag or reindeer. Private collection: no provenance given, conventionally dated "fifth–fourth centuries." Adapted from Richter 1952: pl. XXX, fig. 3.

Richter was enthusiastic about using the DSf text and the graffiti on a shoe from a sculpture of Darius at Persepolis to prove points about Greekness. But she expressed no curiosity about how the glyptic finds from the excavations at Susa and Persepolis might eventually alter approaches to Graeco-Persian seals. When looking specifically to Graeco-Persian seals, as opposed to the monumental court art of the Achaemenids documented on ceremonial architecture, Richter noted an important widening of thematic content. In particular, she cited depictions on such seals of Persian noblemen engaged in everyday activities, including hunts (here fig. 2). This repertoire she attributed to Greek influence (1952: 191). Following the path laid out by Furtwängler, she saw such images totally within the confines of the Greek world, divorced from millennia of Near Eastern traditions in seal carving and other forms of sculptural production.[8]

In her considerations of these Graeco-Persian seals, Richter did, however, begin to find it difficult to account for the similarities between Furtwängler's "Persisch" and "Griechisch-Persisch"—categories that she had initially embraced. So-called Ionian seal stones with similar stylistic and thematic content also confounded her attempt to plot them into these categories. She stated:

> increasingly it becomes apparent that the dividing line between Ionian Greek and Graeco-Persian seal stones is difficult to draw. The explanation is simple. During the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. there was constant intercourse between Greeks and Persians. Greeks served in

Persia as soldiers, traders, physicians, artists. Moreover, individuals of both countries traveled extensively. Hence the varied provenances of Graeco-Persian stones—Greece proper, Asia Minor, South Russia, Lydia, Persia, Babylonia and India; hence also the Anatolian provenance of some purely Greek stones.

> These circumstances explain the two-fold character of Graeco-Persian stones—sometimes purely Persian in subject, sometimes with Greek intrusions. The adaptable Greeks obeyed the directions of their Persian patrons, but their own artistic individuality did not fail to assert itself. (Richter 1952: 194)

The acknowledged problems with these categories led to open questioning in some quarters of the assumption that the artisans producing these objects must have been Greek (see "Alternative and Alternating Voices" below). Yet the dominant discourse on Graeco-Persian art through the first half of the twentieth century relied upon the simplistic assumption that a Greek would have been the only person capable of producing or training another artisan in diagnostic aspects of "Greek" art and that a Greek's nature would have compelled him to produce in a Greek spirit that would be detectable in greater or lesser degrees depending upon the sensibilities of the patron.

We may summarize the thrust of the first seventy years of published scholarship on Graeco-Persian seals using the following ethnic labor-patronage configurations, which explained what Graeco-Persian glyptic is and how it looks the way it looks:

(1) A "Greek" artist produced a "Greek"-looking seal for a cosmopolitan "Persian" who allowed him to produce an object of "pure Greek" style without interfering.
(2) A "Greek" artist produced a *somewhat* "Greek"-looking seal for a "Persian" client, which was, however, modified to accommodate his "Persian" aesthetic preferences—making it stiffer, more repetitive, and of generally lower quality.
(3) A "Persian" artist produced an only *slightly* "Greek"-looking seal for a "Persian" client of presumably limited sensibilities, yielding the least "Greekness" and the lowest quality.

These discussions relied on preconceived ideas about the nature of Greek and Persian taste and had little to do with the objects themselves or the way in which their imagery might actually have worked in cultural context. Certain features were tagged as essential to the ethnic identity of the maker or the consumer, but these features varied without compelling analytical validity. The distinctive traits of the seals were reduced to a kind of symbolic shorthand for stereotypes about ethnic identity. The lack of any known provenance for most of these objects encouraged such an approach since they could be used to demonstrate the inexorable workings of the stereotypes without any need to factor in ambiguity-laden complications that would inevitably arise in the face of details of social use (and reuse), findspot, and the like.

The efforts of John Boardman marked a turn in the terms of inquiry, even as the primary assumptions that had been built ultimately upon Furtwängler's paradigm remained firmly in place. In a seminal article (1970b) Boardman analyzed a large corpus of (mostly unprovenanced) pyramidal stamp seals, linking them through various strategies to production in western Anatolia and arguing that they constituted a formative phase of conventionally termed Graeco-Persian style seals (fig. 3). The Graeco-Persian chapter in his monumental *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* (1970a: 303–27) focused similarly on compiling from disparate collections, grouping, and dating by associative stylistic means as many seals as possible that conformed to conventional (if very loose) understandings of what Graeco-Persian might be (figs. 4–9, as a sampling of included types).

In this work, Boardman shifted the discourse so far as to say that the question of whether the gems were carved by Greeks or by Persians was relatively unimportant in comparison to the question of defining the artifacts as a class (Boardman 1970a: 303). But the issue of the artist's ethnicity remained strong in the strategy of definition even within this modified agenda. More broadly, terms of cultural ownership through ethnic attribution of the production enterprise remained an important part of the discourse among leading art historians perpetuating the dominant view. These terms of cultural ownership seem to have been crucial to how the study of the

FIG. 3.
Modern impression of a chalcedony pyramidal stamp seal (ca. 3:1), showing a winged figure in a heroic control encounter with two lions. Bowdoin College 484: said to be from the Black Sea area, conventionally dated "fifth–fourth centuries" B.C.E. *Adapted from Boardman 1970a: fig. 823.*

FIG. 4.
Modern impression of banded pink chalcedony scaraboid (ca. 3:1), showing a "Persian" hunting a stag. London: no collection or provenance given, conventionally dated "fifth–fourth centuries" B.C.E. *Adapted from Boardman 1970a: fig. 888.*

artifacts was justified, to why the scholarly audience should "care." Like Furtwängler, Richter, and others, Boardman believed the "gems" were significant because they ultimately said something about an oppositional relationship absolutely central to the historical understanding of both "Persian" and "Greek" civilizations.

Boardman's publication (1970a) became the *locus classicus* for most general discussions of Graeco-

FIG. 5 (FAR LEFT).
Modern impression of a chalcedony scaraboid (ca. 3:1), showing a standing "Persian" soldier. Cambridge: no collection or provenance given, conventionally dated "fifth–fourth centuries" B.C.E. Adapted from Boardman 1970a: fig. 884.

FIG. 6 (NEAR LEFT).
Modern impression of a chalcedony scaraboid (ca. 3:1), showing a Persian woman with cosmetic containers. Berlin: no collection given, said to be from Megalopolis, conventionally dated "fifth–fourth centuries" B.C.E. Adapted from Boardman 1970a: fig. 854.

FIG. 7.
Modern impression of a mottled chalcedony scaraboid (ca. 3:1), showing a lion attacking a stag. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, no acc. no. or provenance given, conventionally dated "fifth–fourth centuries" B.C.E. Adapted from Boardman 1970a: fig. 909.

FIG. 8.
Modern impression of a chalcedony scaraboid (ca. 3:1), showing a lunging bull. Berlin: no collection given, said to have been "bought in Athens," conventionally dated "fifth–fourth centuries" B.C.E. Adapted from Boardman 1970a: fig. 899.
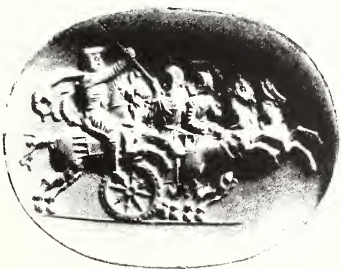
FIG. 9.
Modern impression of a carnelian scaraboid (ca. 3:1), showing a "Persian" cavalryman pursuing two other "Persians" in a "biga"(?). London: British Museum 435, said to be "from Mesopotamia," conventionally dated "fifth–fourth centuries" B.C.E. Adapted from Boardman 1970a: fig. 864.

Persian art—presenting as it did in one sumptuously illustrated volume so much visual material otherwise not known (because held in private hands) or available in one place. As an archaeologist, he himself certainly understood that there were many issues still to be asked of the repertoire he had assembled and many difficulties with working off a repertoire of floating artifacts. Yet *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* did not clearly convey these pitfalls to its large and varied audience. In the hands of scholars from other disciplines whose main purpose was to use a selection of Graeco-Persian seals as boilerplate illustrations of a concept such as cultural koine, the nuances of stylistic analysis Boardman had attempted often became essentialized to an unfortunate degree. Graeco-Persian *styles* became, once again, in some cases Graeco-Persian *style*—as if all these seals were part of a formally homogeneous and therefore culturally diagnostic family.[9] In other academic contexts, the ingrained strategy of subsuming a range of art production under the dangerously expansive and ill-defined umbrella of Graeco-Persian permitted even Achaemenid glyptic art, in the strictest sense of royal-name seals of satrapal courts of the empire, to be called Graeco-Persian (Zazoff 1983: 163–93, who includes the royal-name seal of Darius, now in the British Museum and said to be from Egyptian Thebes, under this rubric).[10]

Alternative and Alternating Voices. Despite the dominance of the eurocentric view among highly influential classicists such as Richter and Boardman, alternative perspectives have been offered. As early as the 1920s, M. E. Maximova (1928) made counterclaims for *Persian* production. It is noteworthy that to demonstrate Persian authorship she used a method very similar to the one used by Furtwängler to emphasize *Greek* features. In a different era, this capacity of the Furtwängler strategy to yield a completely opposing interpretation might have sparked lively debate. But for various reasons Maximova's ideas did not stimulate widespread reassessment.

Then, in the same volume in which Richter's 1952 essay appeared, Henri Seyrig reacted (more forcefully than Richter's forthright but puzzled concerns had allowed her to) against the conventional assumption that the artists who produced Graeco-Persian seals must have been Greek. Although Seyrig was in general agreement with Richter about the influence of Greek artists on *Achaemenid* art (the official monumental court art), he argued that the artists who produced Graeco-Persian seals were *Persians*— not Greeks. He envisioned Persians who had been influenced by Greek conventions through contact with the Ionian cities (Seyrig 1952: 200). The voice of Maximova, followed by Seyrig's, attempted to shift the weight of responsibility from ethnic Greeks infused with a certain Orientalness to ethnic Persians infused with a certain Ionianness. It would be interesting to probe in more detail and with more geopolitical inflection the historiography of Graeco-Persian than is possible here. But Seyrig's shift in assignment of ethnic responsibility for production notwithstanding, his mode of analysis remained, like Richter's in the same era, focused on a notion of the ethnicity (the bloodline ethnicity) of the artist as the determinant of how a given seal would look. Subtle differences in this look were ascribed to the relative role of the client. Seyrig's position remained an approach to Graeco-Persian seals driven by notions of the artist's ethnicity within a world of Greek-Persian encounter, even though his suggestions contain strains of nuance.

Much later, Natalia M. Nikoulina (1971) criticized the paradigm of Greek-Persian ethnic encounter, as played out with reference to the term "Graeco-Persian." Insisting on the complexity of the Achaemenid world, she challenged many of the assumptions inherent in the historical model employed in previous discussions of the seals, and she firmly asserted that the peripheral regions of the empire encouraged rich mélanges of styles, each with a complexity all its own. At about the same time, Miranda Marvin (1973: 18–19, 25) flatly rejected the whole notion of Graeco-Persian, arguing that the category— either as a set of subjects or a production technique— simply does not exist:

> it is not whether the gems belong to Greek art or Persian art, or whether the engravers were Greeks or Persians which are the questions one must ask, but in what city at what time were these gems made. One can no longer discuss style in an abstract manner as an attribute of an ethnic group. (Marvin 1973: 19)

This was a vital step out from under the historiographical burden of the field. It represented an attempt to get at the situation of the artifact itself in the "long-established and unique culture of Ionia"—to give it some provenance other than a perceived ethnostylistic affiliation (Marvin 1973: 141). Marvin aimed to recreate contexts for these unprovenanced seals by regrouping them according to localized workshop clusters. In so doing she hoped to define specific regional environments where certain stylistic variants were produced, thus enabling her to speak in terms of real-world cultural contexts within the empire. Unfortunately for the field of Achaemenid empire studies, Marvin turned to other arenas of archaeological inquiry (albeit with great success). Her 1977 dissertation was never published, and to this day it is available only in photocopy directly from Harvard University. This important effort never resonated as it should have over the ensuing two decades.[11]

The next alternative approach to Graeco-Persian seals came from the circle of scholars working to correct the problems that Nikoulina had highlighted in 1971: the relatively undeveloped sense of Achaemenid history and material culture that seemed to permeate the dominant scholarship. Margaret Root, working with the seals known through impressions on the Persepolis Fortification tablets, began to encourage a reevaluation of "Graeco-Persian" with reference to evidence from the imperial heartland. She coordinated a special session of the College Art Association of America in 1985, which brought archaeologists such as Gail Hoffman into dialogue with Göran Hermerén, the noted theorist of the processes of influence (viz., Hermerén 1975). Hoffman's paper (1985) on the seal of Gobryas, PFS 857s (fig. 1), situated it as part of the Achaemenid Persian cultural context (in terms of the personage of Gobryas) while also exploring in detail possible strains of specifically Greek influence visible in its composition and style.

Soon thereafter, Root (1991) tackled Graeco-Persian problems head-on, challenging long-held assumptions about the perceived Achaemenid "absence" from the archaeological record in the western empire. She suggested that this trope in the literature served to mute the significance of the imperial project when indeed there was adequate material evidence of Achaemenid "presence" to discuss in serious terms. She also laid out a case for considering Near Eastern models for elements of style and content in so-called Graeco-Persian art conventionally ascribed to a Greek infusion. In particular, Root used evidence from the Persepolis Fortification tablets showing the legacy of late Elamite glyptic traditions indigenous in the Achaemenid heartland and displaying models for elements typically hailed in classicist scholarship as hallmarks of "Greek" inspiration. She brought the seal of Gobryas to bear on this problem, relating it to well-modeled glyptic productions in cylinder seal format used in the archive (e.g., PFS 142: here fig. 10) and suggesting that we see the Gobryas seal as a hybrid phenomenon that could at once resonate with Greek models for theme and style and simultaneously evoke ties with longstanding local heartland traditions. The fact that PFS 142 is used on Persepolis Fortification tablet 1235 alongside a modeled Babylonian-style worship seal of the pyramidal stamp shape (PFS 143s) offers an interesting aside on Near Eastern legacies of modeled forms and more generally on a vast array of styles in circulation in Persepolis. She offered a selective review of other seal types that could speak to the issue—focusing on free-field equestrian compositions in a smoothly modeled style. Included here were the free-field equestrian hunt scene (fig. 11) on the neo-Elamite period heirloom seal PFS 51 (used by the royal wife Irdabama on the tablets) and the free-field equestrian battle scene (figs. 12–13) on the often-illustrated PFS 93* (the heirloom royal-name seal of Cyrus I, dating to pre-empire days but maintained in use generations later in the reign of Darius I).[12]

Root's arguments of 1991 were addressed by Boardman in his revisitation of the Graeco-Persian problem in 1994. He had modulated his position somewhat in the face of suggestions that his focus on the Greekness of models for Graeco-Persian glyptic might misrepresent the importance of other cultural influences. He thus turned to an interpretive analysis of Persian reception of Greek models, using the Graeco-Persian repertoire as one basis for discussion. In theory this project might have suggested the legitimacy of probing the agency of "Persian" patrons as historically interesting subjects. But his introduction stated that "much of this book is about [Persian] reception [of Greek traditions] *without understanding*

FIG. 10.
Impression of a cylinder seal used by a supplier, PFS 142 (ca. 2:1), on upper reverse surface of Persepolis Fortification tablet 1235, showing two lions attacking a stag. PFS 142 usage dates: on various documents in 500 and 499 B.C.E. Photo courtesy of M. B. Garrison, M. C. Root, and the Persepolis Seal Project.

FIG. 11.
Impressions of the Neo-Elamite period heirloom cylinder seal belonging to the royal wife Irdabama, PFS 51 (ca. 2:1), showing a hunter on horseback pursuing quarry, applied multiply on Persepolis Fortification tablet 736. PFS 51 usage dates: on various documents in 501 and 498 B.C.E. Photo courtesy of M. B. Garrison, M. C. Root, and the Persepolis Seal Project.
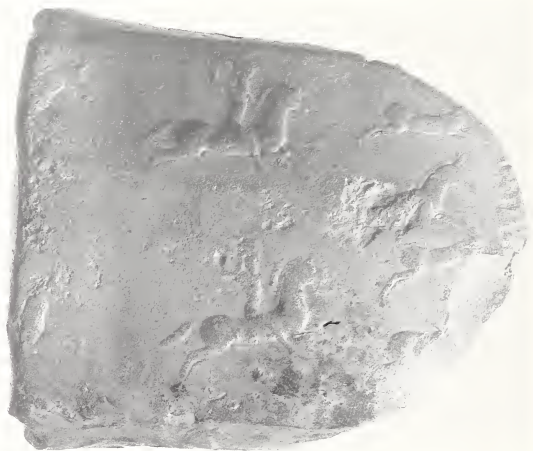
[emphasis mine]" (Boardman 1994: 7). This study, then, explored the movement of motifs and styles from the Greek world (still a monolithic entity) outward to peoples on its peripheries who could not fully appreciate them.

This eurocentric notion of emulation was used to explain the appeal of "classical" materials in areas outside the traditional boundaries of the classical world. Graeco-Persian seals were an essential part of this argument. They became a foil in the demonstration of the essentially crude nature of Persian artistic styles (and sensibilities) as they were combined with more refined Greek motifs and techniques (Boardman 1994: 42–48). This was an embattled scholarly

FIG. 12.
Impressions of the Neo-Elamite period heirloom cylinder seal bearing the royal-name inscription of Cyrus I of Anshan, PFS 93* (ca. 2:1), showing a cavalryman, with two dead foe beneath him, attacking a fleeing enemy; here applied multiply on Persepolis Fortification tablet 2033. PFS 93* usage dates: on various documents between 503 and 500 B.C.E. Photo courtesy of M. B. Garrison, M. C. Root, and the Persepolis Seal Project.

FIG. 13.
Impression of the Neo-Elamite period heriloom cylinder seal bearing the royal-name inscription of Cyrus I of Anshan, PFS 93* (ca. 2:1); here applied partially on Persepolis Fortification tablet 692 in an impression that reveals the figural modeling. PFS 93* usage dates: on various documents between 503 and 500 B.C.E. Photo courtesy of M. B. Garrison, M. C. Root, and the Persepolis Seal Project.

stance, no longer truly focused on the objects themselves but concerned with the defense of a polarizing ideal of Hellenic superiority. In later, more developed versions of these arguments, he was nominally willing to abandon the claim that style and the ethnicity of the artist were *necessarily* directly related. But he did not abandon the idea that "ethnic training" resulted in a certain set of stylistic qualities that can and should be linked to the experience of a particular cultural group (Boardman 2000: 222–23). In essence, his model was still limited to uncomplicated conceptions of identity and how it might relate to material culture.

Boardman also urged the importance of the uniquely Anatolian context of Graeco-Persian art, since this is the "only environment in which such styles and subjects might have been generated and found some approval and currency." They would have been meaningless in a "purely Greek or purely Persian environment" (Boardman 2000: 170–71). This was an important recognition that these objects

were in fact tied to a world beyond the museum or private collection. Yet for Boardman, the "purely Persian environment" remained undefined. His conception of the elements of anything Achaemenid, including material from the undisputed heartland of the empire, rested on one central tenet: that even the "purely Persian" ultimately depends on non-Persian (i.e., Greek) models for both style and content. He did concede that the term "Graeco-Persian" could be changed to "Anatolian," but he gave no opening for any other shift that might usefully alter his approach (Boardman 2000: 222). *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* (Boardman 1970a) was then reissued in a second edition without any substantive changes to his discussion of these objects (Boardman 2001). The value of continued availability of this compendium, produced by such a distinguished scholar of Greek art, is clear. Yet students of Achaemenid empire studies must regret that his Graeco-Persian chapter does not acknowledge the vibrant dialogue that has occurred since 1970. In effect, the reissuing of *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* with minimally updated annotation has the potential prematurely to restabilize (for any but the few hardcore specialists) a discourse that had finally become more open to new types of inquiry.

Following up on an unpublished blueprint of problems in the study of Graeco-Persian (Root and Dusinberre 1994), both Root and Dusinberre have experimented with various strategies for recentering

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discourse (Root 1997; 1998; Dusinberre 1997a; 1997b/2003; 2002; in press). Their respective efforts have been based upon work with excavated seal artifacts and seals known through impressions in archival contexts. All of it has taken advantage of the important headway made by Mark Garrison in establishing closely analyzed, visually based workshop and hand groupings that provide a standard for articulating shared and distinctive formal traits (e.g., Garrison 1988; 1991). The archival material now available for systematic analysis ranges from the Treasury and Fortification tablets of Persepolis (Cameron 1948; Schmidt 1957; Hallock 1969; Garrison and Root 2001, with bibliography) to various corpora west of the imperial heartland: from Mesopotamia (e.g., Bregstein 1993; 1996; Collon 1996), to Samaria (Leith 1997 [publishing a 1990 dissertation]; Lapp and Lapp 1974), to Hellespontine Phrygia (Kaptan 1996; 2002, with bibliography on additional publications).

Dusinberre (1997a) published an important attempt to mediate between polarized positions on Graeco-Persian by emphasizing the convergence of local Lydian and Achaemenid imperial patron mandates in the context of a specific excavated seal artifact from a tomb at the Lydian satrapal capital, Sardis. This seal would traditionally have been considered as a variant of Graeco-Persian art, with all the subtexts of that terminology. Dusinberre instead grounded it in heartland glyptic traditions as gleaned from seals used on the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury tablets. Her article proved that important questions can be asked of a seal that can be examined as part of a relational framework, once liberated from the limbo of "Graeco-Persian"; it also emphasized the important issue of patron agency in determining the look of the seal. The question of the ethnicity of the individual who carved the seal was not at stake.

In the same year Root (1997) portrayed the multicultural aspect of seals in active use in Persepolis during the reign of Darius I. She then argued (1998) for the significance of the socially diverse environment of Persepolis in the development of the pyramidal stamp seal types that had been seen by Boardman (1970b) as products solely of Greek (Anatolian) engagement. Boardman (1998) incorporated a reaction to Root (1998) in a sequel to his original study of pyramidal stamp seals and subsequently dismissed its suggestions summarily (2000: 168).[13]

ETHNICITY AND STYLE

The ethnic and cultural affiliations of artists and the effects of this association on their work form an extremely complex topic. Our review of some of the major works on Graeco-Persian style demonstrates the long life that the close association of style and ethnic affiliation has had in classical archaeology, particularly in setting Greek art into relation with ancient Near Eastern cultures. The scholarship on Graeco-Persian seals is a fascinating illustration of the route that such agendas have taken and how they have developed in response to the general scholarly climate. Questions of style and group identity are fundamental to the larger pursuits of archaeology and art history. But very elemental political issues often lie behind ostensibly dispassionate visual analysis and interpretation.

The term "ethnic style" is often used to describe a relation between objects and group affiliation based on a preconceived notion of identity and the way it is marked by visual cues. But style cannot be linked to ethnicity or group identity without a direct social context that specifies possible function and meaning. "Graeco-Persian" is an example of an artificial category that conflates a spectrum of visual types under one "ethnic" rubric in an attempt to cover over the holes left by the casual use of group monikers. This long-lived and problematic category was created by classical scholars to describe and explain unprovenanced seal collections and to claim material culture produced in the Achaemenid empire as a marginal part of the Greek idiom. Many of the seals used to characterize Graeco-Persian style(s) by Boardman (1970a; 2001) (figs. 3–9) are presumably neither canonically Greek in style or production, nor are they Persian (Dusinberre 1997a: 109–15). This highly subjective "more or less" approach to defining what really matters about what an artifact represents culturally has produced an amorphous and shifting set of objects that defy productive classification on formal grounds. Furthermore, something of a double standard is being applied here to the "Greekness" of a classification. What are the terms by which an artifact

is labeled "Greek" rather than "Hellenizing" or "Graeco-Persian," for instance? How, if at all, have most scholars moved toward the interpretive nuances implied by that question?

As a stylistic amalgam the characteristics of Graeco-Persian are infamously difficult to apply. The boundaries of the group have been defined in technical, stylistic, and even what I can only describe as "atmospheric" terms. Scholars have focused on style, motif, and a certain subjective "spirit" in the images on the seals and sealings, using these characteristics to construct models of production that would explain the cultural interaction they read in the images. The difficulty lies in the subjectivity and subtlety of the group's characteristics, as well as an almost universal reluctance actually to use "Graeco-Persian" as an analytical tool (Root 1991; 1994; Garrison 2001).

One hallmark of Graeco-Persian studies has been the disinclination to consider these objects outside of a set of rigid categories with distinct cultural boundaries. This tendency has led scholars to create false progressions of refinement based on degrees of Greekness. These false progressions ultimately obscure the fact that all of these stylistic and technical types coexisted and resonated in the same cultural context. Furthermore, they obscure the functional interconnectedness of the objects and the complex ways that they participated in the same social/administrative landscapes (Root 1997). As Dusinberre has pointed out emphatically (1997b: 232; 2002: 163), the great majority of the seals designated Graeco-Persian are unprovenanced.[14] For the minority that do carry a provenance, this is often putative: the dealer's word, either legitimate or fictive. Because most of these objects exist without the complications of archaeological context, the theories that are constructed around them can reflect whatever paradigms are brought to them. This almost inescapably circular approach drastically limits the evidentiary potential of these objects. Much of their significance and the social dynamics surrounding them are lost (Root 1994; 2002: 171).

Perhaps worst of all in this regard, the categories that have been created around the Graeco-Persian idea in the traditional scholarship are essentially useless in discussing how these floating artifacts may relate to excavated seals that have their aesthetic and social dynamics intact in some degree. The fact that these categories of cultural boundedness have *not* been found helpful by individuals working with the archives of seal impressions and contextualized seal artifacts should signal problems with the utility of the naming and the ideas behind it.

The boundaries of things "Greek" have traditionally been very expansive. Like Achaemenid art, Roman art, Phoenician art, and Ghandaran art were (and sometimes still are) discussed in terms of the overwhelming debt they owed to Greek influence, as if this were the most important aspect of their existence.[15] This approach has served to enhance the demonstrable "worth" of Greek art, in part by proving the extraordinary reach of its agency in time and place. The importance of Greek ideas and styles to all these cultural groups is undeniable, but physical transformations are a mutual process and involve the exchange of ideas on both sides (Hoffman 1997: 2–5). By contrast, the boundaries of things Near Eastern shrink inexorably (such that royal-name seals of the Achaemenid court may be termed Graeco-Persian/Greek-inspired)!

Style should not be read as a direct indicator of the ethnic identity or group affiliation of its producer or its consumer as if it were above all a kind of entrenched or learned behavioral preference. Deployment of a particular style—whether in dress, ceramics, seals, or other material and processual manifestations—is certainly one of many possible tools available to a social group or an individual for articulating identity. But to insist on the style of an artifact as diagnostic of the ethnicity of the person who made it suggests that some inherited factor preordains how art is produced. Certainly in the developed and mobile context of the Achaemenid empire, this idea is not sustainable. Styles can be learned; they definitely were learned by a range of producers in the Achaemenid context. An artist did not need to be Persian to carve a convincing Persian man in the Persepolitan Court Style. He did not need to be Athenian to carve a convincing figure of Athena in Periclean Athens (Root 1986). By the same token, the art patron (the consumer in the glyptic studio) did not need to be reacting to encoded "ethnic" patterns of response in order to commission or purchase ready-made a seal of a certain look. Conscious signals of group affiliation cannot be interpreted one-dimensionally; they are subject to multiple situational influences and interpretations on the part

of the patron (and also on the part of those who see the art in the possession of the patron).

Stylistic choices are inherently complex, and their relation to identity and meaning is almost impossible to reconstruct without some kind of social framework.[16] The largely unprovenanced seals of the prevalent Graeco-Persian discourse have been read as if style were a direct indicator of ethnic identity. The mixing of multiple "ethnic styles" on the seals has been seen as replicating the social relations between two groups ("Greeks" and "Persians"). In such a discourse, the seals become passive pawns.

The social context of a seal, when available for study, has the potential to become an active participant in its investigation; its style can be considered along with other factors as part of a complex social negotiation and representation. Nicholas Thomas's work on the role of the object in exchange systems and the relation between artifact and identity has demonstrated how, in a colonial context, style is modified when an object is reappropriated and recontextualized in a foreign social milieu. As the object is modified and reinterpreted, meaning becomes lodged not in the appearance of the object but in the way that it becomes mutable (Thomas 1991: 22–30). In terms of the Graeco-Persian problem, the style of a seal did not map some absolute truth about the weighting of a set of alternatives on a scale between Greek- and Persian-influenced production. The style (as well as other features of such a seal) was a suitable slate for many meanings—political, personal, economic, symbolic, etc.

Thomas (1991: 88) convincingly demonstrates that a stylistically or functionally foreign object is brought into a new context and resituated there, reinterpreted and inserted into its new home as an essentially *new* thing. Thus, interpretations of and assumptions about the adoption of foreign objects, styles, and motifs within a colonized world must be approached critically. Without some sense of the social and material setting in which an object was used—some sense of its "frame"—one is forced to draw on preconceived notions about constituent influences. Conclusions formed on that basis are inherently suspect.

Özgen, Öztürk, et al. (1996) have dealt directly with a problem relevant to this discussion of Graeco-Persian seals. A group of looted antiquities (including numerous seals of types that would conventionally be called Graeco-Persian) had been returned from the Metropolitan Museum of Art to Turkey, where archaeologists were faced with the challenge of reintegrating them within documented remnants of tomb assemblages. The authors point out two challenges: first, determining the most likely point of origin for each object based on analysis of comparanda with secure archaeological pedigree; and second, refining the assessments of archaeological context so that more specific conclusions could be reached on the precise tomb assemblage to which each item originally belonged (Özgen, Öztürk, et al. 1996: 64). The archaeological and forensic results achieved by this research team were remarkable. They cannot hope to be duplicated very often. Instead, other strategies need to be developed for the reintegration of categories of so-called Graeco-Persian seals into the life of the Achaemenid empire.

BURIED CONTEXT:
PERSEPOLIS TREASURY LABEL PT4 866

The analysis of seals known through impressions used in archival contexts offers one such strategy for explicating hybrid styles and repertoires of imagery that seem to fuse "Greek" and "Persian" elements in varying ways. An important aim of this strategy is to grapple with visual art as a manifestation of fluid notions of identity in a multicultural imperial environment.

I take as my case study a clay label, PT4 866 (fig. 14), belonging to the Persepolis Treasury archive and bearing the impressions of six discrete seals (Schmidt 1957: 5–7). The archive, excavated by the Oriental Institute between 1936 and 1938, comprises inscribed tablets and also sealed labels that were attached to a variety of items, including written documents on leather or papyrus that have not survived (Cameron 1948; Garrison 1988: 172–77; Garrison and Root 2001: 33–34). PT4 866 enables us to view a cluster of seals in active use in the same events of social (and stylistic) interaction at the court of Xerxes–early Artaxerxes I. Using this cluster of stylistically variant seals that embrace both "Greek"-looking seals and "Persian"-looking ones, I consider the patterns

of use that emerge as well as the patterns of links with other seals in the archive. This analysis stresses relations between style and *situational*—rather than *ethnic*—identity.

Although Erich Schmidt published photographs and analyses of the seals in the Treasury archive in 1957, the material has not been explored systematically for what it may tell us about the Graeco-Persian problem. Each of the seals used on our label sits at the center of its own web of connections, surrounded by concentric rings of iconographic and material connections. The "aesthetic, administrative and social dynamics" of the seals (Root 1997: 231) emerge from

the patterns in their use; unprovenanced seals of similar types and styles can at least be placed alongside these multiply contextualized seals known through their impressions.

Out of the some 199 sealed labels in the Treasury archive, PT4 866 is of particular interest to us here because Boardman illustrated it (2000: fig. 5.33). Commentary on seals known through archival impressions was a late and welcome addition to Boardman's approach. He illustrated this Treasury label because of one of the seals impressed on it: PTS 44s (fig. 14).[17] With reference to this seal, which Boardman calls a "Greek ring" in the caption to his fig. 5.33, he remarks

FIG. 15.
Persepolis Treasury tablet PT4 650 (ca. 2:1), bearing an impression of PTS 5*, a royal-name cylinder seal of Xerxes I, showing a heroic encounter scene. PTS 5* usage dates: on various dated documents (as well as undated labels) between 467 and 459 B.C.E. (extending into year 5 of the reign of Artaxerxes I). Photo courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

FIG. 16.
Persepolis Treasury label PT4 619 (ca. 1:1), featuring a partial impression of PTS 19, a cylinder showing bullmen supporting the symbol of Ahuramazda. PTS 19 usage dates: between 467 and 459 B.C.E. (established through link with PTS 5*). Photo courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

upon the fact that PTS 44s occurs with two "eastern-style" cylinder seals (PTS 5* and PTS 19: see here figs. 15–16 for clear views of these seals):

> To use the term 'Greco-'anything of eastern products invites criticism these days, but in the case of

the Greco-Persian seals the prefix can be readily justified, without asserting that they could only have been made by Greeks. (Far better justified than the term 'Greco-Phoenician' which should be abandoned.) This is a case where elements not only of Greek style but of Greek taste were

TABLE 1.
Patterns of use on Treasury labels of all seals in the PT4 866 cluster

Label no.	PTS 5*	PTS 19	PTS 44s	PTS 54s	PTS 55s	PTS 70s
PT4 619	•	•	•	•	•	
PT4 771		•				
PT4 866	•	•	•	•	•	•
PT4 894	•	•		•		•
PT4 946	•	•				
PT4 947		•				
PT4 604			•			
PT4 705			•	•	•	
PT4 894	•	•		•		•
PT4 198						•
PT4 671						•
PT4 944						•
PT4 945						•

imposed on subjects deemed suitable for a Persian satrapal environment, no little permeated by Greek views on what was appropriate for the less-than-official arts. But the products, just as Greek seals, could be used on official Persian business, and beside the eastern-style cylinders on the same sealing. (Boardman 2000: 168–69)

Boardman uses PT4 866 to demonstrate that Greek themes and styles had penetrated the Achaemenid infrastructure to such an extent that they were thought just as appropriate for use in official capacities as were "eastern style" seals. In fact, the object, as part of the archive, is a fascinating piece of evidence of the interplay and use of seals with multiple stylistic ancestries present on an object that participated in economic activities in the very heart of the Achaemenid Persian empire. But its interest extends even further. This sealed label can be thought of as a landscape on which social discourse and the fluidity of choice are negotiated (Root 1997: 231–33). Through these six seals and the relations that extend out from them, so-called Graeco-Persian images are integrated into the cultural choices available to individuals with extensive personal connections operating in a milieu where pluralism in imagery and style is acceptable and perhaps even coveted.

The label documents a functional group of seals that were used together repeatedly in a series of related social actions. In addition to PTS 44s, Board-man's focal point, the other five seals appearing on the label are PTS 5*, PTS 19, PTS 54s, PTS 55s, and PTS 70s (figs. 15–19 respectively). PTS 5* is a royal-name seal of Xerxes, inscribed in Old Persian and used between 467 and 459 B.C.E. as an office seal by a Treasury official whose name has not been retrieved (Schmidt 1957: 8, 16–17; Garrison and Root 2001: 34 and n. 99, 54, 59). As luck would have it, we do not know the name of *any* of the individuals using the seals on PT4 866, but a web of their interactions can be pieced together by looking closely at the patterns of seal use in the archive as a whole. This cluster of seals used on PT4 866 is one of several such clusters used in multiple combinations repeated on tablets and/or labels in the archive.

The PT4 866 cluster of six seals is used in various groupings on thirteen separate labels (table 1). The grouping of these seal impressions is remarkably tight, with only two other seals, PTS 21 and PTS 72s, intersecting with the group on only four out of thirteen labels (table 2).

TABLE 2.
Other seals (+) interacting with the PT4 866 cluster (•)

Label no.	PTS 5*	PTS 19	PTS 21	PTS 28	PTS 70s	PTS72s
PT4 198		*		•		
PT4 840			•			+
PT4 859						+
PT4 946	•	•				+

N.B.: PT4 198 and PT4 946 are also listed in table 1.

FIG. 17.
*Persepolis Treasury
label PT4 894 (ca.
2:1), featuring an
impression of PTS 54s,
a signet ring with a
pointed elliptical bezel
showing a standing
nude man. PTS 54s
usage dates: between
467 and 459 B.C.E.
(established through
link with PTS 5*).
Photo courtesy of the
Oriental Institute of
the University of
Chicago.*

FIG. 18.
*Persepolis Treasury label PT4 619 (ca. 1:1),
featuring an impression of PTS 55s, a signet
ring or stamp seal with an elliptical or
circular bezel/face showing a seated man
pulling on a boot (?). PTS 55s usage dates:
between 467 and 459 B.C.E. (established
through link with PTS 5*). Photo courtesy of
the Oriental Institute of the University of
Chicago.*

FIG. 19.
Persepolis Treasury label PT4 944 (ca. 2:1), featuring an impression of PTS 70s, a signet ring or stamp seal with an elliptical bezel/face showing a lunging bull. PTS 70s usage dates: between 467 and 459 B.C.E. (established through link with PTS 5*). Photo courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

The types of images and styles represented in the PT4 866 cluster are varied. Two cylinder seals bear very recognizable Achaemenid themes of ancient Near Eastern pedigree carved in Persepolitan Court Style (PTS 5* and PTS 19) alongside four stamp seals, all of which convey some other stylistic traits and would conventionally be termed Greek or Graeco-Persian (with distinctions between the two left vague). This observation certainly demonstrates how closely a range of "Greek," "Hellenizing," or "Graeco-Persian" seals are woven into the social institutions in Persepolis. But it also shows that seeing Graeco-Persian as a paradigm for a polarized worldview is decidedly unhelpful.

It is especially interesting to note the expansiveness of the variety of seals that come into contact with seals in the PT4 866 seal cluster when these seals are used in other sealing events. Table 2 shows seals applied to four labels that illustrate a chain of rela-

tions out from the original PT4 866 cluster. PTS 70s interacts with PTS 21 on PT4 198. PTS 21 is a cylinder displaying the goddess Ishtar in an Assyrianizing mode. In turn, PTS 19 and PTS 5* both interact with PTS 72s (a Greek-type stamp seal in the form of a signet ring showing what looks to be a galloping horse) on PT4 946. Then in its turn, PTS 72s occurs alone (on label PT4 859) and (on PT4 840) together with yet another seal, PTS 28 (a cylinder seal in Court Style displaying a "Persian" leading "Greek" captives and spearing one of them).

Even more instructive is the distribution of types in the seals used in association with PTS 5* that do *not* also appear in association with any of the other seals in the PT4 866 cluster (tables 3–4). These seal types include eleven (possibly twelve) cylinder seals with religious, heroic, martial, and genre scenes, plus a series of seven stamps or signet rings with images ranging from a Neo-Babylonian-type worship scene

TABLE 3.
Seals used with PTS 5* in the Treasury archive that are not in the PT4 866 cluster

Seal no.	Seal shape	Schmidt's description (1957)	Schmidt's classification (1957)
PTS 8*	Cylinder	2 Persians stabbing 2 crossed lions below winged sun disk symbol; Xerxes inscription	Hero
PTS 11*	Cylinder	Hero holding 2 winged bulls below winged sun disk symbol, date palm, inscription	Hero
PTS 12	Cylinder	Hero holding 2 winged lions below winged sun disk symbol	Hero
PTS 17	Cylinder	2 archers worshipping encircled Ahuramazda below winged sun disk symbol; pedestal animal or monsters	Ahuramazda worship
PTS 23	Cylinder	Persian and Susian flanking fire altar below winged sun disk symbol	Ritual and worship at altar
PTS 29	Cylinder	Combat of 2 warriors, problematic object between them, perhaps dead foe	Martial scene
PTS 32	Cylinder	Galley, 2 fish, date palm	Martial scene
PTS 38	Cylinder	4 winged genie in combat with winged man-bull	Combat scene
PTS 40	Cylinder	2 winged man-ibexes; date palm	Monsters and animals
PTS 41	Cylinder	Humped bull in right profile	Monster and animals
PTS 43	Cylinder	Ibex and tree symbol; base line	Monster and animals
PTS 50s	Stamp seal w/ circular face	Bearded man's head in right profile	mentioned as exceptionally "un-Greek"
PTS 52s	Stamp seal w/ elliptical face	2 nude wrestlers (?) [*possibly erotic scene*—J.E.G.]	Greek
PTS 53s	Signet ring w/ pointed elliptical bezel	Man and horse	Greek
PTS 58s	Stamp seal w/ elliptical face	Persian archer, bearded, kneeling/running, similar to darics	"influenced by Greek style"
PTS 61s	Stamp seal w/ elliptical face	Priest at altar w/ mušhuš, spear of marduk, styli of Nabu	Neo-Babylonian
PTS 72s	Probably signet ring w/ pointed bezel	Running horse	Greek
PTS 74	Stamp seal or cylinder seal	Charging boar	Greek

to types that would conventionally be separated out as "Graeco-Persian" or "Greek."

What can we say about all this interaction beyond what Boardman has suggested—that Greek/ Graeco-Persian seals were considered appropriate in institutional contexts of the empire and that Greek ideas had penetrated to the very heart of the establishment? Schmidt (1957: 15–16) tentatively postulated that the Greek-looking seals on the Treasury labels may have been used by actual Greeks at Persepolis. There is nothing inherently implausible about Greeks of high status appearing there and conducting official business with Treasury officials. But two factors warn us to look at the situation from additional angles.

First, there is the lesson of the Fortification archive. Here a much larger corpus of evidence may be seen in conjunction with documents that enable us to glean more about the individuals using the seals than the Treasury archive affords. We have already rehearsed the evidence of Gobryas and his seal, PFS 857s (fig. 1). From this seal alone we can say that a "Greek-looking" seal (according to conventional categorizations) *need* not imply a Greek person. We have also reiterated the point that some formal aspects of the seal of Gobryas are as much part of a Near Eastern glyptic tradition as a Greek one. Gobryas may not have intended to place Greek style in value-laden opposition to, say, Elamite tradition when he commissioned PFS 857s. And seal carvers trained in the

TABLE 4.
Pattern of use of additional seals (not in the PT4 866 cluster) in association with PTS 5*

Label no.	5*	8*	11*	12	17	23	29	32	38	40	41	43	50s	52s	53s	58s	61s	74
PT3 365	•																	
PT3 407	•																	
PT4 8	•																	
PT4 143	•																	
PT4 175	•																	
PT4 195	•																	
PT4 329	•																	
PT4 428	•																	
PT4 452	•																	
PT4 481	•																	
PT4 581	•		•									•						
PT4 704	•				•	•		•	•									•
PT4 790	•																	
PT4 804	•	•					•							•				
PT4 810	•																	
PT4 913	•																	
PT4 969	•								•									
PT4 979	•			•						•	•							
PT4 1021	•	•	•				•					•						
PT4 1057	•	•	•									•	•			•		
PT6 3	•														•			
PT6 5	•														•			
PT6 7	•													•				
PT6 8	•													•				
PT6 21	•														•			
PT6 22	•														•			
PT6 23	•														•			
PT6 111	•														•			
PT6 112	•														•			
PT6 113	•														•			
PT6 149	•													•				
PT6 154	•													•				
PT6 164	•																	
PT6 215	•																•	

highly developed and varied modeled styles of Elamite, Neo-Babylonian, and Neo-Assyrian traditions would have had the capacity to emulate and rework Hellenizing elements to create the seal Gobryas wanted on the day he commissioned this particular seal. The styles emerging through the study of the Fortification tablets, placed in dialogue with the individuals using them, offer an astounding potential for redirecting inquiry on the relations among ethnicity, status, and biography on one hand and seal choice on the other.

Such issues have been well rehearsed with reference to the lavishly Assyrianizing seals of Parnaka, the head administrator of Persepolis as well as the uncle of Darius, when we glimpse him in the Fortification archive.[18] These extraordinary creations of Assyrianizing art, with PFS 16* particularly being a modeled style seal of the utmost virtuosity, prove that notions of value and elite aesthetic demeanor among the classiest individuals at the Achaemenid court of Darius were not dominated by obsession with things "Greek." Seals on the Fortification tablets prove this over and over. The lovely PFS 48 (fig. 20), for instance, offers a study of a bull marchant that has so much more to tell us than the unprovenanced "Graeco-Persian" seal illustrated here as fig. 8 *bis*. Used in the administration of grain and flour supply, usually in high-level events and frequently in association
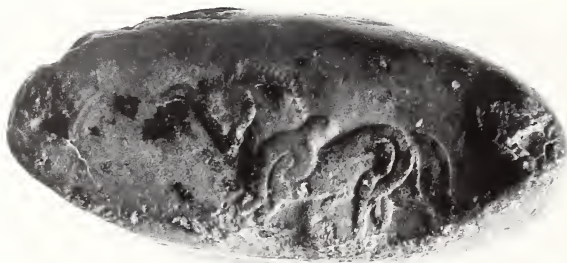
FIG. 20.
Impression of PFS 48 (ca. 3:1), a cylinder seal showing a bull marchant used in an office of grain and flour supply in Persepolis, here on Persepolis Fortification tablet 315. PFS 48 usage dates: on various documents between 503 and 499 B.C.E. Photo courtesy of M. B. Garrison, M. C. Root, and the Persepolis Seal Project.

FIG. 8 *BIS.*
Modern impression of a chalcedony scaraboid (ca. 3:1) showing a lunging bull.

with religious institutions of the court, this seal was impressed by one Kazaka on a travel document (where protocols allow us to be sure of attaching the right name to the person using a particular seal).[19] The name Graeco-Persian is simply irrelevant as a descriptor of this seal, but this is doubtless how it would be classified as a floating seal artifact. How does PFS 48 talk stylistically to PTS 70s (fig. 19)? What ways can we devise to discuss style in such a context removed from the necessity to assess quality as a measure of Greekness?

The second factor complicating any easy suggestion that a Greek-looking seal means the presence of a Greek personage is admittedly most interesting to me. The defined clusters of seals we see on the Treasury labels display groups of individuals and official personnel interacting according to consistent administrative patterns over a stretch of time. The occurrences of "Greek-looking" seals are not casual and only occasional events. There were people using these seals according to institutional protocols at home in the working environment of Persepolis. It would be possible to do much more with this material. Our ability to reconstruct more precisely what they were doing and why would depend on a more developed sense of these labels as archaeological artifacts within the archival apparatus (viz., Root 1996). Among the further questions we might ask: Were

these labels stored in a record room or still attached to their objects when the Treasury was sacked? What could an analysis of the reverse impressions of each of these labels (which preserve negative impressions of the items to which they were attached) contribute to our understanding of the activities of the individuals using the seals in our cluster? Were all the labels attached to the same type of thing? Were they attached to doors, jars, baskets, boxes, bags, or documents? Are there sealing protocols among the cluster that can be gleaned by close visual analysis (e.g., an order of sealing)? Pursuing such questions (which would require firsthand study of the artifacts) might lead to a range of important assessments. Even to ask the questions reminds us that seals—even "Graeco-Persian" seals—were indeed functioning tools. They were not merely gems or finger rings. My current work with the seals impressed on bullae from the Graeco-Roman period site of Karanis in the Egyptian Fayoum is demonstrating the rewards of this type of research and its applicability to the Persepolis labels (Gates 2003).[20]

In such research, one must imagine the *creation* of the sealed label. The placement and combination of these seals would have been a process, and the act of sealing would have been a social event. Root (1997: 238–39) described this scenario as a "visual experience" and the sealed clay artifact as a

"landscaped terrain of encounter in visual culture." This visual experience, the witnessed application of the seal to a surface, may have been a forum for the reinterpretation of the seal in its new cultural context. The hand of an official in the Persepolis court would have powerfully transformed the meaning of the seal, making it impossible to imagine that the sole intention of the user was to evoke Greece (or ancient Assyria, for that matter).

The act of creating a sealing also resulted in evocative patterns that carry meaning beyond a single impression. They are the record of these images' functionality and are truly the only way to get at the problem of how individuals using these images might have understood them.

Thus only systematic, multifaceted study of provenanced archives of operating seals in combination with judicious analysis of excavated seal artifacts can break down the artificial and politicized construct that is the "Graeco-Persian" paradigm. By connecting the web of images surrounding a seal used in an archive, we can extend its more rounded, functional aspects to collections of excavated seals and thence, with due caution, to collections of unprovenanced seals. In this way the imagery of these archives can be supplemented by a larger comparative field of relevant images, and the resulting descriptive and functional groupings may respond to excavated objects, as the conventional categories based upon floating artifacts do not. In addition, the excavated seals and sealings will benefit greatly from thoughts on style that do not lead directly into the grip of an East-West polarization. A less burdened terminology will be welcomed by scholars of Near Eastern studies for whom "Graeco-Persian" has presented a mystification that suggests the wisom of calculated avoidance.

The fundamental lesson that emerges from a review of the ethnic name game of the Graeco-Persian paradigm is that we must reject this term and reinsert into the mix both context and, ultimately, the individuals who used these objects. It simply isn't viable artificially to elevate patron choices that seem to privilege a Greek ideal and to deride as "*jolies laides*" the results of those patron choices in the deeply pluralistic Achaemenid imperial milieu that happen to lie beyond a Greek-dominated modern Western aesthetic.[21] □

Notes

1. Nuances of how various individuals of the empire thought of themselves in relation to Persia and Persianness are a complex topic well beyond the scope of this commentary except as an acknowledgment of the significance of the issue.

2. Briant 1996 indexes his many discussions, based on the Persian and Greek sources, of Gobryas2 as well as Mardonius2 (the son of Gobryas2).

3. The situation can be further complicated by considering the ways in which Ionian ("Yauna") is used in the Achaemenid sources (viz., Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2001)—what conglomerations of peoples the term seems to have been deployed to describe and for what political purposes.

4. Dusinberre 2002 offers additional insights on the Graeco-Persian literature; her article in press (not yet available to me) is sure to provide more than I do here on a topic that clearly deserves comprehensive reevaluation.

5. Furtwängler's groupings were used by Gisela Richter (1949: 293) and further refined in her work on the unprovenanced collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

6. Richter 1946 republishes graffiti first illustrated in Herzfeld (1935: 73, pl. x). For the Susa Foundation Charter text (DSf), see Kent 1953: 142–44 and Lecoq 1997: 234–37.

7. See Root (1979: 7–9) for a critique of the DSf text as a literal statement of the precise roles played by various ethnic groups listed in it.

8. It is not a goal of my analysis here to refute these claims point by point through citation of different visual evidence. That said, it is difficult to understand how Richter could have considered hunting scenes as a predominantly Greek theme—even based upon what was generally known of ancient Near Eastern art in the 1940s and '50s. See now Garrison 2001 on the extraordinary variety of themes on cylinder seals used in Persepolis, including an expansive repertoire of hunt scenes.

9. Dusinberre (2002: n. 7) cites the historian Chester Starr as an example of this phenomenon (see Starr 1977: pls. II–IV).

10. See Garrison 1991 for this seal and for a discussion of its version of Achaemenid glyptic Court Style in relation to royal-name seals known from Persepolis.

11. Dusinberre 1997 picks up the thread (see below).

12. The bibliography on PFS 93* is quite vast because of the historical significance of this seal issued by the grandfather of Cyrus the Great. See Garrison 1991 and Garrison and Root 1996 for a selection, with discussions.

13. Boardman 1998 appeared before Root 1998 and was based on prepublication access to her manuscript. There was no similar opportunity for Root to react in her article to the manuscript of Boardman 1998 before its publication.

14. For example, of the 198 seals discussed in Boardman 1970b, 75 percent are unprovenanced even in terms of a "said to be from" descriptor. The numbers from Boardman 1970a are similar. Here, of the 214 objects discussed in the "Greeks and Persians" chapter, 72 percent are unprovenanced. On overarching problems of unexcavated seals and the market in both floating and forged seals, see Muscarella 1977 and 1979.

15. Boardman 1994 and 2000 are the most recent and explicit examples of this type of approach. Admittedly, many classical scholars have actively moved beyond such a stance, but while this position continues to be propounded from such a powerful and persuasive pulpit, it is worth considering.

16. There are really two problems here: (1) defining an "ethnic" group and working out how this modern concept can be applied to historical situations, if at all, and (2) linking ethnic or group identity and style. The theoretical literature on both these issues is immense, and I will only refer here to a few of the most frequently cited discussions. On the question of identity in an archaeological context, see Shennan 1989; on style and identity, see Conkey and Hastorf 1990; David, Sterner, and Gavua 1988; Plog 1995; Wobst 1999; Hegmon 1992; Pasztory 1989; Schapiro 1962: 297–98. See also Hoffman 1997: 1–18.

17. The Treasury seals are now designated by the prefix PTS (analogous to the PFS prefix for the seals used in the Persepolis Fortification archive). According to the conventions established by the Persepolis Seal Project (Garrison and Root 2001), a raised asterisk after the seal number signifies an inscribed seal; a small s after the seal number signifies a stamp seal. An uninscribed cylinder seal does not carry a special sign.

18. PFS 9* and PFS 16*. See, e.g., Garrison 1991; Garrison and Root 2001; Dusinberre 2002.

19. PFS 48 occurs on eight Elamite tablets in the Fortification corpus published by Hallock (1969). See Garrison and Root 1996 to trace the links of PFS 48 to other seals used in the Fortification archive.

20. This is part of a long-term project to study the sealings from Karanis with the kind permission of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan.

21. I refer to the quotation excerpted from Boardman 2000, which opens this article.

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KAMYAR ABDI

Notes on the Iranianization of Bes
in the Achaemenid Empire

ABSTRACT

These commentaries follow up on an article published in *Ars Orientalis* (Abdi 1999) entitled "Bes in the Achaemenid Empire." The earlier study catalogued 115 depictions of the Egyptian god Bes in the context of the vast western Asiatic reaches of the Achaemenid empire. As an exercise in empirical research, it raised a number of intriguing questions. Representations of Bes revealed themselves across a wide range of artifact types and levels of quality, clearly cutting across lines of class and ethnicity. This was a significant finding, since Bes within his original milieu was, above all, the deity of the commoner, despite some notable appearances in elite contexts. He enjoyed special expertise as a protector of the home and stalwart defender against noxious agents, as a protector of women in childbirth and of ordinary soldiers. In this new discussion, some twenty-seven additional artifacts bearing the image of Bes are added to the Achaemenid repertoire. More importantly, however, questions hinted at in the first article are taken to another level here: issues of mechanisms, meanings, and chronological indices of the widespread appropriation of Bes in arenas of the Achaemenid empire outside Egypt. The study of Bes leads to a contemplation of Iranianization. This term is offered as one that can assist us in discussing complexities of cultural transmission within the multiethnic realm of an Achaemenid Persian hegemony in which directed imperial ideologies interacted with regional and personal idiosyncracies. Ultimately it is hoped that the concepts embedded in the term "Iranianization" may prove useful in a larger discourse on Achaemenid empire studies.

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FIG. 1.
No. 5.4: Greenish blue frit amulet from the Persepolis Treasury. Iran National Museum acc. no. PT6 359. Photo courtesy of the Iran National Museum, Tehran.

FIG. 2.
No. 5.21: Amulet (material not cited) from Persepolis. Iran National Museum acc. no. 2024. Photo courtesy of the Iran National Museum, Tehran.

FIG. 3.
No 5.22: Faience amulet from Persepolis. Iran National Museum acc. no. 2064. Photo courtesy of the Iran National Museum, Tehran.

FIG. 4.
No. 5.23: Faience amulet from Persepolis. Iran National Museum acc. no. 7631. Photo courtesy of the Iran National Museum, Tehran.

INTRODUCTION

An encounter between two cultures may trigger a complex process of interaction that is capable of affecting almost every aspect of both cultures—subsistence, sociopolitical organization, language, iconography, ideology, and cosmology. This interaction involves a tremendous amount of give-and-take between the two cultures. On a tangible level, it is demonstrated in two-way exchange of goods and/or one-way acquisition of items that can be recognized archaeologically. On a more elusive level, this interaction will involve transmission of behaviors, practices, sociopolitical forms, and beliefs.

A primary strategy of archaeologists and art historians is to study the transmission and modulation of artifacts through their formal qualities of style, typology, symbolism, and so on. It may be a straightforward project to recognize exotic motifs when they are discovered in a new host culture and to assign them to a specific culture of origin. But it is much harder to understand the cultural connotations of the transmission process and the reworking of a certain element from a "giving" culture to a "receiving" culture. This article takes up this challenge through an ongoing exploration of the history of the image of the Egyptian deity Bes in non-Egyptian contexts of the Achaemenid Persian empire. I propose a template for envisioning the process of transmission and modulation of images of Bes from his native Egyptian home to a range of arenas within the Achaemenid empire outside Egypt as flowing through the following stages: observation → adoption → assimilation → appropriation. The process itself, and its result, will be termed the "Iranianization" of Bes. This exercise will show that the boundaries separating the four conceptual stages from observation to appropriation are porous. Furthermore, these stages do not necessarily occur in a rigid and universal temporal sequence across the entire panorama of the cultural landscape we are looking at.

In the *observation* stage the receiver has access to the apparatus of the giving culture (in this case, observational access to images and concepts of Bes). Observation usually occurs early during the encounter between cultures, but it is important to recognize that observation may be a continually renewing element in the four-staged paradigm. The receiving culture often rather suddenly faces a cornucopia of new icons, images, and motifs associated with the cosmology and ideology of the giving culture. Most of this repertoire may be meaningless to the receiving culture without a prior knowledge of its ideological background. Regardless of the levels of knowledge acquired by the receiving culture, some elements of the giving culture will resonate with certain cultural traits in the receiving culture more than others. Presumably, these are the elements most likely to be selected for adoption. In the case of Bes in the Achaemenid empire, the observation stage will have taken place initially on Egyptian soil during the conquests of 525 and 518 B.C.E. But there is also evidence to support the observation stage through Egyptian artifacts brought to far-flung regions of the empire.

In the *adoption* stage the receiver uses an element stemming from the giving culture. Adoption can include the use of artifacts newly and locally made in emulation of the original exotic artifacts as well as the use of actual imports from the giving culture. In terms of the study of Bes, the tracing of adoption involves trying to discern occasions where Bes-images in their original Egyptian modality have been used without clear alterations in form or syntax—not by Egyptian immigrants but by non-Egyptians.

In the *assimilation* stage the receiver makes changes to received types—in this case changes to Bes-imagery—to render them more amenable to the ideology and cosmology of the receiving culture.

Appropriation is the synthetic culmination of observation-adoption-assimilation. It partakes of all three of those stages and is in a sense the ultimate essence of assimilation. In the appropriation stage the receiver incorporates received and modulated imagery into cultural contexts within the receiving culture. Here three variant modes may operate: (1) the belief system in which the image was originally embedded as a manifestation of the giving culture may be maintained, and, along with the image itself, this belief system (the original meanings of the image) may be incorporated into representational vehicles and thematic structures typical of the receiving culture; (2) only certain aspects of the original meaning of the imagery may be selected, combined with elements from the receiving culture, and ultimately incorporated into the receiving culture; or (3) the original imagery may

be completely stripped of its original cultural baggage and assigned an entirely new set of cultural meanings as it is incorporated into the receiving culture.

"Iranianization" is a term intended to characterize broadly the cultural effects of the Achaemenid hegemony across a vast and ethnically diverse empire. In their inscriptions, the Achaemenids acknowledge with explicit pride the notion that an ideological unity has been forged out of the ethnic and topographical diversity of their empire. This rhetoric also plays out in the metaphorical messages of official Achaemenid art (Root 1979; 1990). "Iranianization," then, is used here to express the process of infusion of a spirit born of the Achaemenid imperial enterprise. It is different from, more diffuse and expansive than, the prescribed forms of "Achaemenid art" (the official art of the court). It must also be separated from notions of rigid ethnic categories.

Ethnically, ancient Iranian culture incorporated a large number of peoples belonging to the Iranian language family and sharing some cosmological and ideological background. Within that cultural arena, Persians were Iranians, but not all Iranians were Persians. Persia was only a small region in the larger Iranian world, and Persians were only one of many Iranian ethnic groups, of which the Achaemenid clan formed the noble and royal class. But the Achaemenid vision emerged out of a deep saturation in indigenous cultural traditions, such as that of the Elamites in the southwestern region of present-day Iran. My term "Iranianization" is thus an umbrella concept for something large and fluid. Iranianization was a phenomenon of acculturation reflecting the imperial hegemony that manifested itself widely and diversely in the various regions of the empire—including areas that were not homelands of specific ethnically Iranian peoples. It displayed the powerful force of ethnically Iranian impulses in the imperial situation, but it was not limited in its impact to lands and peoples of literally Iranian ethnic identity.

THE EGYPTIAN DEITY BES
IN THE ACHAEMENID EMPIRE

In an earlier article (Abdi 1999) I surveyed images of the Egyptian deity Bes within the visual culture of

the Achaemenid empire outside the boundaries of Egypt itself.[1] This study catalogued 115 objects displaying the Bes-image, divided into eleven categories: (1) cylinder seals, (2) stamp seals, (3) seal impressions, (4) pottery vessels, (5) amulets, (6) personal ornaments, (7) *cippi*, (8) metalware and other metal artifacts, (9) coins, (10) statuettes, and (11) architectural elements.[2] Since that paper went to press, I have identified another twenty-seven artifacts bearing the Bes-image from the non-Egyptian lands under the purview and chronological span of the empire. These are now added to the preexisting framework of categories, since none so far necessitates the creation of a new category (appendix: tables 1–11). Hereafter I shall refer to artifacts in the expanded catalogue by number (e.g., no. 1.4 being the fourth item listed in the first category [cylinder seals]). Items known to come from areas that were under the cultural influence of the Achaemenids but were not, as far as we currently understand Achaemenid history, under the political authority of the Persian kings are not included in the tabulations. Thus, for instance, I have not catalogued the four wooden Bes plaques decorating a horse bridle from the fifth-century Pazyryk Tomb 1 in Siberia (Lerner 1991: 8; Rudenko 1970: pls. 91–92), although they will enter the discussion. Similarly, I have not catalogued Bes-images appearing in the material record of the Greek islands or other arenas under Greek control, even though Achaemenids obviously had significant interactions in these arenas and left markers of their presence in them.[3]

In 1999, my documentation of Egyptian Bes-imagery as it spread across the vast western Asiatic reaches of the Achaemenid empire formed the basis for preliminary inquiries into the nature of cultural interaction among people of Egyptian origin and other nations in the Achaemenid empire, especially Iranians. As an exercise in empirical research, it raised a number of intriguing issues, some of which were addressed interpretively and others left for future contemplation. One key finding was simply that the extent of Bes-imagery in the empire outside Egypt—and particularly in heartland regions of Mesopotamia and the Iranian plateau—was far greater than earlier documented. This factor in itself acquires a high level of significance when seen in relation to

these regions before the Achaemenid empire. Although in pre-Achaemenid times objects bearing the Bes-image proliferated in the Eastern Mediterranean (e.g., in Phoenicia), they were almost completely absent from the archaeological record in central and southern Mesopotamia and the Iranian plateau before the rise of the Achaemenids. This dearth is apparent, despite the opportunities for observation through much contact militarily, diplomatically, and otherwise with Egypt and things Egyptian as well as with Egyptianizing repertoires of, for example, Phoenician metal- and ivory-working studios. Many Egyptian motifs find their place in Neo-Assyrian art and become subject to the stages of acculturation we are positing for the Bes-image in Achaemenid times. But Bes is not among these motifs. The small number of items incorporating Bes that are associated with Assyria, for instance, seem to be isolated artifacts brought back from Egyptian campaigns as booty.

Why, under what circumstances, and in what ways did this picture change so dramatically in the Achaemenid period? The present article seeks to address this compound question. At a certain point after the foundation of the Achaemenid empire, objects bearing the Bes-image proliferated dramatically, not only in places like the Levant, where we would most expect them based on earlier patterns, but in the central lands of the empire—Mesopotamia and the Iranian plateau. Additionally they are found in certain environments to the west (in Anatolia) and in certain environments on the eastern fringes of the empire and beyond. What emerges is evidence of a veritable explosion in popularity of this idiosyncratic Egyptian deity across vast areas of the Achaemenid hegemony that had previously not been receptive, it would seem, to interest in Bes.

In Abdi 1999, I pointed out preliminarily that the Achaemenid repertoire of these representations embraces a large number of artifact types and modes of production, from humble items to highly prestigious ones. Such widespread distribution and diversity suggest that in the Achaemenid empire Bes served a variety of functions and roles, many of which may have crossed class and ethnic lines. This is a significant finding, since Bes, within his original Egyptian milieu, was, above all, the deity of the commoner, despite some notable appearances in elite contexts.

He enjoyed special expertise as a protector of the home and stalwart defender against noxious agents, as a protector of women in childbirth and in other ways an agent of fertility, and as a protector of ordinary soldiers. This issue of multiple audiences in the host milieu will also be pressed further in the current discussion.

The earlier paper specifically cited the military as an important locus of popularity of Bes-images. This is not a point I return to in detail here, but it must be borne in mind as an important element in the cultural mix of what encouraged Bes to find such energetic acceptance and such a variety of new lives in the Achaemenid sphere.

Most important here will be a contextualized contemplation of specific artifacts bearing images of Bes in order to present the visual record within my four-staged paradigm of acculturation—or Iranianization. In this endeavor most attention will be focused on some key excavated artifacts, with selected other items placed into discussion around them. Focusing on excavated and in some cases chronologically informative data permits us to reach some conclusions about the timetable of the Iranianization of Bes.

EGYPTIAN AND IRANIANIZED APPEARANCES OF BES ACROSS THE EMPIRE

In formal terms, the corpus of Bes-images falls into two general groups: Egyptian and Iranianized examples. The Egyptian group is characterized by conformity to Egyptian representational traditions and trends in cultural usage, with no discernible infusion of different modalities of presentation and symbolic inference. In my view, the proliferation of the Egyptian-type images across Mesopotamia and the Iranian plateau seems likely to represent the influx of actual people of Egyptian origin into the Achaemenid empire.

The Observation Stage: Commoners and Elites. Particularly in the wake of the reconquest of Egypt by Darius I in 518 B.C.E., Egyptians (along with peoples of other ethnic backgrounds) are known to have traveled back and forth, working temporarily or settling permanently in the heartland of the empire. The assembled data reveal that the largest single corpus of

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amulets bearing the Egyptian-type Bes-image (nos. 5.6–18 [Abdi 1999: fig. 5] and 5.28, representing fourteen out of the thirty examples so far catalogued) comes from Susa, where people of Egyptian origin are attested textually in the reign of Darius I (r. 521–486 B.C.E.). In particular, Egyptian craftsmen building or decorating the Achaemenid palatial complexes at Susa may have brought these objects with them from Egypt as protection against unexpected perils during travel and residence in a foreign land.[4] Such objects were of modest intrinsic value (generally made of a composition material), despite the frequently fine detailing of the molds whence they were produced. When we find them in the archaeological record, we can postulate that many of them were misplaced by or buried with their Egyptian owners there.[5] The corpus of five (or possibly more) additional such amulets from Persepolis (nos. 5.4 and 5.21–23 [figs. 1–4]) offers the second largest assemblage of the type.[6] It is interesting that nos. 5.21–23 are very similar in style and presentation of the visage of Bes, even down to the way the curls of the beard are displayed. (The headdresses of nos. 5.22–23 have broken off.) Although these amulets were not made from the same mold, they are similar enough to suggest that they may have been produced in the same workshop. It is an open question (particularly in the absence of any materials analysis) what this may imply. Were they manufactured on site in Persepolis in a workshop catering to an Egyptian clientele? Were they manufactured in one workshop in Egypt and subsequently imported to Persepolis in the hands of a cohesive population drawn from one Egyptian locality that was served by this workshop?

Schmidt (1957: 72 and pl. 41) characterized our no. 5.4 (excavated in Room 64 of the Persepolis Treasury) as an element of decorative inlay. The fact of its discovery in the Treasury does not, however, necessarily mean that it adorned prestige furniture. Numerous seals of the most modest workmanship found in the Treasury (e.g., Schmidt 1957: 47) warn us, for instance, against the assumption that only personal artifacts of outstanding quality or symbolic cachet are likely to have found their way into the archaeological assemblage of this imperial Treasury. People from many walks of life must have worked in the Persepolis Treasury during the active existence of this large multifunction building. And in the end, of course, the chaos created by its violent destruction invited intrusive items. It was the flat back of no. 5.4 that seems to have led Schmidt to call it an inlay. But Egyptian amulets were frequently meant to be held in the hand or placed on the body for aid and comfort; numerous other simple, mold-made frit Bes items that do incorporate suspension holes served as pendants for necklaces. In both cases, the Bes-images projected apotropaic agency.[7] Our attempts as scholars to categorize objects (as, indeed, I have done in distinguishing "amulets" from "personal ornaments" in my own catalogue) inevitably lead to unfortunate hardening of functional/meaning boundaries. Bes-images in New Kingdom Egypt do occur on elite furniture, so there is ample precedent (see below, fig. 18). These inlays are, however, in plaque form rather than in the form of tiny isolated faces of Bes. In sum, our no. 5.4 is most likely another Egyptian Bes amulet from Persepolis.

Reinforcing the evidence of a substantial number of Bes amulets from Persepolis, workers from Egypt in the Persepolis environs are attested in administrative documents of food disbursement (the Fortification tablets) dating to 509–494 (Hallock 1969; Garrison and Root 2001; forthcoming a and b). These testimonies corroborate inferences about the impact of Egyptian craft traditions that can be drawn from direct analysis of the architectural forms and sculptural decorations of the ceremonial edifices on the Persepolis Takht (Root 1979; 1990). It is noteworthy that the excavations at Susa and Persepolis do reveal these numbers of amulets, especially since the Persepolis excavations have focused primarily on the ceremonial installations of the Takht, where the record of common daily life will not be as strong as it would be in workers' living quarters.[8]

Thus, despite the archaeological preselection factors that will have severely limited the likelihood of discovering humble items of personal (Egyptian) property, the yield of Bes amulets is substantial. It is important to see this factor in a larger context of Egyptian and Egyptian-type finds outside Egypt. Many excavated sites in the Greater Mediterranean have yielded impressive numbers of Egyptian artifacts. Yet these overall numbers do not necessarily mean that faience Bes amulets will be represented among these

corpora in large quantities. Samos, for instance, was an extremely rich and important sanctuary that has revealed the largest number of Egyptian bronzes outside Egypt itself. Here, however, Skon-Jedele cites only eight faience Bes amulets (1994: nos. 1816–23; see also Leahy 1988)—a very small quantity in relation to the massive number of Egyptian imports.[9] These data strengthen my suggestion that Bes amulets in the archaeological record at Achaemenid Susa and Persepolis should be viewed as an index of the presence there of Egyptian commoners—and the consequent observation of cultural transmission at the popular social level deep in the heart of the empire.

Other excavated evidence also suggests the presence of Egyptian folk (artisans, military men, or the like) living in the imperial heartland who were probably directly responsible for the occurrence of typically Egyptian-type Bes-images. Two very interesting stone votive monuments (*cippi*) fit this category. Each is carved in relief in fully Egyptian mode (nos. 7.1–2 [figs. 5–6]), one from Nippur and the other from Susa (see Abdi 2002). These items clearly served the cultic demands of Egyptians dwelling at the imperial center but maintaining intact specific representational and devotional traditions of their homeland. They seem likely to have been made locally rather than imported.[10]

From Observation to Assimilation and Iranianization.
Some other categories of artifacts bearing traditional Egyptian-type Bes-imagery suggest the diffusion of Egyptian formal modes for the representation of Bes to elite social contexts in the imperial heartland. This is particularly interesting in light of the case made in Abdi 1999. There it was claimed that a crucial feature of the history of Bes in the Achaemenid empire is the deity's deployment across a wide social spectrum, including very high-status individuals of Iranian ethnicity, as well as among expatriate Egyptian commoners and military personnel. One Bes "statuette" (no. 10.1 [Abdi 1999: fig. 10]) excavated in the Persepolis Treasury is surely a fragment of an elaborate vessel or vessel stand—not a statuette per se. Made of Egyptian alabaster without any necessarily Iranianizing aspects, it certainly suggests a prestige item that found its way to Persepolis from Egypt—either brought home as booty from one of the Egyptian campaigns or

FIG. 5.
No. 7.1: Drawing of a white stone cippus *from Nippur. Baghdad Museum acc. no. 11 N 61. After Gibson 1975: fig. 34.3 up.*

FIG. 6.
No. 7.2: Drawing of a black stone cippus *from Susa. Iran National Museum acc. no. 2103/103. Rendered by the author (Abdi 2002).*

presented as a gift to the King of Kings by an Egyptian ambassadorial delegation. Other alabaster artifacts (including royal tableware) from the Treasury were similarly made in Egypt and subsequently transferred to Persepolis (e.g., Schmidt 1957: 90–91).

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A fragmentary stone statuette of Bes from the Persepolis Treasury (our no. 10.2: see below, fig. 15) displays the deity frontally wearing only the leopard pelt and a belt tied around his distended belly. This artifact may also represent gifting directly from the Egyptian court to the Achaemenid Persian court. If so, it is another element in the evidence of observation. Its formal presentation conforms to Late Period types in Egypt (Romano 1989: 196), yet this dating would make it the only documented Bes-image in the form of a statuette known from the entire Late Period. Romano (1989: 172), albeit unaware at that writing of most of the Bes material catalogued in our appendix, states that Late Period Bes-imagery

> shows an extremely limited range of types of objects on which the god appears. Only amulets, molds for amulets, and reliefs, both monumental and portable, are known. We do not encounter the rich inventory of cosmetic items, jewelry, scarabs, furniture elements, statues, vessels, etc. that previous generations of artisans had embellished with the Bes-image.

This comment, based on Romano's extraordinary knowledge of the Egyptian data, demonstrates how important the evidence from the Achaemenid empire is, not only to an understanding of the host culture but also to an understanding of the giving culture. As discussed below, the presence of this particular type of Bes-image at Persepolis as an instrument of the observation stage in Iranianization raises intriguing questions about the nature of cross-fertilization of imagery in the Achaemenid empire.

The fifty-one gold Bes pendants excavated at Pasargadae (catalogued collectively as no. 6.4 [fig. 7]) are vestiges of sumptuous personal adornment—

FIG. 7.
No. 6.4: Drawing of one of the gold pendants from Pasargadae. Iran National Museum. After Strouach 1978: fig. 86.1.

certainly not elements from a necklace commissioned and worn by a member of an Egyptian work crew. These pendants might represent a prestige import from Egypt itself to the Achaemenid courtly circles. In this scenario they would exemplify the observation stage of cultural encounter—but here involving elite audiences. Gold pendants of Bes (offering the god's protection in intrinsically precious and numinous form) are known from New Kingdom Egypt if not from the Late Period in Egypt (e.g., Boston 1982: cat. no. 351), as are necklaces of faience or glazed stone with multiple Bes pendants (e.g., Romano 1989: cat. nos. 109, 144).

It is also possible, however, that the Pasargadae Bes pendants are vestiges of a lavish work of jewelry commissioned in Iran as a product meant to emulate Egyptian ideas. Either way, the archaeological record does not reveal whether this item was worn by a high-status Egyptian living in Pasargadae or by a high-status non-Egyptian. Evidence from the Persepolis Fortification tablets makes it quite clear that Iranians (i.e., Persians in this instance) were interested in evocations of non-Persian styles and motifs for their privately commissioned personal seals. Sometimes these evocations are remarkably faithful to non-Iranian prototypes (e.g., on the first seal of Parnaka, Garrison and Root 2001: 404–6 [PFS 9*]). There is no reason why the same interest would not have affected jewelry. It is also important to acknowledge that we do not know whether or not the necklace these individual pendants originally adorned may once have included indisputably *non*-Egyptian pendant symbols. If this were the case, then we would be dealing instead with an example of one form of full-scale appropriation (see below). In this instance, without indisputable alterations to the physical presentation of Bes per se, an Egyptian-type Bes would have been Iranianized by virtue of being placed in a larger representational context of Iranian imagery.

IRANIANIZED BES: PHYSICAL CHANGES

In his process of Iranicization, Bes underwent some physical changes to Late Period models known from Egypt in order to accommodate the deity to a different cultural milieu.

The Skirt (Kilt). According to Romano's in-depth study, Egyptian renderings of Bes made before the reign of Amenhotep II in the Eighteenth Dynasty do not display any garments. Beginning in the reign of Amenhotep III we do see numerous examples of Egyptian Bes in the New Kingdom wearing various forms of a skirt or kilt (see Romano 1989: 118–19 for the breakdown). Interestingly, however, in Romano's list of Late Period representations of Bes (which includes a limited number from various regions of the Achaemenid empire) he cites not a single example of Bes wearing the skirt (Romano 1989: 308–9). With our much-expanded repertoire of Bes-images from realms of the empire beyond Egypt, we can propose a definitive adjustment to this picture. Of these renderings of Bes that include a human-form lower body, most display the skirt (sometimes very clearly and sometimes [indicated by a "?"] too summarily to as-

sess with certainty): for example, our nos. 1.1, 1.3, 1.4 (fig. 8), 1.5(?), 1.6 (fig. 9), 1.7, 1.8, 3.8 (fig. 10), 3.12 (fig. 11), 6.5 (fig. 12), 10.3 (fig. 13), and 11.1(?). These images may be said to hark back in one sense to New Kingdom Egyptian precedents, since the Late Period repertoire on Egyptian soil seems to be devoid of the model. Such calculated mining of specific antique prototypes is an acknowledged feature of Achaemenid art (Root 1979). And it is reasonable therefore to postulate a similar mechanism at work in Iranianized Bes-images destined for elite groups.

Arguably, Bes-images serving courtly circles might have been driven by some of the same ideological energies that drove the planning of the Achaemenid program of official art. In such a scenario, Egyptian artisans might have deliberately harked back to the prestige of New Kingdom imperial glory in their efforts to appeal to customers. With regard to the notion of the

FIG. 8.
No. 1.4: Cast of an impression of an unprovenanced Achaemenid cylinder seal of carnelian, inscribed in Old Persian. British Museum acc. no. 89133 (J. R. Steuart Coll: 1849). Cast: Kelsey Museum acc. no. 1992.2.72, Bonner Cast Collection no. 72. Photo courtesy of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan.

FIG. 9.
No. 1.6: Drawing of an impression of an unprovenanced Achaemenid cylinder seal of chalcedony. British Museum acc. no. 89352. Rendered by Yasamin Keshtkar.

FIG. 10.
No. 3.8: Detail of a clay label from the Persepolis Treasury impressed with stamp seal PTS 64s. Oriental Institute Persepolis Expedition PT4 950. Photo courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.

FIG. 11.
No. 3.12: Drawing of the impression of a stamp seal used on a tablet from the Murašû archive of Nippur. Istanbul Musuem acc. no. Coust. 598. After Donbaz aud Stolper 1997: uo. 58.

FIG. 12.
No. 6.5: Drawing of a gold earring from Susa grave Sb 2764. Louvre acc. no. 3171. Rendered by Aune Marie Lapitan after Ghirshmau 1962: pl. 323.
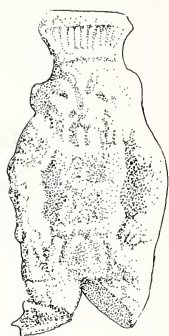
FIG. 13.
No. 10.3: Drawing of a terracotta statuette from Nippur. University Museum, Philadelphia CBS 9454. Rendered by Anne Marie Lapitan after Legrain 1930: no. 221.

FIG. 14.
No. 3.10: Composite drawing from multiple impressions of a cylinder seal used on tablets from the Murašû archive of Nippur. Istanbul Museum acc. nos. 5265, 5137, 12857, 12826, 12839. After Legrain 1925: no. 925.

FIG. 15.
No. 10.2: Statuette of lapis lazuli composition from the Persepolis Treasury. Oriental Institute Persepolis Expedition PT5 299. Photo courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.

skirted Bes as a conscious archaism reaching back to the era of Egyptian imperial power, an important item is Persepolis Treasury Seal (PTS) 64s, a stamp seal used on a clay label (PT4 950) in the Treasury archive (our no. 3.8 [fig. 10]). The appearance of PTS 64s applied several times as the only seal on this label suggests that it was a seal representing a high-level personage whose insignium in this administrative context did not need to be countersealed by any other individual or office.[11] The reintroduction of the skirt in so many of these Bes-images found outside Egypt in Achaemenid times may, in other words, consciously invoke New Kingdom ideas as a deliberate, ideologically motivated aspect of Iranianization.

Another element in a postulated Iranianization leading to the reintroduction of a number of skirted Bes figures might conceivably be attributed to an Achaemenid distaste for nudity and explicit renderings of the male genitalia—a distaste that led to widespread (although not universal) avoidance of the nude Bes with penis exposed. One could, however, frame this idea differently. One could suppose that the clothing of Bes in so many of these preserved renderings of the deity as a full-figured human reflected a positive interest in portraying the Egyptian deity in a guise more in keeping with imperial norms of representation of human figures. Stated this way, the clothing of Bes would become an Iranianization that effectively incorporated Egyptian Bes into the courtly code of conduct and self-presentation of Achaemenid aristocrats.

One cylinder seal impressed on tablets in the Murašû archive from Nippur seems clearly to display the Bes-image nude except for a fringed belt (our no. 3.10 [fig. 14]). Of the other three images of Bes as a fully human form known through seals used on the Murašû documents, two definitely show Bes with the skirt (our nos. 3.12 [fig. 11] and 3.13). The third (our no. 3.14) is not preserved below the waist. No. 3.12 was used by an official with an Egyptian name, while our nos. 3.10 and 3.13 were used by individuals with Babylonian names. These seals all display variants of the heroic encounter motif in the Greater Mesopotamian tradition that is revived in a tremendous floruit in the Achaemenid empire (Garrison and Root 2001). The fact that the images occur on cylinder seals is also an index of the Iranianization of Bes. Interestingly, of the heroic encounters with Bes

shown in any form on tablets of the Murašû archive only no. 3.12 is associated with an Egyptian name (Bregstein 1993: 604–9).

The Knot. Bes-images of the Late Period from Egypt are either completely naked or wear a leopard-skin pelt. According to Romano (1989: 196), when Late Period Bes figures from Egypt wear the leopard pelt, they also "invariably" wear a belt. This belt is "almost always" tied with a single loop. Our no. 10.2 (fig. 15), the fragmentary statuette from the Persepolis Treasury, exemplifies the Bes type wearing only the leopard pelt and a tied belt. But the belt here is tied in a distinctive knot with a double loop—not the single loop described by Romano as almost universally the norm in Late Period Egypt. Several examples from small-scale arts show Bes displaying a large knot that is probably this same double knot (e.g., 1.4 [fig. 8], 1.7, 6.5 [fig. 12], and 10.3 [fig. 13]). Nos. 1.4, 1.7, and 6.5 are all items in which the Bes-image is incorporated into Iranian scenes (see below).

There has been much discussion on the garment worn by the Achaemenid Persians (Herzfeld 1941: 259–60; Roes 1951; Goldman 1964; Thompson 1965; Beck 1972). Most emphasize that a knotted belt holds the garment together. This specific knotted belt can be seen in profile on the figure of Darius I at Bisitun and on renderings of Persian dignitaries on the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis who have their bodies turned to display the frontal view of the court robe (fig. 16). It is most dramatically visible on the Egyptian-made statue of Darius I from Susa (Kervran et al. 1972; Stronach 1974, as well as numerous images in Razmjou, this volume). The king is shown with a broad belt double-knotted at the front (fig. 17). The details of the tie of the knot are rendered meticulously and in precisely the same format as what we see (in minute scale) on the Bes statuette from the Persepolis Treasury (fig. 15) as well as on the aforementioned representations of the court robe on Persepolis reliefs. Significantly, however, the knot on the Egyptian Bes statuette from the Treasury is rendered inversely to the way it is rendered on the Achaemenid monuments. The Bes statuette represents this double knot according to the orientation seen on several other Egyptian monuments from Egypt of the New Kingdom or earlier.

FIG. 16.
Relief showing Persian noble wearing fluted tiara and belted/knotted Persian court robe. North stair of the Apadana at Persepolis. Photo by M. C. Root.

There are many ways of rendering a knot. The particular double knot we see depicted on representations of the Persian court robe in Achaemenid art is not paralleled in earlier western Asiatic traditions to the best of my knowledge. Indeed, knotted belts are rarely depicted in any format in ancient Near Eastern art.[12] The specific form of the Achaemenid double knot comes from Egypt. Although it is not a common feature in Egyptian dynastic art in this precise format, the parallels that do exist seem usually to emphasize associations with the divine in some sense.[13] This topic deserves further investigation by a specialist in the area.

Types of knots carried significant and distinctive associations in Egyptian iconography. Thus, for instance, the protective knot of the goddess Isis could stand alone as an amuletic device (Münster 1968). What is remarkable in the case of the double knot is the fact that our exploration of the Bes-image leads

us to consider that the development of the formula for the knotted belt on the Persian court robe was, to begin with, intended to bring to official Achaemenid art a reminiscence of Egyptian symbolical motifs associated with divine/cosmic realms. Once fully assimilated into the vocabulary of Iranianized visual culture, the double-knotted belt was then applied to Bes as part of a process of Iranianization based on precedents that were themselves originally Egyptian.[14]

The Headdress. The Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt witnessed many changes in Bes's physical appearance and outfit. Examples of the Bes-image predating the Eighteenth Dynasty are predominantly naked or with minimal clothing. The first item of clothing to appear in the Eighteenth Dynasty was the feathered headdress, presumably made from ostrich plumes and apparently adopted from representations of Anukis (Romano 1989: 78). By the Late Period, nearly every Bes-image wears a headdress of some sort. The headdress appears in several different forms, including the traditional lotus of Nefertem, the atef crown, and a double-plumed arrangement, among others (Romano 1989: 194). By far the most common headdress was, however, a rank of multiple ostrich plumes that flares out toward the top, mimicking the profile of the Egyptian cavetto cornice (Romano 1989: 192). Another common headdress takes the shape of the cavetto cornice but with no feathers indicated (Romano 1989: 193).

None of the elaborate headdress types can be seen on the examples of the Bes-image found in non-Egyptian regions of the Achaemenid empire, but both the multiple-plume and the cornice types were popular. Some splendid examples of the multiple ostrich-plume headdress can be seen on the Egyptian-type amulets from Susa (e.g., nos. 5.5, 5.13–17 [Abdi 1999: fig. 5]) and Persepolis (e.g., no. 5.21[fig. 2]), while the cornice-form headdress is seen very clearly on amulets such as nos. 5.6 and 5.7 (Abdi 1999: fig. 5). A variant form that emerges in the Achaemenid period seems to combine the strong flaring verticality so prominent in the plume headdress and the compact proportions and generally more straight-sided aspect of the cornice headdress. The resulting form is similar in outline to the Persian fluted tiara worn by Persian nobles along with the Persian court robe found on reliefs at Persepolis. Here compare the headdress worn by Bes on the gold pendants from Pasargadae (our no. 6.4 [fig. 7]) with figures of Persian nobles on the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis (fig. 16).

The modulated headdress of Bes in some Iranianized renderings may indicate a syncretistic merging of the two primary traditional Egyptian Bes headdresses—the flaring multiple plumes and the more rigid cavetto cornice—bringing Bes visually into the courtly Achaemenid sartorial vocabulary. It is equally possible that the Persian fluted tiara—as we know it from representations in official Achaemenid art canonized during the reign of Darius I—was the original site of the syncretism (a form devised deliberately to make some allusion to Egyptian iconography). In this case, the modulated forms seen occasionally on Bes-images in the empire would follow the lead of the officially designed program. Once again, the concept of such deliberate syncretism accords with what we see elsewhere in Achaemenid art (Root 1979). The specifics of the particular case here remain highly speculative and difficult to press further at present. The issue does alert us to the possibility that the pendants from Pasargadae, discussed earlier in terms of various interpretive options, should indeed be considered *assimilated* rather than merely *adopted* Bes-images (images that have undergone deliberate change in their Iranianization).

In any event, Bes-images on demonstrably Achaemenid-period artifacts display a wide range of headdress variations along the basic line between plumes and cavetto cornice. Any tendency to merge the two formats must be understood within the context of other representations that continue to follow Egyptian formulae quite faithfully on images that have been Iranianized in other ways.

THEMATIC CHANGES

Bes as a Winged Lion-Creature. Winged Bes-images first appear in Egypt in the Eighteenth Dynasty. They are found in the New Kingdom but not, according to Romano's 1989 tabulations, in the Third Intermediate Period. For the Late Period Romano lists only one example (his cat. no. 290). The small number of winged Bes-images that are known all display the wings either bent downward or straight (figs. 18–19). These two examples also typify the fact that winged Bes-images from Egypt are associated with both nobility and commoners. Figure 18 shows winged Bes on a carved wooden panel from a royal bed found in Tomb 46 in the Valley of the Kings, belonging to Yuya and Tuya, the parents of Queen Tiye, wife of Amenhotep III of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Romano 1989: 273–77 [cat. no. 87]; Davis et al. 1907: opposite p. 37). Figure 19 shows a winged Bes-image on a wall painting in a private house of the Deir el-Medineh village of the Nineteenth or Twentieth Dynasty (Romano 1989: 446–48 [cat. no. 152]; Bruyère 1939: fig. 131).

In the Achaemenid period outside Egypt, we have several examples of Bes as a composite lion-creature with wings and a Bes head (e.g., our nos. 1.2, 1.3, 1.8 [Abdi 1999: fig. 1], 3.7 [Abdi 1999: fig. 3], 3.9 [fig. 20] 3.10 [fig. 14], and 8.1 [Abdi 1999: fig. 8]). Bes as a winged *human*-form being is not known to me at present. (Our no. 3.11 [fig. 21] is an elusive seal impression from the Murašû archive, but it clearly shows Bes grasping two winged animals to his torso—not a winged Bes.) The composite nature of the creatures and the forms of the wings on the Bes-headed winged lion-creatures are Iranianized elements. Lion-creatures abound in the art of the Achaemenid empire (viz., Garrison and Root 2001 for many examples). Furthermore the style of the wings on these creatures is very different from that of New Kingdom Egyptian winged Bes-images, seeming
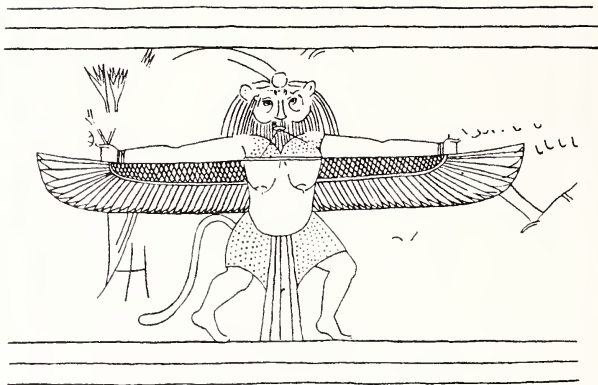
to owe a great deal to forms developed in Achaemenid glyptic workshops. The winged Bes figures of the Achaemenid empire display softly curving wings. The sole Late Period Egyptian example of winged Bes catalogued by Romano, by contrast, continues to show Bes with straight wings (Romano 1989: 828–34 [cat. no. 290]; Steindorff 1946: 157—temple carving dating to Nectanebo I [r. ca. 380–362 B.C.E.]).

Bes as an Iranian Hero. In numerous instances Bes emerges in the Achaemenid empire as a participant in scenes of heroic encounter of the control type (where the hero grasps two creatures in a balanced composition). While the traditions of Bes in Egypt include contexts in which the deity controls other creatures, these carry a gender distinction: female Bes holds snakes, lizards, and desert hares; male Bes only grasps snakes (Romano 1998: 96). In Bes-images of the Achaemenid empire male Bes controls various types of animals and creatures: gazelles or goats, horses, lions, winged lion-creatures, and other mythical creatures including winged Bes-headed lion-creatures (viz., our nos. 1.3, 1.6 [fig. 9], 1.8, 2.11, 1.12, 3.8 [fig. 10], 3.10 [fig. 14], 3.11 [fig. 21], 6.5 [fig. 12]). The proliferation of heroic modes in which Bes

participates can be contextualized now within the rich iconographical flowering of hero imagery in Achaemenid art as it develops in Persepolis (Garrison and Root 2001: esp. 53–60 on meanings of the hero). Heroes of all types emerge in this environment in the art of seals (and other portable arts), even though the official art of the same milieu remains rigidly codified and iconographically restricted. This integration of Bes into the heroic field is perhaps the most striking and unambiguous feature of his Iranianization. The stage was certainly set for the emergence of Bes as an Iranian hero in the very large corpus of seals documented on the Persepolis Fortification tablets, which display so many variations on the hero (sometimes frankly irreverent and humorous like Bes himself). But no image of Bes has been identified among the hero seals on the Fortification tablets—or indeed on any of the seals used on PF tablets 1–2087, which make up the research corpus of Garrison and Root. This, as discussed below, offers a crucial chronological marker.

Bes Incorporated into Other Iranian Iconographic Systems. SCENES WITH PEDESTAL CREATURES. Our no. 3.9 (fig. 20) is a seal known from the Murašû archive that displays two Bes-headed winged lion-creatures

FIG. 20.
No. 3.9: Drawing of an impression of a cylinder seal impressed on a tablet from the Murašû archive of Nippur. Istanbul Museum TuM 202. After Kruckman 1933: no. LXXVIII.

FIG. 21.
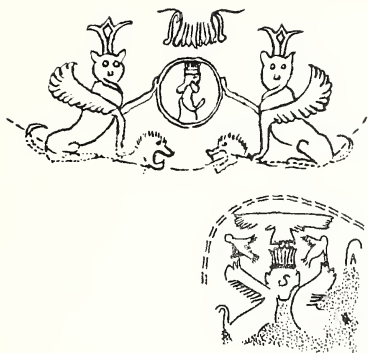*No. 3.11: Drawing of an impression of a stamp seal used on a tablet from the Murašû archive of Nippur. Istanbul Museum Const. 552. After Donbaz and Stolper 1997: no. 18.*

supported by pedestal creatures in the form of lions. Pedestal creatures also figure in two unexcavated seals in our catalogue: no. 1.6 (fig. 9) and no. 1.7. In all three of these representations the Bes-image is part of an elaborate scene involving Iranian ritual symbols. Seals with pedestal creatures have been shown to define a special category of elite representation in the Achaemenid empire (Dusinberre 1997). Based on the evidence from the Persepolis Fortification tablets, Dusinberre points out that in the early Achaemenid period, pedestal animals/composite creatures appear on the seals of a handful of very important people and/or imperial offices. These seals include a royal-name seal of Darius I (PFS 1683*) as well as seals of very exalted court personages such as Uštana, the satrap of Babylon at the beginning of the fifth century B.C.E. (see also Garrison 1998 for further discussion). Dusinberre's article, contextualizing a cylinder seal excavated at Sardis, demonstrates that pedestal imagery was acceptable for an elite personage operating in the satrapy of Lydia as well as in the Mesopotamian-Iranian heartland. (The Sardis seal does not incorporate an image of Bes. Indeed, no seal with Bes is so far known from Achaemenid Sardis [see Dusinberre 2003].)

Interestingly, our excavated example of a seal with pedestal creatures that does incorporate the Bes-image (our no. 3.9 [fig. 20]) was used on a tablet recording taxes bearing the name of a Marduk-zer-ibni, son of Belšunu, and on another tablet from the Kasr Archive (Stolper 1985; 1988: 141 n. 32). Belšunu is recorded as a governor of Babylon between 417 and

414 B.C.E. and a governor of "Abar-Nahara" (Across-the-River) between 407 and 401 B.C.E. (Stolper 1987: 392). These observations suggest that from the early fifth century (when we are looking through the lens of the Fortification tablets) to the late fifth century (when we are looking through the lens of these corpora of sealed tablets) the use of pedestal animals continues to be restricted to individuals of high status. Within that framework, no. 3.9 shows us that Iranianized Bes was operating as an important image, fully assimilated into the codes of elite presentation in scenes charged with Iranian religious associations.

BES IN IRANIAN CULT SCENES. Cylinder seals continue to provide our most important evidence here, displaying Bes-images in scenes that are otherwise Iranian. Egyptianizing motifs generally are familiar to us on seals of the Achaemenid period. One prime example is PFS 38 on the Fortification tablets (Garrison and Root 2001: 83–85 [cat. no. 16]). This is the seal of the royal wife Irtašduna (Grk. Artystone), incorporating the motif of Harpocrates perched in a papyrus thicket. The challenge is to assess the meaning of the Egyptian elements in their new cultural context. Seals deploying the Bes-image may sometimes use the imagery as a decorative element not meant to be particularly charged with meaning. But it is dangerous to make that assumption. Certainly in many cases the Bes-image seems pivotal, included in meaningful ways into representational schemes depicting worship.

No. 1.4 (fig. 8) is particularly interesting. Bes stands frontally, holding *barsams* or lilies—the former suggesting Iranian religious ritual (Ward 1910: 340),

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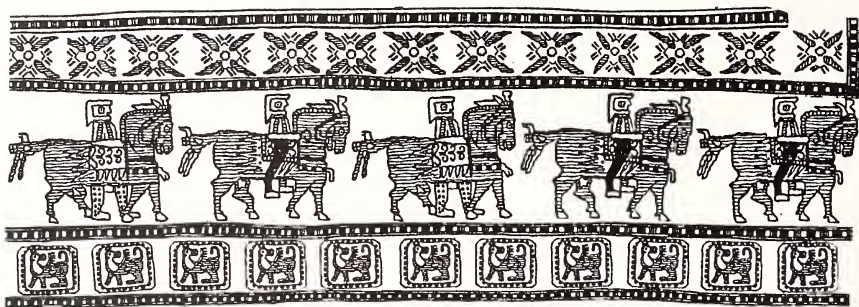
FIG. 22.
Drawing of a section of the Pazyryk rug from a fifth-century nomadic tomb in Siberia. Adapted from Jettmar 1967: fig. 103.

the latter suggesting royal cult. Flanking Bes are two men in Persian court robes upholding the winged symbol of Ahuramazda with its atlas posture full of cosmic implications (Root 1979). The scene is accompanied by an Old Persian inscription that reads, "Aršāka, son of Aθ(a)iyab(a)šata" (Schmitt 1981: 37–38). Both personal names are Iranian, and their occurrence here in Old Persian strongly suggests that this seal belonged to an elite individual of Iranian ethnicity. It thus provides an unambiguous example of the appropriation of the Bes-image by an Iranian who has incorporated Bes into the visual codes of Iranian religion. The seal was collected early and seems certainly genuine. Its use of Old Persian in a monolingual inscription strongly suggests a date in the reign of Xerxes or later, since the first known monolingual royal-name inscriptions on seals only appear at this time.

BES IN OTHER IRANIAN REPRESENTATIONAL CONTEXTS. Additional presentations of Bes show his integration into Iranian schemes of representation. On cylinder seal no. 1.2 (Abdi 1999: fig. 1), where a hero controls Bes-headed lion-creatures with the winged symbol of Ahuramazda overhead, a fruited date palm also appears. This element is considered a hallmark of Achaemenid royal-name seals (Schmidt 1957: 8; Dusinberre 1997: 107–8; Garrison and Root 2001). Like the pedestal motif, it seems to have connoted elevated status within an Iranianized sphere of art production.

Our no. 6.2 (Abdi 1999: fig. 6) is an unprov-

enanced gold necklace displaying a central Bes-head element flanked by smaller square plaques showing equestrians in the Iranian riding costume. The plaques are reminiscent of figures woven into the fifth-century Pazyryk rug excavated from a royal nomadic burial in Siberia (Rudenko 1970: pl. 174 Lerner 1991; here fig. 22).[15] Although the Pazyryk rug does not incorporate Bes-images into its program, four wooden plaques from the same site are carved as Bes heads (Lerner 1991: 8; Rudenko 1970: pls. 91–92). They formed part of a horse bridle. While not technically under the control of the Achaemenids, the society represented by these elaborate Central Asian burials was in direct contact with the empire. The Bes-head plaques look like local products, not carved in a style familiar to us from mainstream Achaemenid associations. Yet their presence here implies that Bes, as infused with new energy within Iranianized contexts in the heart of the empire, had also made an impact on the eastern fringes of Achaemenid influence.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE IRANIANIZATION OF THE BES-IMAGE

Armed with some examples of the Bes-image from archival contexts, we may propose some basic parameters for the Iranianization of Bes. It is safe to assume that the Bes-image was first introduced to

Iranian audiences in a major way after the annexation of the Levant or in the course of the first conquest of Egypt in 525 B.C.E. But the main burst of creative new definitions in visual culture under the Achaemenids seems to have taken place under Darius and Xerxes. It is likely that Darius's reconquest of Egypt in 518 B.C.E. provided a critical stimulus of the observation stage right in Egypt. And certainly also in the early years of Darius we witness the influx into the imperial heartland of Egyptians and their cultural accouterments—offering an on-site arena for further observation. After the consolidation of the empire under Darius I, Bes gained popularity and entered the Iranian design repertoire. The lack of Bes-images on seals in the Fortification archive (509–494 B.C.E.) is important. An argument *ex silentio* is always risky, but in this instance it is worth hazarding because the corpus is so large and represents such a broad cross-section of a well-traveled society (Garrison and Root 2001).

The one example of a Bes-image from the smaller, more socially restricted, and later Persepolis Treasury corpus (492–460 B.C.E.) is crucial. PTS 64s (our no. 3.8 [fig. 10]) shows that sometime within these date parameters a fully Iranianized Bes-image had entered the repertoire of motifs at Persepolis, where it was used by someone working in a high-level post in the royal treasury. Unfortunately PTS 64s is only known to us through this one sealed bulla, which does not bear an inscription. Nor is the seal known to us in association with any other seals, thus potentially offering links that might further refine its usage date here. (On cross-linking of Treasury seals as a method of inquiry, see Gates, this volume.) A seal bearing the Bes-image is also now known to us through a cache of sealed anepigraphic bullae excavated by Akbar Tadjvidi in the eastern Persepolis Fortification (our no. 3.16; Tadjvidi 1976: fig. 147). This collection of uninscribed bullae is not directly associated with the Fortification tablets (which were excavated from rooms in the Fortification at the northeast sector). The repertoire of styles and images appears close to those on the Treasury tablets and labels. It would seem, based on this evidence, that the Iranianization of Bes had been achieved by sometime around 490 B.C.E. or slightly later.

Evidence from the hoard of sealings from Ur re-

affirms our understanding that before the mid-fifth century seal motifs including Iranianized Bes-imagery have become demonstrably popular. The Ur hoard, with a *terminus post quem* of 465–460 B.C.E. for its deposition based on numismatic grounds (Legrain 1951; Collon 1996: 66), represents a collection of artist's models in the form of impressions of seals, coins, and metalwork designs. Thus our nos. 3.1–7 (Abdi 1999: fig. 3) show images of Iranianized Bes not only in existence by that date at the latest but also incorporated into the toolkit of an artist presumably poised to use these images as models for any number of variant schemes. In the space of less than thirty years after Darius's reconquest of Egypt in 518 B.C.E., Bes appears in Iranianized form on PTS 64s, used in an elite administrative context at Persepolis and subsequently on a variety of other datable glyptic evidence. We can also look at some later dating evidence with the aid of the seals used on tablets in the Murašû archive of Nippur (Bregstein 1993; Donbaz and Stolper 1997).

As table 12 shows, the earliest and the latest examples of the Bes-image from the Murašû archive (our nos. 3.9 [fig. 20] and 3.10 [fig. 14]) both demonstrate traits of a fully Iranianized Bes—in stylistic qualities (the curved wings) and in iconographical contextualization (the pedestal imagery combined with elements of Iranian religious imagery for no. 3.9; the Bes taking the part of a hero controlling Bes-headed winged lion-creatures for no. 3.10). No. 3.9 was made before the 41st year of Artaxerxes I (i.e., 424 B.C.E.), when it was used in the archive; no. 3.10 was made before the 11th year of Darius II (i.e., 412 B.C.E.), its first attested usage date. Obviously one

TABLE 12.
Usage-dated Examples of the Bes-image from the Murašû Archive

Date	Bregstein no.	Abdi no.	Form
424 (41 AI)	208	3.9	Bes-headed winged lion-creatures
420 (3 DII)	210	3.14	
419 (4 DII)	209	3.13	
417 (6 DII)	206	3.12	
412 (11 DII)	207	3.10	Bes-headed winged lion-creatures controlled by frontal Bes

cannot dismiss the possibility that these seals may have been made long before they were impressed on these particular dated tablets. Perhaps what is most important about the Nippur evidence is the clear indication it provides for individuals with Egyptian and Babylonian names operating in this arena within Mesopotamia, with Babylonian-named people outnumbering Egyptian-named people in the use of Iranianized Bes-imagery on their seals.

CONCLUSION

As I outlined at the beginning of this article, the Iranianization of Bes can be viewed as a cultural process, with the following stages: observation → adoption → assimilation → appropriation. Prior to the rise of the Achaemenids, as early as mid-second millennium B.C.E., the Bes-image was restricted to the eastern Mediterranean world, where it had spread through prolonged contact with Egypt. Bes seems to have acquired some cultural significance in the coastal area but hardly expanded beyond the borders of the Levant. The handful of examples that made their way to Upper Mesopotamia were most probably brought back from Egypt as booty by the Assyrian troops. In central and southern Mesopotamia and the Iranian plateau, Bes was virtually unknown.

The Achaemenid Persians arose in the land of Fars in southern Iran in the mid-first millennium B.C.E. and conquered the entire Near East in less than two generations. This rapid expansion brought people from different cultures into sudden contact and triggered a complex process of cultural interaction. Rather abruptly, people from drastically different cultures found themselves in close contact with other cultures with unfamiliar characteristics, including distinctive system of symbols and icons. Iranians may have made their initial observation of the Bes-image at this time. Iranian troops may have originally been exposed to the Bes-image upon the conquest of the Levant and Egypt. This may explain the popularity of Bes among Achaemenid military units.[16] Bes seems to have gained popularity both among commoner and elite Iranians once the tumultuous early empire-building years had passed and the Achaemenid state devoted more time to massive construc-

tion works that required the skills of craftsmen from the edges of the empire, including Egypt. These craftsmen should be credited with introducing Bes into the imperial heartland by bringing along examples of the Bes-image from Egypt. The abundance of Bes amulets from Susa and Persepolis reflects the presence of Egyptians in these imperial centers and the intermingling of Egyptians and Iranians that would have provided a fertile environment for the observation stage of the Iranianization process.

Observation of the Bes-image by Iranians paved the way for the next stage—adoption. Some aspects of the myth surrounding Bes, particularly his protective functions, may have appealed to some Iranians, but others may have simply begun using the Bes-image for its original Egyptian capacity—that is, as a talisman against noxious creatures. Those Iranians who found some similarities between Bes and their own beliefs may then have begun the appropriation and assimilation stages in the Iranianization of the Bes-image. Physical changes were made to Bes, and he began to appear in a variety of thematic contexts of a fully Iranian type.

The changes mentioned above, especially the thematic changes, demonstrate the newly acquired cultural significance of Bes in his Iranian context. We are not yet in a position fully to grasp the significance of the situation. Nevertheless, the visual record suggests that despite the plethora of Iranianized Bes-images, Egyptian-type Bes remained popular as well. The image collection represented by the Ur hoard indicates one tangible mechanism whereby Egyptian Bes and Iranianized Bes coexisted in the Achaemenid empire (Abdi 1999: fig. 3), perhaps enjoying rather different connotations.

I am unable to end this narrative with a tidy description of the final years of the career of Bes in the Achaemenid empire. We currently lack firmly dated evidence. Bes probably continued to be popular well into the last decades of the Achaemenid period. I am so far unaware of any data to suggest that his career continued in western Asiatic lands formerly under the Achaemenid hegemony after the fall of the empire. Perhaps the Macedonian invasion was the terminating point for the Iranianized Bes, while his Egyptian counterpart continued to be venerated in his homeland well into Ptolemaic and Roman times

FIG. 23.
No. 11.3: Left fragment of a wall relief displaying a head of Bes from Persepolis. Iran National Museum acc. no. P-180. Photo courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.

FIG. 24.
No. 11.2: Fragment of a wall relief displaying a head of Bes from Persepolis, apparently joining at the right of no. 11.3. Iran National Museum. Photo courtesy of the Iran National Museum, Tehran.

(Hoffmann 2000: 199–205; Frankfurter 1998: 124–31 and 169–74).

Why, among the numerous Egyptian deities, did only Bes enjoy such popularity in the Achaemenid empire? Some of Bes's characteristics set him apart from most Egyptian deities. On a physical level, his comical figure may have made Bes more attractive to ordinary Iranians than other more majestic Egyptian deities.[17] On a functional level, Bes offered a fairly simple mythology with a large number of useful benefits, including protection against noxious beasts and physical harm, as well as other practical domestic functions (Bresciani 1992). These benefits too may have appealed more to ordinary people, who were more concerned with daily activities than the smooth operation of a mythological cosmos, for which other Egyptian deities were responsible. Further, as the center of a popular cult, Bes may have been introduced to Iranians by their Egyptian wives, friends, comrades-in-arms, or business partners, whereas the great Egyptian cults, controlled by special priesthoods, were not readily accessible to ordinary folks.

With this paper I hope to have established that the introduction and adoption of Bes into the Achemenid empire was a horizontal process involving the common people of Egypt and Iran. But, once adopted, Bes seems to have attracted the interest of members of higher social classes, as indicated by the

numerous examples of the Bes-image that could only have been commissioned by individuals of exalted status. How far did this vertical movement take Bes? To judge by the iconography of several seals we have discussed, the levels Bes attained reached the upper echelons of courtly life. To judge by the number of intrinsically precious items, such as the gold pendants from Pasargadae and the gilded silver *phiale* (no. 8.1, unfortunately unprovenanced), Bes attained enough stature to decorate gifted luxury items that would have circulated among kings and courtiers.

The as yet poorly understood fragments of a Bes relief from Persepolis (nos. 11.3 and 11.2 [figs. 23 and 24 respectively]—possibly joining fragments of the same monument) suggest that an installation somewhere in the heartland imperial capital was decorated with a program of Bes-imagery. Was it a garrison installation where Bes exercised apotropaic functions? A birthing chamber of some sort? And in the service of people of what ethnic identifications? Similarly, the fascinating relief from the Achaemenid-period heroon in Lycia (no. 11.1) raises important issues about the complex practices of acculturation among diverse peoples—surely elites in this case—populating a multiethnic empire. While these issues are well beyond the scope of my commentary here and my arena of expertise, I can offer some general ideas that might encourage others to take up the challenge.

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Empires, as they become established and grow, typically face problems of internal communication and control. On the one hand, Achaemenid practice used strategies of *divisa et impera*, recognizing and condoning local ethnicities and their cults so that each component group of the empire maintained its identity. On the other hand, Achaemenid practice also developed strategies for binding together the cadres of imperial administrators across vast stretches of space with special cults, codes of dress and behavior, preferences for certain goods, and the like. Encouraging the use of the Bes-image, and also perhaps encouraging beliefs about the effectiveness of Bes and his protective powers that cut across class lines, seems to have served both of these binding purposes. Bes came to be a symbol congruent with virtues of the Mazdaism that was disseminated in official royal proclamations. Without threatening the ideologies of the state and the beliefs of Mazdaism, Bes could symbolize the personal strivings for protection, good will, and humor that operated fluidly among workers, soldiers, and nobles (and among women as well as men) who served the King of Kings throughout his realm.[18] □

Appendix: Updated Catalogue f Bes-Images

These tables (1–11) incorporate Bes-images so far assembled from the political and temporal purview of the Achaemenid empire outside Egypt. They do not incorporate Bes-images from regions outside the direct control of the empire. A dashed line separates new additions to each table from those already published in Abdi 1999.

Full citations for references in the tables appear in "Works Cited" at the end of this article. Regarding those artifacts in the catalogue that are illustrated within the article, no attempt has been made to render them according to a consistent scale. The reader should use the figures only as a resource on the imagery itself.

TABLE 1. CYLINDER SEALS

No.	Category	Material	Dimensions	Place of discovery	Repository	Reference no.	Bibliography
1.1	cylinder seal	red-brown agate breccia	32 × 16 mm	bought in Lebanon, 1889	Ashmolean Museum	1889.360	Buchanan 1966: 121, no. 675
1.2	cylinder seal	limestone	32 × 16 mm	Babylon, find no. 29 278	Berlin Museum	VA 6972	Moortgat 1940: no. 758
1.3	cylinder seal	chalcedony	21 × 10.5 mm	antiquities market, 1907	Berlin Museum	VA 3387	Moortgat 1940: no. 764
1.4	cylinder seal	carnelian	28 × 12 mm	antiquities market; J. R. Steuart Coll., 1849	British Museum	BM 89133	Wiseman 1959: no. 103
1.5	cylinder seal	blue chalcedony	24 × 12 mm	antiquities market; Southesk Coll.	British Museum	BM 129571	Carnegie 1908: 108, no. 34, pl. 8
1.6	cylinder seal	chalcedony			British Museum	BM 89352	Wiseman 1959: no. 106
1.7	cylinder seal			Nayyeri Coll.			Graziani 1978
1.8	cylinder seal	agate	23 × 8 mm		Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris		Delaporte 1910: no. 502

TABLE 2. STAMP SEALS (CONTINUED)

No.	Category	Material	Dimensions	Place of discovery	Repository	Reference no.	Bibliography
2.1	stamp seal	chalcedony	16 mm		Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris	1085a	Boardman 1970: no. 164
2.2	stamp seal	chalcedony	15 mm		Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	27.665	Boardman 1970: no. 165
2.3	stamp seal	rock crystal	15 mm		British Museum	BM 115596	Boardman 1970: no. 166
2.4	stamp seal		17 mm				Boardman 1970: no. 167
2.5	stamp seal	"green agate-jasper"		Cyprus (?)	once Southesk Coll.		Boardman 1970: no. 168
2.6	stamp seal	blue chalcedony	19 × 13 × 8 mm	bought in Beirut	Ashmolean Museum	1889.429	Buchanan & Moorey 1988: no. 468
2.7	scarab	green jasper	14 × 10 × 8 mm		Ashmolean Museum	1941.1130	Buchanan & Moorey 1988: no. 494
2.8	scarab	brownish-green jasper	17 × 13 × 9 mm		Ashmolean Museum	1938.875	Buchanan & Moorey 1988: no. 495
2.9	stamp seal	white quartz	23 × 15 × 18 mm	Kenna Coll., Geneva	Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève	20563	Vollenweider 1983: no. 31
2.10	scarab	dark green jasper	18 × 15 × 10 mm	Kenna Coll., Geneva	Musée d'art et d'histoire de Geneve	20427	Vollenweider 1983: no. 126
2.11	scarab	green jasper		Tomb L 24 ʿAtlit, Palestine			Johns 1933: no. 935 99, fig. 85
2.12	scarab	jasper	16 × 12 × 8 mm	Grave No. 7, Kamid el-Loz		KL 64:116g	Poppa 1978: 63, table 8:7, 17
2.13	scarab	faience	17 × 13 × 10 mm	Deve Hüyük	Ashmolean Museum		Moorey 1980: no. 488
2.14	scarab	carnelian	13 × 8.5 mm	antiquities market			Nunn 2000: no. 33
2.15	scarab	faience	16.5 × 13 × 10 mm	antiquities market			Nunn 2000: no. 36
2.16	scarab	chalcedony	18 × 13 × 8 mm	antiquities market			Nunn 2000: no. 37
2.17	scarab	carnelian	20 × 15 mm	antiquities market			Nunn 2000: no. 38
2.18	scarab	chalcedony	17.7 × 12.4 mm	Byblos			Nunn 2000: no. 39
2.19	scarab	jasper	17 × 13.7 × 3.3 mm	Syria			Nunn 2000: no. 40
2.20	scarab	jasper	16.5×12.5×10.5mm	antiquities market			Nunn 2000: no. 41
2.21	scarab	jasper	17 × 12 × 10 mm	Lebanon			Nunn 2000: no. 43
2.22	scarab	steatite	16 × 12 mm	Byblos			Nunn 2000: no. 44
2.23	scarab	jasper	h. 32 mm	antiquities market			Nunn 2000: no. 45
2.24	scarab	jasper	15 × 12 × 9.5 mm	antiquities market			Nunn 2000: no. 46
2.25	scarab	jasper	12 × 15 × 9.5 mm	Byblos			Nunn 2000: no. 47
2.26	scarab	jasper	17 × 13 × 10 mm	Syria			Nunn 2000: no. 48
2.27	scarab	carnelian	14 × 10.5 × 5 mm	antiquities market			Nunn 2000: no. 75
2.28	scarab	glazed steatite	13 × 10 × 5.5 mm	Al-Mina	Ashmolean Museum	MN133	Buchanan & Moorey 1988: no. 31

TABLE 2. STAMP SEALS (CONTINUED)

No.	Category	Material	Dimensions	Place of discovery	Repository	Reference no.	Bibliography
2.29	scarab	steatite	$18 \times 15 \times 6$ mm	Ras Shamara			Stucky 1973: 286
2.30	scarab	steatite	$14 \times 9.5 \times 6$ mm	antiquities market	British	105068 Museum	Giveon 1985: no. 161

TABLE 3. SEAL IMPRESSIONS

No.	Category	Material	Dimensions	Place of discovery	Repository	Reference no.	Bibliography
3.1	stamp seal impression	clay		Ur	British Museum		Legrain 1951: no. 727; Collon 1996: 5b
3.2	stamp seal impression	clay		Ur	British Museum	BM 212	Legrain 1951: no. 728; Collon 1996: 5d
3.3	stamp seal impression	clay		Ur	British Museum		Legrain 1951: no. 729; Collon 1996: 5c
3.4	stamp seal impression	clay		Ur	British Museum	BM 346	Legrain 1951: no. 730; Collon 1996: 5a
3.5	stamp seal impression	clay		Ur	British Museum		Legrain 1951: no. 731; Collon 1996: 5f
3.6	stamp seal impression	clay		Ur	British Museum	BM 322	Legrain 1951: no. 732; Collon 1996: 5g
3.7	stamp seal impression	clay		Ur	British Museum	BM 198	Legrain 1951: no. 757; Collon 1996: 3c–d
3.8	clay ball w/ 3 impressions of same stamp seal	clay		Persepolis Treasury		PT 4 950; Seal no. 64	Schmidt 1939: 43, fig. 25; Schmidt 1957: pl. 2, 13
3.9	cylinder seal impression on tablet	clay	29×11 mm	Murašû archive, Nippur	Ancient Orient Museum, Istanbul	TuM 202	Krückmann 1933: no. LXXVIII; Bregstein 1993: no. 208
3.10	impressions of 3 similar cylinder seals on 6 tablets	clay	24×16 mm	Murašû archive, Nippur	Ancient Orient Museum, Istanbul	5265, 5137, 12857, 12826, 12839	Legrain 1925: no. 925; Bregstein 1993: no. 207
3.11	stamp seal impression on tablet	clay	19×16 mm	Murašû archive, Nippur	Ancient Orient Museum, Istanbul	Const. 552	Bregstein 1993: no. 211; Donbaz & Stolper 1997: no. 18
3.12	stamp seal impression on tablet	clay	22×18 mm	Murašû archive, Nippur	Ancient Orient Museum, Istanbul	Const. 598	Bregstein 1993: no. 206; Donbaz & Stolper 1997: no. 58
3.13	cylinder seal impression on tablet	clay	15×11 mm	Murašû archive, Nippur	Ancient Orient Museum, Istanbul	12836	Bregstein 1993: no. 209
3.14	cylinder seal impression on tablet	clay	21×16 mm	Murašû archive, Nippur	Ancient Orient Museum, Istanbul	6129	Bregstein 1993: no. 210
3.15	seal impression	clay		Murašû archive Nippur		CBS 4020	Legrain 1925: no. 775
3.16	seal impression	clay		Persepolis Fortification	Iran National Museum		Tadjvidi 1976: fig. 147

TABLE 4. POTTERY VESSELS

No.	Category	Material	Dimensions	Place of discovery	Repository	Reference no.	Bibliography
4.1	jar	pottery	240 × 145 mm	Deve Hüyük		(C) 1913.640	Moorey 1980: 20, no. 28
4.2	vase	pottery		Tel Mevorakh		Reg. no. 484, loc. 125	Stern 1976: pl. 32A
4.3	jug	pottery		Tell Jemmeh		Jemmeh no. 78C	Stern 1976: pl. 32C
4.4	juglet	pottery		Tell Jemmeh		Jemmeh no. 78F	Stern 1976: pl. 32F; 1984: fig. 211
4.5	jug	pottery		Tell Jemmeh		Jemmeh no. 78M	Stern 1976: pl. 33B; 1984: fig. 210
4.6	fragmentary vase	pottery		Tell Jemmeh		Jemmeh E XXXVI 25/14	Stern 1976: pl. 32B
4.7	fragmentary vase	pottery		Tell Jemmeh		Jemmeh E XXXVI 26/8	Stern 1976: pl. 32E
4.8	jug	pottery		Samaria region	Coll. of Carmen & Louis Warschaw		Stern 1976: pl. 33A
4.9	jug	pottery			Coll. of M. Dayan		Stern 1976: pl. 32D
4.10	jug	pottery		Tell el-Hesi, Substratum Vd, Pit I.12.249		H 81-20668	Bennett & Blakely 1989: figs. 177–78
4.11	pot sherd	pottery		Persepolis Fortification	Iran National Museum		Tadjvidi 1976: fig. 137

TABLE 5. AMULETS

No.	Category	Material	Dimensions	Place of discovery	Repository	Reference no.	Bibliography
5.1	amulet	faience		Dor, Palestine			Stern 1995: fig. 7.6.3
5.2	amulet	faience		Dor, Palestine			Stern 1995: fig. 7.6.4
5.3	amulet	faience		Dor, Palestine			Stern 1995: fig. 7.6.5
5.4	amulet/ inlay	light greenish-blue frit		Persepolis Treasury, Room 64, plot HG 91	Iran National Museum	PT6 359	Schmidt 1957: pl. 41:7
5.5	amulet	faience	70 × 45 × 14 mm	Masjid-i Soleiman	Iran National Museum	GMIS.701	Ghirshman 1976: pl. CX3
5.6	amulet	faience	h. 41 mm	Susa	Louvre	Sb 3565	Romano 1989: no. 277
5.7	amulet	faience	h. 42 mm	Susa	Louvre	Sb 10170	Romano 1989: no. 278
5.8	amulet	faience	h. 42 mm	Susa	Louvre	Sb 2954	Romano 1989: no. 279
5.9	amulet	faience	h. 22 mm	Susa	Louvre	Sb 10148	Romano 1989: no. 280
5.10	amulet	faience	h. 14 mm	Susa	Louvre	Sb 10174	Romano 1989: no. 281
5.11	amulet	faience	h. 25 mm	Susa	Louvre	Sb 10175	Romano 1989: no. 282
5.12	amulet	faience	h. 18 mm	Susa	Louvre	Sb 10176	Romano 1989: no. 283
5.13	amulet	faience	h. 37 mm	Susa	Louvre	Sb 10149	Romano 1989: no. 284
5.14	amulet	faience	h. 31 mm	Susa	Louvre	Sb 10150	Romano 1989: no. 285
5.15	amulet	faience	h. 35 mm	Susa	Louvre	Sb 10151	Romano 1989: no. 286

TABLE 5. AMULETS (CONTINUED)

No.	Category	Material	Dimensions	Place of discovery	Repository	Reference no.	Bibliography
5.16	amulet	faience	h. 29 mm	Susa	Louvre	Sb 10172	Romano 1989: no. 287
5.17	amulet	faience		Susa, Village perse-achéménide	Louvre	G. S. 2042	Ghirshman 1954: 37, pl. XVII:1
5.18	amulet	faience		Susa, Village perse-achéménide	Louvre	G. S. 2123	Ghirshman 1954: 37, pl. XVII:5
5.19	amulet	faience		Necropolis of ᶜAin el-Helwe, Lebanon			Romano 1989: no. 288
5.20	amulet	lapis lazuli			Iran National Museum		Unpublished
5.21	amulet	?		Persepolis	Iran National Museum	2024	Unpublished
5.22	amulet	faience		Persepolis	Iran National Museum	2064	Unpublished
5.23	amulet	faience		Persepolis	Iran National Museum	7631	Unpublished
5.24	amulet	glazed frit	h. 14 mm	Grave P. 255, Ur	British Museum	U.12797	Woolley 1962: 115
5.25	amulet	glazed pottery	h. 24 mm	Grave P. 60, Ur	British Museum	U.16798	Woolley 1962: 122
5.26	amulet	faience	24.5 × 18 mm	Grave no. 34, Kamid el-Loz		KL 64:314b	Poppa 1978: 100, table 16: 34,6
5.27	amulet	faience	24 × 25 × 9 mm	Babylon	British Museum		Reade 1986: 83, no. 43, pl. IVf
5.28	amulet	faience		Susa	Louvre	Sb3564	Romano 1989: no. 246
5.29	amulet	faience		Cyprus			Romano 1989: no. 275
5.30	amulet	faience		Cyprus			Romano 1989: no. 269

TABLE 6. PERSONAL ORNAMENTS

No.	Category	Material	Dimensions	Place of discovery	Repository	Reference no.	Bibliography
6.1	necklace	faience		Dor, Area B1	?		Stern and Sharon 1987: pl. 27B
6.2	necklace	gold	h. 40 mm	antiquities market	Metropolitan Museum of Art	65.169	Porter 1984: no. 65
6.3	medallion	gold	d. 43.5 mm	"The Oxus Treasure"	British Museum		Dalton 1964: no. 32, pl. XII:32
6.4	medallions	gold		Pasargadae	Iran National Museum		Stronach 1978: fig. 86:1, pl. 154 a–c
6.5	earring	gold	d. 50 mm	Susa, Grave no. Sb 2764	Louvre	AO 3171	Ghirshman 1962: pl. 323
6.6	medallions	gold			?		Rehm 1992: fig. 36
6.7	medallion	gold	h. 27 mm	Talesh, Gilan	Iran National Museum	INM 2206	Unpublished
6.8	medallion	gold	24 × 17 mm	Grave no. 2, Dosaran Cemetery, Zanjan	Zanjan		Rahbar 1997: 24, fig. 2, fig. 3:18
6.9	medallion	gold	8 × 4 mm	?	Iran National Museum	2426/59	unpublished

TABLE 7. *CIPPI*

No.	Category	Material	Dimensions	Place of discovery	Repository	Reference no.	Bibliography
7.1	*cippus*	white stone	88 × 83 × 31 mm	Nippur, Area WA 13, Level II 1, the "Achaemenid Chapel"	Baghdad	11 N 61	Johnson 1975
7.2	*cippus*	black stone	94 × 91 × 18 mm	Susa	Iran National Museum	2103/103	Abdi 2002

TABLE 8. METALWARE AND OTHER METAL ARTIFACTS

No.	Category	Material	Dimensions	Place of discovery	Repository	Reference no.	Bibliography
8.1	*phiale* with gold Bes-sphinx appliqués	gilded silver	d. 172 mm h. 18 mm		British Museum	BM135571	Curtis 1989: fig. 58
8.2	jug with Bes head below the handle	silver		antiquities market	Uşak Museum	1.14.96	Özgen & Öztürk 1996: no. 12, p. 75
8.3	handle in the shape of a winged ibex on a Bes head	gilded silver			Louvre		Amandry 1959: pl. 27: 2–3; Porada 1965: 168, fig. 86
8.4	head of Bes attached to the front of a miniature chariot	gold		"The Oxus Treasure"	British Museum		Dalton 1964: no. 7, pl. IV

TABLE 9. COINS

No.	Category	Material	Dimensions	Place of discovery	Repository	Reference no.	Bibliography
9.1	drachm	silver			private coll., Paris		Mildenberg 1995: pl. I:1
9.2	hemiobol	silver			private coll., Los Angeles		Mildenberg 1995: pl. I:2
9.3	drachm	silver			Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	5.220	Mildenberg 1995: pl. I:3
9.4	obol	silver			private coll., Los Angeles		Mildenberg 1995: pl. I:4
9.5	drachm	silver			private coll., Los Angeles		Mildenberg 1995: pl. I:5
9.6	obol	silver			private coll., Jerusalem		Mildenburg 1995: pl. I:6
9.7	obol	silver			private coll., Los Angeles		Mildenburg 1995: pl. I:7
9.8	obol	silver			American Numismatic Society, New York		Mildenburg 1995: pl. I:8
9.9	tetratemorion	silver			private coll., Los Angeles		Mildenburg 1995: pl. I:9
9.10	obol	silver		Abu Shusheh hoard	Department of Antiquities, Jerusalem	IGCH 1507	Mildenburg 1995: pl. I:10
9.11	hemiobol	silver		Samaria (?)	private coll., Los Angeles		Mildenburg 1995: pl. I:11
9.12	drachm	silver			Cabinet des Médailles, Paris	1071	Mildenberg 1995: pl. I:12
9.13	drachm	silver			Cabinet des Médailles, Paris		Mildenburg 1995: pl. I:13

TABLE 9. COINS (CONTINUED)

No.	Category	Material	Dimensions	Place of discovery	Repository	Reference no.	Bibliography
9.14	obol	silver			Cabinet des Médailles, Paris	2999	Mildenburg 1995: pl. I:14
9. 15	obol	silver			private coll., Los Angeles		Mildenburg 1995: pl. I:15
9.16	drachm	silver			private coll., Jerusalem		Mildenburg 1995: pl. I:16
9.17	drachm	silver			American Numismatic Society, New York	ANS 39	Mildenburg 1995: pl. I:17
9.18	obol	silver			British Museum		Mildenburg 1995: pl. I:18
9.19	drachm	silver					Mildenburg 1995: pl. I:19
9.20	obol	silver	d. 9.5 mm	Cilicia	H. Sirri Göktürk Coll., Turkey		Göktürk 1997: no. 44
9.21	tetratemorion	silver	d. 6 mm	Cilicia	H. Sirri Göktürk Coll., Turkey		Göktürk 1997: no. 45

TABLE 10. STATUETTES

No.	Category	Material	Dimensions	Place of discovery	Repository	Reference no.	Bibliography
10.1	pot stand (?)	alabaster		Persepolis Treasury, Hall 38, Plot HG 31	Iran National Museum	PT4 1062 INM 2050	Schmidt 1939: 43, fig. 48 left; 1957: pl. 31:4
10.2	statuette	lapis lazuli composition		Persepolis Treasury, Hall 38, Plot HG 22		PT5 299	Schmidt 1939: 43, fig. 48 right; 1957: pl. 31:6
10.3	statuette	terracotta	105 × 55 mm	Nippur	University Museum, Philadelphia	CBS 9454	Legrain 1930: no. 221
10.4	figurine	clay		Tel Dan			Biran 1985: 189, pl. 24B
10.5	statuette	stone	h. 93 mm	Sidon		AO2219	Nunn 2000: 60, Tf. 28.90
10.6	statuette	stone		Kharayeb			Nunn 2000: 61, Tf. 28.92
10.7	statuette	stone		Kharayeb			Nunn 2000: 61, Tf. 28.93
10.8	statuette	stone		Ayaa			Contenau 1920: 310, pl. 105d

TABLE 11. ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS

No.	Category	Material	Place of discovery	Repository	Reference no.	Bibliography
11.1	8 figures of Bes in relief above the southern doorway	stone	Heroon of Golbaşi-Trysa, Lycia	same location		Benndorf 1889: 34, fig. 34; Eichler 1950: 48, pl. 1 below Oberleitner 1994: fig. 30
11.2	relief fragment (?)	stone	plain west of Persepolis	Iran National Museum		Romano 1989: no. 271
11.3	relief fragment (?)	stone	Persepolis (?)	Iran National Museum	P-810	Schneider 1976: 34, microfische no. 7G4

Notes

1. My collection of images is greatly indebted to the work of James Romano (1989; 1998), whose catalogue of Bes-images from Egypt and elsewhere that can be dated to the period of the Achaemenid empire formed the beginning of my expanded list (Romano 1989: 775 [no. 269]–842 [no. 292]). Romano's 1989 catalogue included five amulets (from Tunisia, Cyprus, Sidon, and Susa) that I did not include in my 1999 catalogue. I have now incorporated three of these items into my catalogue, along with other previously untallied artifacts.

2. The number of individual artifacts is actually much greater than 115. In 1999 I grouped under one catalogue number (no. 6.4) fifty-one separate gold medallions (in pendant format) bearing the Bes-image excavated at Pasargadae because they plausibly originally decorated one item. It is worth noting, however, that had these fifty-one pendant medallions been dispersed on the art market, I would have had to catalogue each one as a separate item. This would have expanded greatly the number of Bes-images registered, while the lack of provenance for the group would simultaneously have drastically lessened the research value of the assemblage.

3. Several important studies have appeared that deserve to be mined for the possible appearance of Iranianized representations of Bes (as defined below) that have found their way to extraimperial shores in the Greater Mediterranean. But such a task is beyond the scope of the current project. See, e.g., Skon-Jedele 1994 (where some items may date deeper into the Achaemenid period than the chronological scope of the collection suggests); Höbl 1979; 1985.

4. The presence of artisans of Egyptian origin working on the imperial building projects at Susa is attested by the Susa Foundation Charter (DSf). See Lecoq 1997: 234–37 for the trilingual text; Root 1979 and 1990 for comments on its rhetorical aspects. The rhetorical qualities of this text emphasize notions of imperial purview and should not necessarily be taken as a literally precise characterization of the workforce at Susa. Nevertheless, there is certainly an underpinning of historical legitimacy expressed here concerning the role of Egyptian craftsmen, with their ancient traditions and expertise in, e.g., goldworking.

5. The precise archaeological contexts of most of these amulets cannot be established satisfactorily through the excavation records of the early twentieth-century mission. Two of the Susa amulets are stipulated as having a specific findspot—"the Apadana." But the degree to which this constitutes a "deposit" is highly questionable (*pace* Schmidt 1957: 68 n. 21).

6. Schmidt 1957: 72 mentions but does not catalogue or illustrate "two additional Bes heads, one of bluish-green turquoise, the other of composition of the same color, [that] were found in Vestibule 23 and in Courtyard 29 of the Treasury." It is not clear whether two of the four previously unpublished Bes amulets from Persepolis now in the Iran National Museum (here nos. 5.21–23; see Abdi 1999: fig. 5.21–23) may in fact correspond to these two amulets mentioned in passing by Schmidt or whether they are two additional Bes-images that should be added to the tally from the site. (Our no. 5.21 [fig. 2] is of fine workmanship but the material is undesignated in the records. It might conceivably correspond to the turquoise one cited by Schmidt. Such ambiguities in the inventory status of small finds that were not originally considered of tremendous interpretive significance by the excavators are quite common.)

7. A vivid example is offered by a New Kingdom statuette of boxwood, ivory, and gilding representing a serving girl carrying a jar and wearing only a necklace featuring a dynamic Bes amulet (Kozloff and Bryan 1992: 361–62 and pl. 42 [no. 87]).

8. Tadjvidi (1976) excavated in the fortifications rimming the Takht, where we might expect multiple manifestations of nonceremonial life (viz., our no. 4.11 and Abdi 1999 on Bes and the military). This important effort, interrupted prematurely, deserves to be resumed (see Mousavi, this volume).

9. I owe this observation to an anonymous reviewer who took the time to offer extraordinarily helpful comments.

10. Relevant literature for appreciating aspects of the life and assimilation of Egyptians in western Asia includes Wiseman 1956; Eph'al 1978; Zaccagnini 1983; Pedersén 1986: 125–29.

11. The sealing protocols for the Treasury archive have not been examined as closely as have those for the Persepolis Fortification archive. In the latter corpus, the stand-alone usage of a seal often implies elevated status (Garrison 1991; Garrison and Root 2001).

12. One of these rare examples is the knotted belt worn by the Akkadian king Naram-Sin on his victory stele (Harper, Aruz, and Tallon 1992: 168), which was made for Sippar in Iraq but moved to Susa as war booty. The surface of this sculpture is quite abraded. To the best of my ability to assess it, the knot here does not appear to be rendered according to the precise pattern we see on the Achaemenid court robe and on the belted Bes from the Persepolis Treasury.

13. E.g., on representations of certain royal figures (viz., Princess Isis: Kozloff and Bryan 1992: 206–8), on representations of certain minor deities such as the gods who bind together the signs of Upper and Lower Egypt (as seen on the Egyptian statue of Darius from Susa) and the nome personifications (as portrayed, for instance, on the Old Kingdom triad statues of Mycerinus [Russmann 1989: 25]).

14. I am indebted to Margaret Cool Root for drawing my attention to the significance of the Egyptian connection of the knot.

15. These figures on the Pazyryk rug in turn invite comparison

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to imagery of heartland Achaemenid art: on Wing A of the Apadana at Persepolis.

16. I hope to explore this topic further in another paper.

17. On a purely speculative note, one should not neglect the fact that, unlike other, clean-shaven Egyptian deities, Bes is the only Egyptian deity with a full beard, a characteristic of barbarians in Egyptian eyes, to which the predominantly bearded Iranians could have related!

18. The versatility and multivalence of Bes may have paved the way for important linkages to the Mithraic cult that I shall explore in another article.

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BJÖRN ANDERSON

Imperial Legacies, Local Identities:
References to Achaemenid Persian
Iconography on Crenelated Nabataean Tombs

ABSTRACT

Analysis of the decorative elements employed in the crenelated
Nabataean tombs of Petra (in modern southern Jordan) and Hegra
(in modern northwestern Saudi Arabia) reveals several significant
similarities to the program of Achaemenid Persian imperial archi-
tectural embellishment. The Achaemenid program is best exem-
plified at the Iranian heartland capital city, Persepolis, with its richly
decorated palaces and royal tombs. A direct link between the vi-
sual expressions of a sector of the Nabataean elite that commis-
sioned the crenelated tombs and those of the imperial program of
the Achaemenid court raises issues of transmission and reception
across time and space. The plausibility of such a process is explored
here, along with a review of historiographic considerations largely
responsible for the lack of previous interest in this possible rela-
tionship. I argue that the crenelated Nabataean tombs of the early
first century C.E. displayed specific Achaemenid Persian motifs with
deliberate intent to invoke their original imperial significance within
the Achaemenid context and to assert new meanings through them
within a Nabataean environment of power-brokering with the Ro-
man West. The ramifications of this are significant for both
Achaemenid Persian and Nabataean studies. On the one hand, such
an informed adaptation of motifs attests to the longevity of the
Achaemenid legacy and its impact in regions that were once strate-
gic zones of its vast empire. On the other hand, the possible moti-
vations for an affluent group of Nabataeans to appropriate
Achaemenid motifs include a conscious resistance to Roman cul-
tural hegemony through the deployment of eastward-resonating
visual paradigms.

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FIG. 1.
Crenelated tomb B-7 at Hegra, one example of the Oriental type. After Janssen and Savignac 1909: 349, fig. 163.

FIG. 2.
Extent of the Achaemenid empire during the reign of Darius I (ca. 500 B.C.E.). Hegra and Petra have been added as points of reference to the Nabataean region. Rendering by the author.

PREAMBLE

ARCHAEOLOGISTS, ANTHROPOLOGISTS, art historians, and text-based historians are currently concerned with multiple issues of identity in the ancient world. Material and visual culture, nuanced readings of literary evidence, and anthropological theory are synthesized in order to explore how groups understood themselves, projected themselves to others, and became the subjects of reprojections in varying historical circumstances (e.g., Shennan 1989; van Dommelen 1998; Woolf 1998). Frequently this exercise works against the grain of conventional positivist readings of ancient texts written about a particular culture (or about a mute underclass within that culture) from perspectives external to it. The Achaemenid Persian empire and the later Nabataean kingdom are good examples of this difficulty. In neither case do we have a wealth of internally produced historical narratives that can contest accounts supplied by classical authors. Rather, we are largely dependent, for text-based inquiry, upon classical sources that reflect the complex perspectives of an external Western society. Thus for both the Achaemenids and the Nabataeans, explorations of identity construction must rely heavily upon the material/visual record as an internally produced primary text voicing perceptions and preoccupations of their respective societies.

A set of rock-cut Nabataean tombs with crenelated entablatures invites such use as a primary historical source (fig. 1). I propose that we see in these tombs the selective appropriation and adaptation of hallmark Achaemenid Persian forms. I posit that this appropriation and adaptation was an explicit means by which a particular group within elite Nabataean society sought to define aspects of a cultural and political identity. Initially, I shall review some crucial historical and historiographic issues that set the stage. My exploration then moves from Nabataea itself to the heartland capital of the Achaemenid empire, Persepolis, where readily available monuments remained perpetually in view even after the devastation of the region by Alexander of Macedon. From there, I offer arguments for the plausibility of Nabataean invocations of the Achaemenid legacy in order to establish a position in relation to the emer-

gent power of Rome. I maintain that the displays we encounter on the crenelated Nabataean tombs reflected conscious choices and conveyed codes of meaning for those who commissioned them and for those who subsequently beheld them.

I follow Tomlinson (1991) in believing that conversation about cultural behavior must be tempered by an appreciation of interpretive variability at every level. This stance precludes any sweeping statements about the universality of collective group response to specific types of stimuli and urgencies. It does, however, allow for flexibility in proposing layers of negotiation. Such negotiations will, I propose, have had multivalent motivatations in the instance at hand. Positive emulation of an Achaemenid legacy for particular reasons will have been one factor. At the same time, the perhaps nostalgic invocation of the Achaemenid past will likely have been laced with the negative force of a resistance to Roman cultural hegemony.

ACHAEMENIDS AND NABATAEANS: AN OVERVIEW

The Achaemenid empire began with the victory of Cyrus II (the Great) over Astyages the Mede in about 550 B.C.E. It lasted for more than two hundred years, ending with the completion in 330 B.C.E. of the conquests of Alexander. An aggressive foreign policy led to rapid territorial expansion, so that during the reign of Darius I (the Great: r. 521–486 B.C.E.) the empire stretched eastward as far as Afghanistan and westward across Anatolia, the Levant, and Egypt (fig. 2). It thus incorporated an important part of the area inhabited by peoples called Arabians in both the Achaemenid record and the contemporary Greek testimony of Herodotus. (These Arabians, as discussed below, became part of the political/cultural fusion of peoples called Nabataean by the Romans.) The Achaemenid hegemony was the largest yet known in the ancient world. Until the Roman era it had no rival in scope of organizational success, for the global initiative of Alexander dissolved rapidly into rival regional kingdoms upon his death. Achaemenid authority was administered through appointed governors (satraps), who occupied important provincial capitals to the east and to the west of the nexus of royal cities in

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FIG. 3.
*Aerial photograph of the
Takht at Persepolis before
excavation. Photo courtesy
of the Oriental Institute of
the University of Chicago.*

Iran and Mesopotamia. These places were strategically located. Major and also minor road systems crisscrossed the empire, facilitating efficient communication and movement. Highly organized regional bureaucracies with overlapping purviews linked vast expanses in a chain of interaction.

In ancient Western narratives (and in modern positivistic readings of these texts), the Achaemenid empire occupies a special place as the paradigmatic evil barbarian force that twice invaded mainland Greece and succeeded once in sacking the acropolis at Athens. This viewpoint is radically at odds with what can be gleaned from other perspectives. The self-proclaimed ideology of the Achaemenid empire stressed harmonious cooperation of the subject nations in the agendas of hegemony. To a remarkable extent, as recent scholarship has shown, this was not merely cynical rhetoric. It is borne out not only by official imperial inscriptions but also by analyses of other genres of Near Eastern texts and the evidence of archaeology and art historical interpretation.[1] The official art of the Achaemenid court offers a primary source for this idealized worldview of harmonious incorporated identity. It represented a radical break with the message of previous models of imperial art in the Near East, even as it consciously and shrewdly reworked many motifs from the conquered lands (Root 1979; 2000). The visual manifestations of this

ideology are best preserved at Persepolis (fig. 3). The program we see there also reverberated at satrapal capitals and in the visual apparatus of individual participants within the far-flung imperial family. But this article focuses upon the authority specifically of Persepolis in the cultural memory of an important subset of Nabataean society. Achaemenid rule ended in 330 B.C.E., but its cultural impact did not. Similarly, Persepolis was destroyed in 330, but its visual impact remained compelling.

Ancient sources paint a vague picture of Nabataean origins. The Roman author Diodorus (2.48–49; 19.94–100) describes them as nomads who eventually took refuge at "the rock" (Gr. πέτρα) and established a sedentary society. Scholars have not, however, reached consensus on how to interpret this narrative and integrate it with other types of evidence (see Retsö 1999; also Negev 1978; Graf 1990b). A crucial difficulty is that the "Nabataeans" of Diodorus's day emerged neither from a single location nor from a homogeneous group. Rather, we are dealing with at least two separate developments: the coalescing of an indigenous population and the arrival and integration in southern Jordan of a nomadic population of Arabians. "Arabian" here refers to a geographic designation, in contradistinction to "Arab," with its implications of an ethnic designation that is unacceptable in the context of current discourse.

Scholars are divided over the relative weight of local development in the formation of Nabataean society versus the impact of migration. Furthermore, the precise geographical origins of the migrating nomadic Arabian element remains an open question. Assessing the impact of nomadic migrants is complicated by the range of potential populations to be considered, who may have moved in several directions: northward from the Hejaz area of Saudi Arabia, westward from north Arabia, southward from the Syrian Hauran, or eastward from the Negev desert. In my opinion, the arguments set forth in favor of migration westward into Jordan from north Arabia seem the strongest. Significantly, this would place the original homeland of the migrating element of the Nabataean population in the immediate environs of the presence first of Neo-Babylonian political/military activity and then of the more than 200-year Achaemenid imperial purview. But the paucity of evidence prohibits definitive understanding of the issue at present (Graf 1990b and Healey 1989, with extensive bibliographies). The occasion for migratory movement is thought to be the creation of a power vacuum in the wake of the collapse of local structures of authority. Such conditions in the north Arabia region may have pertained at two junctures. The first would be at the fall of the Edomites, when they were conquered by the Neo-Babylonian king Nabonidus in the sixth century B.C.E. The second, and perhaps more profound in impact, would be at the collapse of the Qedarites, who had operated in north Arabia under the longstanding protection of the Achaemenid empire (Knauf 1989; Bartlett 1990; Graf 1990a).[2]

Arabia was not a clearly defined place to ancient authors. It was, rather, a term used to embrace an imagined landscape that at times ranged from modern Syria to Yemen. In this sense, a general Arabian heritage of this important subset of the Nabataean population, which perhaps comprised the ruling classes, is supported by several types of material evidence. These include the form of the religious stelae known as betyls (Patrich 1990; Wenning 2001), the distribution of ceramics and other diagnostic artifacts as far afield as Yemen and Saudi Arabia (al-Ansary 1983; Stucky 1983; Schmitt-Korte 1984; Potts 1991; Davidde and Petriaggi 1998), and epigraphic and linguistic development (Milik 1982; Healey 1989;

Macdonald 2000). Additional indications of an Arabian element are found in the textual sources. Both Diodorus (fl. 60–30 B.C.E. [2.48.3]) and Strabo (fl. 44 B.C.E.–21 C.E. [16.4.22–23]) refer to the legendary familiarity of Nabataean guides with the desert tracks of Arabia. Earlier, Herodotus (writing his history of the Persian Wars for a Greek audience in the mid-fifth century B.C.E. [3.4–9]) had described the remarkable abilities of the Arabians to navigate the desert landscape. It may not be possible to prove to universal satisfaction that Arabians who formed part of the Nabataean population described by Diodorus and Strabo were the direct descendents of the mid-fifth-century Arabians of Herodotus. But it is thought-provoking that the same crucial and distinctive expertise is ascribed in both historical contexts. This was a special expertise that enabled the Arabians of Achaemenid times and then the Nabataeans of the Roman era to acquire unique status and symbolic exemptions as gatekeepers of and uniquely capable leaders across the strategic desert trek from the Asian continent to Egypt.

Similarly, the term "Nabataean," in its historical context, characterizes the constructed identity of the peoples and the state that coalesced as an entity so named in the classical sources. It should not be used to signify a homogeneous ethnic population in any literal sense of kinship (Macdonald 1991: esp. 108). As stated above, the Nabataeans were comprised of more than one group. Recent analysis (viz., Macdonald 1995) proposes the importance of both Arabian and indigenous participation in the formation of the entity called Nabataea by the Romans.

The Nabataeans established an elaborately built and justifiably celebrated center at Petra in southern Jordan (fig. 4), while other important sites with monumental remains include Oboda in the Negev desert and Hegra (Meda'in Saleh) in northwestern Saudi Arabia (fig. 5). They solidified a kingdom governed by a hereditary dynasty. The precise nature and date of this transition to a consolidated dynastic political entity are unknown. Roman sources reveal that the Nabataeans were drawn into the international struggles raging throughout the Levant in the Hellenistic period. They are first named in the classical record when Diodorus (19.94–100) reports that in 312 B.C.E. the Nabataeans refused to accept the rule of the Seleucid Antigonus

FIG. 4.
View of the city center at Petra from the east.
Photo by the author.

FIG. 5.
Extent of the Nabataean kingdom during the reign of Aretas IV
(ca. 20 C.E.). Rendering by the author.

(r. 330–301 B.C.E.) and defeated his forces at Petra. Nabataean sociopolitical structure at this time is not clear from Diodorus's account. A named king does not appear in any source until 169 B.C.E., when Aretas [I] is mentioned in 2 Macc. 5:8 as "Ruler of the Arabians." While it would be tempting to use this text to show the Arabian connections of the first Aretas, we do not in fact know how Aretas I referred to *himself* or, indeed, what the author of the biblical passage meant by the term "Arabians." Nevertheless, it is interesting that even as Graeco-Roman sources were applying the collective term "Nabataeans" to this group, 2 Macc. persists in using "Arabians."

Starcky (1955) notes that a power vacuum in the East in the first century B.C.E. afforded an opportunity for rapid Nabataean expansion. In constant negotiation and brinksmanship with Rome, the Nabataean kingdom persisted as a more or less autonomous entity until 106 C.E. At this time *Provincia Arabia* was officially subsumed within the Roman empire by Trajan. The Roman sources characterize the takeover as a peaceful annexation. But according to Schmid (1997) the archaeological record suggests

the destruction of much of Petra at this time. Bowersock (1970) has shown, furthermore, that the first Roman garrison installed in Nabataea was the one at Petra, presumably to deter revolts in a still volatile environment (see also Graf 1994a; Freeman 1996; 2001). In other words, the Nabataeans (or some important element within Nabataean society) evidently resisted Trajan's army to a significant degree, while the Roman historical tradition insists otherwise.[3]

This conflict between the archaeological record and the Roman literary testimonia (which represent the Nabataeans as generally friendly to Rome) urges that we adopt new strategies and new questions to reevaluate Nabataean cultural identity.

ACHAEMENIDS AND NABATAEANS:
HISTORIOGRAPHIC PARALLELS

Both the Nabataeans and the Achaemenid Persians have been widely imagined as folk with a nomadic past that meant (by implication) that they had little

recognizable "culture" or cultural memory before circumstances propelled them suddenly into roles of significant political leverage. This characterization emerges for both societies first in the classical sources and subsequently in the Western scholarly tradition. Thus in both cases the secondary literature has stressed the problem of origins of a material/visual apparatus serving a parvenu elite prone to imitating foreign ideas with little or no meaning attached to the process.

Concerning the precursors of the Achaemenids, some thoughtful discussions have now explored what nomadism itself (and the imagining of nomadism) may more richly imply for the Achaemenid record (Root 1979; Briant 1982; 1996; Boucharlat 1997a; 1997b: 71). For the Nabataeans only limited efforts have been made to formulate questions based on an acknowledgment of nomad studies and their theoretical models.[4]

Several intertwined issues become particularly important in our attempt to understand Nabataean links to its own pasts, sensitivity to the Achaemenid legacy, and continued interaction on the international stage as mobile negotiators of goods and services. First, nomadism ought not be viewed as a primitive phase of social organization practiced by peoples who sustain a concomitantly undeveloped material culture and sensibility. Based on knowledge of nomadic societies in general, we can posit that the people who formed the Nabataean kingdom had some type of dynastic leadership structure before they developed elaborate permanent built environments. Nomadic groups, like those from which the Nabataeans were at least partly descended, generally have prominent figures whose positions are determined by kinship and heredity (Khazanov 1994). Such cultural organizations are attuned to the value of symbolic acts and visual stimuli.

Second, nomadism is not necessarily a presedentary state that will eventually evolve into sedentarism if the conditions are right. Strictly processual approaches to nomadism are difficult to resolve, in part because of the considerable fluidity between sedentary and nomadic conditions (La-Bianca 1985; Finkelstein and Perevolotsky 1990). Nabataean society needs to be studied with attention to this issue. We should not assume that the built environments of Nabataean cities suggest the shrinking of a nomadic element or the relegation of its prac-

titioners to increasingly low status. The carved tombs of the Nabataean urban landscapes may uniformly have served nomadic or seminomadic families as well as fully sedentary groups.

Third, nomadism is frequently characterized as primarily a specialized socioeconomic *reaction* (in the form of pastoralist practice) to environments in which agriculture is not viable (Barth 1956; Khazanov 1994). This approach needs revision for the Nabataean sphere. Much of northern Saudi Arabia, southern Jordan, and the Negev desert is quite arid (averaging less than 100 mm annual rainfall), yet Strabo (16.4.18), for instance, describes Nabataea as "a country with a large population and well supplied with pasturage" (trans. Horace L. Jones). The hydrological skills of the Nabataeans (Oleson et al. 1995) as well as the existence of some areas of relative fertility helps explain the situation. Nomads in this area today operate not only as pastoralists but also as guides, traders, hunters, craftsmen, and even traveling bards.[5] The rich variability of the nomadic condition in this region illuminates the multiple worldly relationships of Nabataeans as pivotal players on the world stage.

Achaemenid studies have progressed considerably beyond eurocentrism in recent decades. The notion of some sort of nomadic past (or of a persistently peripatetic tent-using court, for that matter) is not so frequently equated, at least explicitly, with ignorance and cultural vacuum. Instead, it has become increasingly (though not universally) accepted that permanent built environments of a ceremonial and administrative nature emerged among the Achaemenids through sophisticated, internally motivated processes. These processes were defined by historically informed selection and politically astute adaptation of cultural legacies from the lands now incorporated within a vast pluralistic empire.[6] The built environments of the Achaemenids coexisted with a persistent (if fluid) mobile lifestyle. Furthermore, it is no longer generally accepted that Achaemenid art was essentially dependent upon Greek art (and artisans) for creative inspiration and formal solutions to issues of representation. Thanks to aggressive efforts beginning in earnest in the last decades of the twentieth century (e.g., Nylander 1970; Root 1979), general surveys of Achaemenid art (e.g., Roaf 1989) are

now much more likely to stress the significance of widely informed imperial planners of the art as the "creators" of record and to emphasize as technical rather than controlling the contributions of artisans from a wide range of cultures now brought under Achaemenid rule.

Earlier studies of the Nabataeans (e.g., Hammond 1972; Parr 1978; Patrich 1990) have investigated sources upon which the Nabataeans may have drawn to create a visual culture able to speak to their expanding and engaged political position. For the most part, these considerations of Nabataean identity formation have focused on the impact of Hellenistic and Roman influence on the Nabataean heritage. Even here, there has been rather little nuanced discussion of the nature and mechanics of Nabataean receptivity. There has been little acknowledgment that influence is a complex process of negotiation and choice by a host culture—not simply a laying on of ideas and forms by a dominant donor upon an unformed receiver.[7] Leaving the Hellenistic and Roman connection to one side, some work (e.g., McKenzie 1990; Schmid 2001a; 2001b; Tholbecq 2001) is now emerging on the impact of Dynastic Egyptian tradition on Nabataean visual culture. But little attention has yet been paid to the significant impact on the Nabataean visual imagination of Eastern political and cultural forces. Only rarely has the idea of any connection between Nabataean and pre-Hellenistic western Asiatic traditions been suggested. Zayadine (1970; 1979) introduces this theme, laying out a notion of generalized assimilation of imagery from pre-Hellenistic western Asia. His remarks about pre-Hellenistic origins have not, however, resonated much with scholars attempting to understand in more detail the origins and mechanisms of transmission of formal and symbolic elements in Nabataean art. When we look to scholarship investigating the possibility of an *informed* Nabataean emulation specifically of *Achaemenid* imperial forms, the field shrinks further. Kanellopoulos (2000) stands out for his pioneering work on calculated Achaemenid reminiscences in Nabataean religious architecture.

One explanation for the relative lack of interest in pursuing links to an Achaemenid legacy must be sought in the effect of disciplinary tradition. Neither the Achaemenid empire nor the Nabataean kingdom

fits neatly into the established philologically based divisions of "Classical" and "Near Eastern" studies. The tendency in both arenas has certainly been to disparage the Achaemenids as the "barbarians" and to downplay the conceivable impact of Achaemenid cultural practices on regions under its imperial purview (Root 1991). Such a reading has been challenged only rarely and quite recently, in part because relatively few scholars are acquainted as specialists both with classical textual and material traditions and with either the Achaemenid or the Nabataean cultural record. Even fewer have pursued all four elements in this equation.

In proposing a calculated and informed connection between a sector of elite Nabataean patrons and the Achaemenid imperial past, I am extending the legacy of the Persian empire forward and outward in time and space. Memories of its floruit remained strong in a variety of arenas of its former hegemony not only in the immediate aftermath of 330 (e.g., Eddy 1961; Wiesehöfer 1996) but for succeeding centuries. The West itself, after all, continued to exploit the memory of the Achaemenid empire for its own purposes. Diodorus's recollections (for an Augustan and later readership) of Alexander's sacking of a glorious Persepolis immeasurably enhanced the prestige of *Roman* pressures to contain a *new* Iranian dynastic foe, the Parthians. I am also extending the linkages of an important sector of Nabataean society back into a "proto-Nabataean" past that joins temporally with the Achaemenid empire. At this time, Arabians played a key role in a great enterprise that had orchestrated stability, arbitrated power across western Asia, and pressured Greek spheres of dominance.

NABATAEAN TOMBS

The massive rock-cut Nabataean tombs at Petra and Hegra are the most celebrated and conspicuous features of Nabataean visual culture (Brünnow and von Domaszewski 1904 and 1909; Jaussen and Savignac 1909; Zayadine 1970; McKenzie 1990; Schmidt-Colinet, Weber, and Zangenberg 1997). Several classification schemes exist as frameworks for documenting and discussing these monuments, depending chiefly on the forms and organization of their

FIG. 6.
Façade of the tomb al-Khazneh at Petra, epitomizing the Graeco-Roman type. Photo by the author.

decorative motifs. In largest terms, the decorated tombs are divided into two basic categories: Graeco-Roman and Oriental. Funerary monuments in both categories were produced contemporaneously.[8]

Tombs in the Graeco-Roman category represent a very small group, and they exist exclusively at Petra. Of the 851 documented tombs at Petra (Brünnow and von Domaszewski 1904;1909), only some dozen are in the Graeco-Roman mode. Despite their scant numbers, it is these monuments that have, in the popular imagination, become *the* hallmark of Nabataean civilization through frequent illustration and intensity of scholarly attention. The 1.2 km-long natural chasm (the Bab es-Sīq) that functions as the main entrance for visitors to Petra is lined with tombs, Graeco-Roman and Oriental alike. At its climactic conjunction with the city proper stands the towering Graeco-Roman façade of the tomb called al-Khazneh: the most opulent and richly adorned tomb at the site and the one usually considered the paradigm of Nabataean architectural tradition (fig. 6).[9]

The crenelated tombs that are the focus of this study are the major class within the Oriental category. None of the twelve Graeco-Roman tombs at Petra incorporates crenelations in its program. At Petra, as we have noted, all decorated tombs except those twelve Graeco-Roman examples are in the Oriental mode, coexisting through time in the same built urban landscape as the Graeco-Roman monuments. The vast majority of the Oriental tombs at Petra incorporate crenelations, although a few noncrenelated types (e.g., the Obelisk tomb) are also placed into this general Oriental category. At Hegra, the situation is a bit different. Here, *none* of the some 218 known tombs is in the Graeco-Roman mode. *All* the published tombs at Hegra are in the Oriental mode, and *all* are crenelated. While Petra is well studied and well published, the profusion of scholarship on the Hellenistic and Roman cultural affiliations of the site unintentionally deemphasizes the importance of engagement with eastward-looking features of the visual environment there.[10] Hegra, with its uniformly crenelated tombs, is unfortunately not so well known. Its relative obscurity in the scholarship reflects its location in the kingdom of Saudi Arabia, which has been less frequently accessed by non-Saudis and less extensively explored archaeologically than Jordan. Various circumstances, then, have contributed to the low incidence of art historical inquiry into the production of the crenelated Nabataean tombs.

THE CRENELATED TOMBS

I use the term "crenelated tomb" to designate any Nabataean tomb incorporating stepped crenelations into its decorative program.[11] By "crenelations" I mean both stepped formations (merlons) disposed in continuous frieze bands (fig. 7) and merlons in "split" format (fig. 8). Despite many variations in other decorative features, crenelations are a dominant visual expression in all these tombs. Because all the published tombs at Hegra are crenelated, it appears that the crenelation may have carried some special

FIG. 7.
Tombs at Petra with friezes of running crenelations.
Photo by the author.

FIG. 8.
Crenelated tomb B-6 at Hegra.
After Jaussen and Savignac 1909: pl. XL.

association with this city (or region) and may have been seen as a cultural sign in some sense of the Arabian element within Nabataean society as it coalesced in the aftermath of the Achaemenid empire. The city of Hegra was not a new foundation of the Nabataean kingdom. But the majority of extant structures date from Nabataean times, suggesting that the site was imbued with new significance then. During the floruit of the Nabataean kingdom, Hegra served both as a supply station for caravans and as a military outpost. It is thought to have marked the southern limit of the Nabataean authority, although certainty on this point awaits further fieldwork in the region.[12]

The tombs at Hegra have been grouped into different clusters based on stylistic elements. For our purposes, however, the distinctions among the clusters are relatively minor.[13] Of the some 218 tomb façades at Hegra, 48 are inscribed (al-Rashid 2002 and pers. com. 2002).[14] A study of the dateable stonemason signatures from Hegra (Healey and Al-Theeb 1993) shows that the crenelated tombs do not follow any formal development from the simpler to the more complex. Indeed, of the dateable tombs at Hegra the most ornamented ones are the earliest (e.g., tomb B-6 dating to 1 C.E.). These were built during the reign of Aretas IV (McKenzie 1990: 11–31).

Many of the more elaborately decorated crenelated façades of Nabataean tombs follow a particular format (fig. 8): A doorway is framed by two pilasters with Nabataean capitals;[15] it is crowned by a pediment and a triglyph-metope frieze course. Flanking this doorway, two additional pilasters with Nabataean capitals often support an overarching upper entablature (of varying complexity and added motifs) crowned by crenelations.[16] Typically, the higher entablature incorporates a cavetto cornice (as seen, for instance, prominently below the split merlons in our fig. 1). There are multiple variations on these elements. Tombs with split merlons are more numerous than those with running friezes, but not significantly so. Some of the tomb façades incorporating running merlon friezes are of a less ornate structure, without pilasters. On such tombs the crenelations become the primary decorative feature (fig. 7).

The pedigree of the Graeco-Roman tombs at Petra has been much discussed (McKenzie 1990;

FIG. 9.
View of Naqsh-i Rustam, showing the rock-cut royal tomb façades. Photo by M. C. Root.

FIG. 10.
Tomb façade of Darius I at Naqsh-i Rustam. Photo by M. C. Root.

Parr 1996) and seems clear in broad trends if not in all details. The crenelated tombs are more enigmatic in their allusiveness. Relationships with Egyptian tradition are certainly part of the mix (McKenzie 1990; Tholbecq 2001). We are dealing here with a complicated situation in which the Achaemenid royal tombs of Darius I and his successors *themselves* reflect conscious appropriations of certain Egyptian concepts in an effort to legitimize and aggrandize the empire. It is customary to claim *original* antecedents (in this case Egyptian) as the antecedents of formative significance to a new context—especially when the original antecedents emerge from an environment physically quite close at hand. But cultural appropriation does not work as simplistically as that model implies. I ask here that we consider the significance of *secondary* antecedents (in this case, *Achaemenid reworkings* of Egyptian and other traditions) as the antecedents that carried the weight of authoritative memory in the Nabataean imagination.

In this scenario, I do not deny the possibility of direct input from Egyptian traditions in the formation of the crenelated tombs of the Nabataeans. McKenzie (1990) and Tholbecq (2001) are right to recognize specific stylistic similarities with Egypt. Both approaches can be nicely wedded. Locally or

at least regionally available craftsmen were probably used to execute these monuments, even with their programmed allusiveness to the Achaemenid past. Such artisans will likely have had connections with Egyptian stone-working traditions. These will have informed some dynamics, such as proportions, in the final look of the Nabataean crenelated tombs.

Looking outside Egypt to western Asia, Fawzi Zayadine has observed a generalized connection to pre-Hellenistic forms (1970; 1979), as noted earlier. Here our project becomes a close look at the possibility that the crenelated tombs display explicit reminiscences specifically of Achaemenid Persian imperial forms.

ACHAEMENID PROTOTYPES
FOR THE CRENELATED TOMBS

The Palace Façade Concept. The tomb of Darius I was the prototype for the tombs of his successors, as preserved at Naqsh-i Rustam and Mount Rahmat (the Mountain of Mercy) looking out over the Persepolis citadel (figs. 9–10). With some interesting variations, all these tombs mirror the tomb of Darius I in form and exterior decoration. The lower zone of the
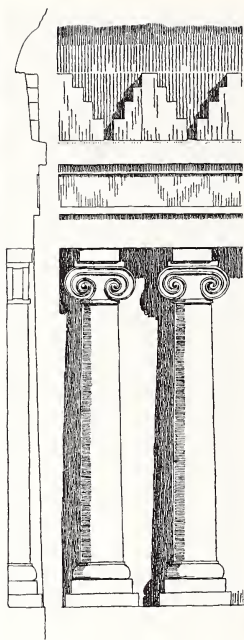
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FIG. 11 (NEAR RIGHT). *The rock-cut tomb called Dā u Dukhtar. After Herzfeld 1941: pl. XXXV.*

FIG. 12 (FAR RIGHT). *Drawing of columns and crenelations on the façade of Dā u Dukhtar. After Herzfeld 1941: fig. 317.*

exterior presentation displays a palatial façade. Centered in this, an actual doorway framed by a three-stepped fascia and crowned by a cavetto cornice leads into the rock-cut sepulchral chambers. This door is framed on each side by two pairs of flanking pilasters with half-projecting Achaemenid animal-protome capitals supporting a stepped entablature crowned by dentils. Above this, an elaborate relief shows the king borne on a dais carried by personifications of the subject lands as he worships before a blazing fire altar. He faces the figure of the Achaemenid patron deity, Ahuramazda, who hovers above as a half-figure emerging from a winged symbol.

The Achaemenid royal tombs offer a formal structure similar in general character to the Nabataean crenelated tombs with palace façades (figs. 1 and 8). In both cases we see the dimensionally reductive representation of a palatial structure with engaged columns within which an actual doorway gives way into the tomb chambers. The many differences in the decoration of the two types of façade reflect differ-

ences in actual architectural forms in the two environments. Among these differences is the form of column capital. The zoomorphic capitals of the Achaemenid paradigm are not, for instance, emulated on the Nabataean tombs. Instead, typical Nabataean capitals are used. These and other details of ornament notwithstanding, the dramatic difference in look between the two tomb types lies in the figural imagery added to the Achaemenid presentation: the massive dais supported by peoples of the subject lands lifting up the king as he prays. This feature is, however, a discrete and separable element of a basic design. It represents a scene meant to take place in the open air on the flat roof of a royal palace. And it was a scene specific to royalty.

The rock-cut tomb called Dā u Dukhtar (near Kurangun, just northwest of Persepolis) is instructive here (figs. 11–12). This tomb, like several decorated rock-cut tombs farther north, was once assumed to be a precursor of the Achaemenid royal tombs. This assumption was driven by two factors: a notion

that the Achaemenid royal tombs must have evolved from simpler prototypes and an eagerness to find evidence of the visual culture of the pre-Achaemenid Median kingdom (Herzfeld 1941: 206, fig. 317, pls. XXXV–XXXVIII). All these tombs have now been redated to the late Achaemenid period or its immediate aftermath (e.g., Porada 1965: 139; von Gall 1988).[17] Dāu Dukhtar is certainly the tomb of an elite individual partaking of the prototype established by Darius I, but in a scaled-back and modified mode. The core idea of the rock-cut tomb with a façade representing a palatial edifice has been deployed here. It has a doorway framed by engaged columns (this time with capitals formed of "watch-spring Ionic" volutes rather than addorsed animal protomes). Absent is the elaborate superimposed representational iconography of sacral kingship. Instead of this representational scene, a tall entablature crowned by a flat molding provides the platform for a dramatic culminating frieze of crenelations. Arguably, the crenelations on this tomb are a code making visual reference to the Achaemenid dynasty and specifically to Persepolis. This interesting monument is important in our attempt to appreciate mechanisms whereby elements of the Achaemenid program at Persepolis could be distilled as encoded symbols for use in other venues and contexts.

Beyond the core aspect of the palatial façade, two elements of crenelated Nabataean tombs present architectural features that resonate emphatically with Achaemenid architectural tradition: the crenelations themselves and the cavetto cornices. Furthermore, the motifs embellishing these tombs include rosettes (often emblazoned on the metopes of the lower frieze course), displayed eagles, and heraldic animals. All of these features have important pedigrees in Achaemenid art closely associated with royalty and with Persepolis.[18]

Crenelations. The stepped crenelations are, as we have seen, the signature element of the Oriental category of Nabataean tombs. Merlons have a long history in the ancient Near East before they are appropriated by the Achaemenid program in a concerted and unique way. Garbini (1958) and Porada (1967) have demonstrated an ancient and deeply ingrained pedigree for the motif in Mesopotamia and Iran, go-

ing back to the close of the fourth millennium and alluding to notions of the sacred mountain. According to Lloyd (1978: 206), crenelations were first used on Mesopotamian *architecture* in the thirteenth century B.C.E., perhaps imported from Egypt. But the much earlier and continuing significance of the motif in the repertoire of symbols on seals, not least in Iran from proto-Elamite times onward, is crucial.

Zayadine (1979: 67) has noted the ubiquity of crenelations generally in the pre-Hellenistic Near East that could have provided models to the Nabataeans. He has proposed a broad and undifferentiated dissemination of the motif from Assyrian and Achaemenid traditions to the Nabataeans via secondary transmission:

> Le type des monuments crénelés est parvenu à Petra sous l'influence de l'Assyrie et de la Perse, mais en passant par la Syrie et la Phénicie où on l'a agrémenté d'une corniche égyptienne sous les merlons et plus tard de pilastres et corniches grecs. De cette même tradition sont les monuments de Amrit sur la côte phénicienne, datés de l'époque perse, ou ceux de la montagne libanaise du début de l'époque romain.

We can take Zayadine's important acknowledgment of pre-Hellenistic influence a step further by assessing in depth the distinctions in contexts of usage, pervasiveness of appearance, and specific meanings of association that would have been particularly compelling for the Nabataeans.

As an architectural feature, the merlon was primarily associated with fortifications in the ancient Near East before the Achaemenid empire. In Neo-Assyrian art numerous representations of city-siege scenes show fortress walls crowned by merlons. Gunter (1982) argues that Assyrian depictions of fortresses under attack are sufficiently variable to warrant the interpretation that they represent actual structures.[19] Representations on small-scale artifacts from Assyria and also from Urartu on the periphery of the Neo-Assyrian empire reinforce the idea that the crowning merlon frieze was a prevalent motif in fortress architecture and, by extension, was a symbol of the city as a concept.[20] Smith (in press), specifically considering Urartian usage, has rightly observed that crenelations were part of the symbolic
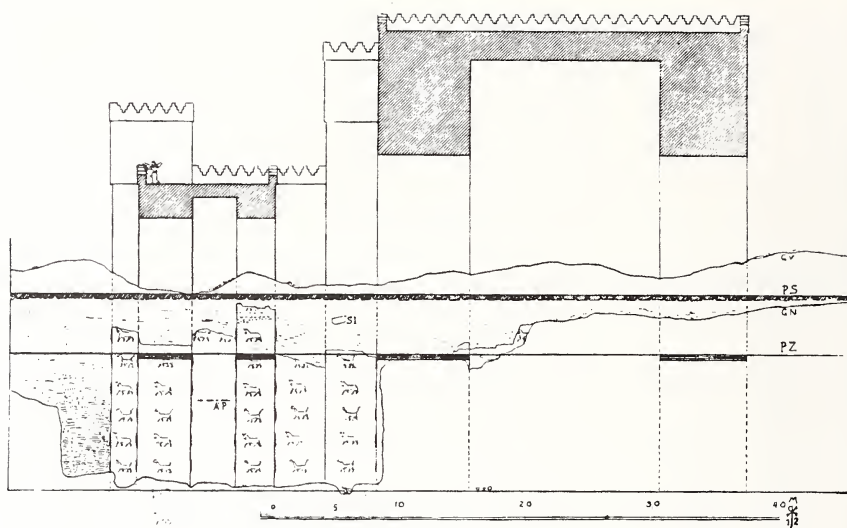
FIG. 13.
Reconstruction drawing of the Ishtar Gate at Babylon. After Koldeway and Johns 1914: fig. 21.

vocabulary and served to situate simplified expressions of power and order in the wider landscape of the natural world. In this sense the merlon motif would have performed as a symbol on fortifications even as it performed a practical function in military defense.

In tandem with this primary association, merlons may have been used also on Mesopotamian religious structures. Occasionally the impressions of two Middle Assyrian seals from Assur are used to suggest the look of actual temple superstructures of that period. These seals depict traditional altars of the time, which are set before representations of elaborate architectural visions with towers and crenelations. These architectural backdrops seem meant, however, to show the altars set before or in city walls; they do not look particularly like temples. Indeed, Collon (1987: 172 and nos. 805–6) uses the images to illustrate typical Middle Assyrian altars but does not reintroduce the idea that the architectural backdrops display temples.

With the glazed-brick Ishtar Gate at Babylon constructed in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar (605–562 B.C.E.) we can speak with confidence of relatively well-preserved architectural remains from Mesopotamia displaying merlons as crowning fortification ornaments (fig. 13).[21] It is also significant that this wall fuses the concept of fortification with the concept of cult installation. This brings us to the threshold of Achaemenid history. After 539 Babylon became a principal royal city of the Achaemenid empire. The Ishtar Gate must have been a powerfully evocative monument in the formative phases of the Achaemenid artistic program.

In sum, before the founding of Persepolis in about 515 B.C.E., the merlon already had a long history as an ancient Near Eastern symbol allying age-old notions of the sacred mountain to the agency of fortifications. In the late Neo-Babylonian period we begin to see a calculated fusion of the city fortification motif and an assertive cultic resonance. But at Persepolis, in the architectural embellishments preserved in stone on the Takht, the symbol acquired an unprecedented prominence and a significance suggesting a new emphasis on sacred and ritual domains of association (Garbini 1958).
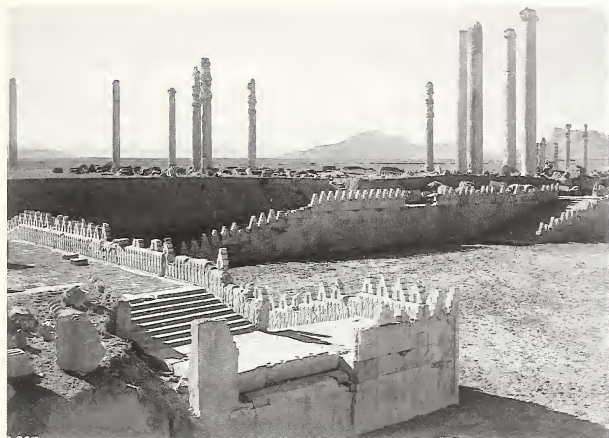
Crowning merlons are ubiquitous on the

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FIG. 14.
Vista of the Central Building and the east staircase of the Apadana at Persepolis, showing the prominence of crenelations as architectural members. Photo courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
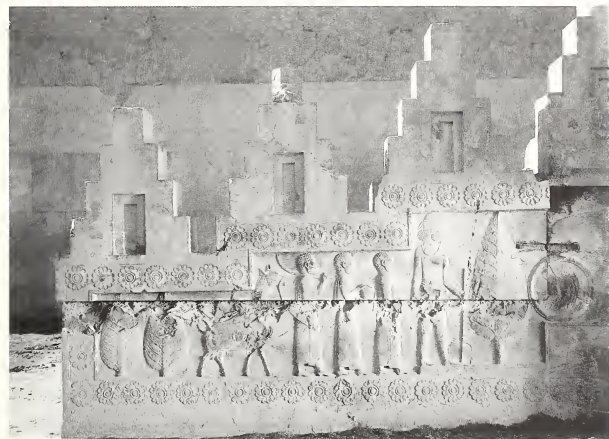

FIG. 15.
Closeup view of crenelations on the east staircase of the Apadana at Persepolis. Photo courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Takht at Persepolis. They dominate the imperial architectural landscape through their repetition in important and visually captivating locations (fig. 14). Carved in stone with finely drafted and detailed precision, the merlons are defined by three mirrored steps inward climbing to a culminating central step, inset with a framed rectangular recess (fig. 15). Stone was used very sparingly in the architecture of Mesopotamia because of limited availability. Thus for the great capitals of Assyria and Babylonia, baked (and sometimes glazed) brick was the typical medium

for superstructures, even of the most prestigious edifices. Generally, structural stonework was restricted to foundations upon which brick was laid.[22] On the Persepolis Takht mudbrick was also employed for the walls of buildings (with evidence that the outermost layer was often of beautifully glazed baked brick) and for fortifications and lesser installations. But proximity to limestone quarries allowed for greater freedom in exploiting stone for the skeletal armature of important state buildings: for columns, stairways, door frames, window frames, and crowning crenelations.

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FIG. 16.
Tomb F-70 at Petra, with crenelations in the round. Photo by the author.

FIG. 17.
The crenelated crown of Darius I on the rock relief at Bisitun. Photo by George Cameron, courtesy of the Cameron Archive (Be 37) of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, the University of Michigan.

The deployment of highly visible and lavishly embellished stonework at the ceremonial and strategic center of the empire was itself a token of imperial might. Nylander (1970) has shown that the types of masonry traditions employed at the earlier Achaemenid heartland capital, Pasargadae (founded by Cyrus the Great), were meant to signal the empire's appropriation of King Croesus's kingdom of Lydia (in western Anatolia), with its history of stone use for monumental display. Something of the same mentality must have driven the use of stone at Persepolis, although here it may also allude to more recent conquests (such as the acquisition of Egypt). As with the rest of the architecture at Persepolis, the merlon was thus invested with new symbolism simply through its rendering in stone. A subsidiary result was the permanence of the merlons at Persepolis, where they survived as vivid models for later emulation.

On the Persepolis Takht, merlons abound in a multitude of nondefensive contexts and representations. Darius and his successors concertedly drew the motif and its associated meanings down from the city walls, infusing the entire complex with its symbolism. The merlons project themselves at the site in robust freestanding form even in ruins left in Alexander's wake. An exceptional freestanding tomb at Petra displays the crenelated frieze as a form sculpted in the round atop the monument (fig. 16).[23] This tomb shows the close visual relation between the freestanding merlons crowning the architectural features of Persepolis and the relief depictions of merlons displayed on the rock-carved tombs. It indicates that the crenelations cut into the façades of the rock-carved tombs are meant to evoke freestanding architectural members like those at Persepolis.

Perhaps the most compelling evidence for the significance of the merlon in Achaemenid art is its introduction as a critical feature of the Achaemenid royal crown. This analysis begins with the relief of Darius I at Bisitun (fig. 17). There, carved into a cliff wall high above the great northern east-west royal

Near Eastern art that can be so closely dated. It must be among the earliest monumental representations of Darius I as king and is certainly the earliest one preserved. The significance of the monument and its text is clearly evidenced by the fact that both were copied for other venues across the empire.[24]

On this critical early monument to his kingship, Darius is shown wearing a crown formed of a diadem decorated with rosettes and adorned at the top by merlons. Although many aspects of the Bisitun relief bespeak conscious invocation of Assyrian tradition, the crown Darius has chosen to signify his kingship is a radical departure from earlier Near Eastern royal headgear.[25]

The Bisitun relief preserves the earliest extant representation of the head of any Achaemenid king.[26] Judging from the dramatic reworkings Darius effected in other aspects of visual (and administrative) formulations of empire, this crown type may well have been meant to signal a highly visible departure from the representational strategies of his predecessors. It seems to have served as a prototype of a new and henceforth canonical imagery of Achaemenid kingship. The royal figures on architectural reliefs at Persepolis work off this prototypical crenelated diadem, in some instances with the crenelations applied as an overlay in gold (fig. 18).[27] The use of stepped crenelations atop a new type of crown meant to signify Achaemenid kingship is a strong statement intended to convey power.[28] A religious element was surely expressed by this new form as well, for the crenelation had early origins in Iran as a sacred symbol (Garbini 1958: 90).

The crenelated crown is also shown on a variety of official Achaemenid seals, as best indicated by the royal-name seals used on the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury tablets.[29] PFS 7*, PFS11*, and PFS 113* provide examples. PFS 7* and PFS 113* show the motif of heroic encounter featuring a crowned figure as hero.[30] Although numerous seals of the Achaemenid period depict the heroic encounter, it is possible to isolate the royal-name seals as a special category relating to officially determined imagery. On these seals the hero image is apparently meant to allude specifically to the royal persona. The crowns on these very small images are dentate. That is, they are slightly reductive versions

highway between Ecbatana and Babylon, the king stands with one foot on the neck of the vanquished pretender to the throne, Gaumata, and facing bound rebel leaders. He gestures to the hovering figure of Ahuramazda emerging from a winged symbol. The trilingual text accompanying the relief narrates Darius's successful quelling of insurrections in his first year of reign as well as recording the divine favor of Ahuramazda in collaborating in these endeavors (Luschey 1968; Root 1979: 58–61, 182–236). This relief, carved in 519 B.C.E., is a rare example of monumental
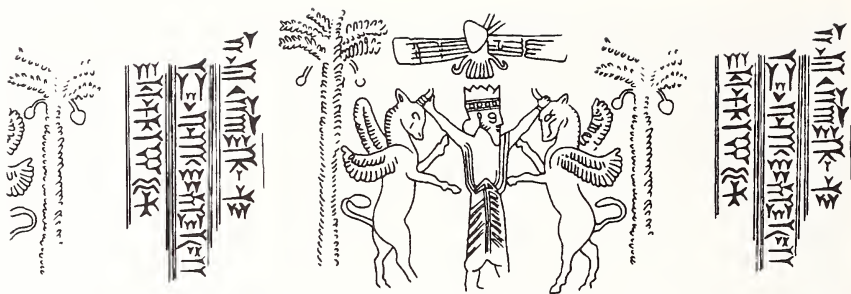
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FIG. 19.
Composite drawing of royal-name seal PFS 7* (2:1) on the Persepolis Fortification tablets.
Courtesy of M. B. Garrison, M. C. Root, and the Persepolis Seal Project.

FIG. 20.
Composite drawing of royal-name seal PFS 113* (2:1) on the Persepolis Fortification tablets. Courtesy of M. B. Garrison, M. C. Root, and the Persepolis Seal Project.

FIG. 21.
Composite drawing of royal-name seal PFS 11* (2:1) on the Persepolis Fortification tablets. Courtesy of M. B. Garrison, M. C. Root, and the Persepolis Seal Project.

FIG. 22.
Composite drawing of seal PFS 75 (2:1) on the Persepolis Fortification tablets. Courtesy of M. B. Garrison, M. C. Root, and the Persepolis Seal Project.

of the crown with articulated stepped crenelations that we see in monumental form (figs. 19–21).

The life-size depiction of Darius at Bisitun (like the numerous well-preserved representations of the king on reliefs at Persepolis) illustrates what these minute dentate crowns would display in larger scale: a regular pattern of repeated stepped crenelations. As important imperial tools, seals projected symbols across boundaries of status, ethnicity, and geography. Their impressed images created visual dialogues

that enjoyed a wide circulation, significantly shaping concepts of power. The imperial coinage of the Achaemenids also served to circulate officially sanctioned images of the king wearing the dentate crown. Both official royal-name seals and coinage disseminated an ideologically mandated image of kingship. If we accept the argument that the merlon was deeply imbued with "sacred and protective power" (Porada 1967: 6), the dissemination of royal-name seals and imperial coins depicting the royal persona wearing a dentate crown would have served a propagandistic function similar to that accepted for coins of the emperor Augustus wearing the laurel crown.[31] The late numismatic specialist Leo Mildenberg considered the dentate crown the most important symbol of the Achaemenid empire, strongly reinforcing the arguments put forth here (2000: 379; see also Mildenberg 1994–99). Similarly, Henkelman (1995–96: esp. 279–80) specifically links the crenelated Achaemenid crown with the symbolic deployment of crenelations on the architecture at Persepolis.

The significance of the crenelated Achaemenid crown in the cultural memories of later dynasties was acknowledged particularly in Sasanian Iran by the conscious echoing of the motif in the crown forms of selected rulers, including Shapur I in his relief at Naqsh-i Rustam (Schmidt 1970: pl. 84b; Curtis 2000: figs. 89, 93, 94).

Depictions of several altar types in Achaemenid art offer important additional evidence on the charged significance of the merlon in the Persepolis milieu. Furthermore, they show close similarities to the form taken specifically by the *split* merlon motif on many Nabataean tombs.

The altar types in question consist of a columnar form crowned by a split merlon. The importance of the fire altar is well known in the religion of the Achaemenid court. It is clear from the evidence of seals that altars of various forms and a range of closely related religious installations figured prominently in the visual world of the Achaemenids. The presence of the merlon motif on a large group of these representations of altars and related installations reinforces the sense of the renewed meaning of the motif as a sacred symbol in Achaemenid times.

The Persepolis Fortification tablets now provide excavated and closely dated evidence on Achaemenid religious structures via seals impressed on the document tablets. Two of these seals stand out as particularly interesting for our purposes. One, PFS 11* (fig. 21), is the royal-name seal of Darius I mentioned earlier in connection with the dentate royal crown (Garrison 2000: fig. 18 and pl. XXII/18). Here the royal figure is shown twice, flanking an altar crowned by split merlons, each of which bears a small globelike element atop its peak. The other, PFS 75, shows a man leading a horned animal toward a figure who is pouring a libation(?) over the flame on a fire altar. The terminal element of the seal design shows a large installation, either a great altar or perhaps some other type of religious structure (fig. 22). This element is a rectilinear form with insets on what is preserved of the lower part and an upper part that rises to a pair of split merlons (Garrison 2000: 142, fig. 19, and pl. XXII/19). To these seals on the Fortification tablets we can add a group of seals showing crenelated altars and/or temple façades known through impressions on labels from the Persepolis Treasury administrative archive. PTS 22 and PTS 23 are very similar in composition to the royal-name seal PFS 11*, and they again display monuments crowned with tall split merlons (figs. 23–24). Two other seals used on Persepolis tablets add to the excavated corpus of visual evidence attesting to the prominence of the crenelated-altar motif in this context.[32] PFS 11*, PTS 22, and PTS 23 in turn find echoes in other Achaemenid seals. One unprovenanced Achaemenid seal, a chalcedony cylinder that has been in the Bibliothèque Nationale since 1899, is remarkably similar to PTS 22 and PTS 23.[33] Moorey has grouped this seal with two other Achaemenid examples showing the same type of altar: another unprovenanced artifact now in Boston and, most importantly, a cylinder from the Gordion excavations (Moorey 1979: fig. 2 A and B; drawing in Collon 1987: no. 424), which is inscribed in Aramaic with the owner's name, patronym, and title(?). This elaborate seal, which includes the elite motif of pedestal animals, is a most interesting example of the deployment of the crenelated altar by a highly placed individual operating within a key urban environment in Phrygia.[34] Moorey (1979: 222) suggests that these altars with the split merlons "follow a 'Neo-Assyrian' pattern." But, as suggested above, the evidence for Assyrian transference of the

FIG. 23
An impression of seal PTS 22 preserved on the lower surface of a clay label (PT4 706) from the Treasury at Persepolis. Photo courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

FIG. 24.
An impression of seal PTS 23 preserved on a clay label (PT4 704) from the Treasury at Persepolis. Photo courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

crenelation from fortification contexts to religious contexts is extremely sparse and problematic.[35] This sparseness is especially remarkable given the abundance of evidence available in Assyrian art—which quantitatively far outstrips what is so far available from Achaemenid times. It was not until the Achaemenid period that such altars became a "typical" form. The altars (or, more likely, incense burners) that are so far known in first-millennium Palestine, northwest Arabia, and the Levant only rarely incorporate any merlon element (Shea 1983; Fowler 1984; Graf 1990a: 136–37). And these items are themselves plausibly reflecting the influence of Achaemenid forms.[36]

Regardless of whether we can isolate the very first instance of a crenelated altar, the glyptic evidence for religious monuments adorned with stepped crenelations in the Achaemenid empire is compelling in specificity, in quality, and in quantity. It shows that the motif of stepped crenelation was an integrated programmatic feature of Achaemenid art—from the king's crown, to myriad ceremonial and ritual installations of the court, to the cult apparatus of variant altar types depicted on seals directly associated with the court and with high-status individuals of the empire.[37] Many of these high-status individuals operated in Persepolis itself or in important regional centers. They were mobile personages who traveled widely and who interacted with others who did so as well.

While the stepped crenelation is the constant unifying decorative feature of the Nabataean Oriental tombs, several other elements that frequently occur on these façades also have links to Achaemenid tradition. Here I shall only sketch preliminary thoughts, deferring more in-depth consideration.

The Cavetto Cornice. The cavetto cornice, such a dominant form on the crenelated tombs with palatial façades, is also a striking feature of the stone remnants of architecture at Persepolis. This molding form crowns the stone door frames and window frames of the buildings on the Takht (fig. 25) just as it crowns the doorways leading into the rock-cut royal tomb chambers. Clearly, when we encounter it at Persepolis, we are witnessing a conscious appropriation in the Achaemenid heartland of an age-old Egyptian tradition.

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FIG. 25.
Ruins of the Persepolis Takht showing the so-called Harem of Xerxes. Photo courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

FIG. 26 (FAR LEFT).
Rosettes on the staircase façade of the Apadana at Persepolis. Photo by M. C. Root.

FIG. 27 (NEAR LEFT).
Bull capital from Persepolis, with rosette collar. Photo by M. C. Root.

It can be no accident that the cavetto cornice appears here in such concentrated force on the heels of Darius's reconquest of Egypt. In the Egyptian sphere the cavetto held symbolic meaning in temple and palace architecture as part of a system of visual codes of ornament relating religiously charged structures to cosmic entities (Baines 1995, with bibliography). The cavetto form would have been available to Nabataean patrons directly from contact with the monuments of Egypt. Nevertheless, its deployment in Persepolis brings it solidly into the discourse of symbolic architectural motifs that, like the crenelation, resounded in Achaemenid times, with new meanings reworking ancient legacies. It must be considered, along with the crenelation, specifically as part of the *Achaemenid* visual vocabulary that would have had strong associations with Persian kingship in the ancient world.

Rosettes. The palace façades with cavetto-crowned doorway and soaring columns, along with the ubiquitous crenelations projecting skyward along rising staircases, were the most dramatic architectural elements at Persepolis. We move now to a set of embellishments applied to the surfaces of these structural features. Of these, the rosette enjoys the distinction of greatest prevalence. Rosettes are everywhere, even ringing door sockets and decorating the eyes of volutes on all the elaborate column capitals (e.g., Schmidt 1953: fig. 37). On the Apadana staircases rosette friezes run between each register of relief sculpture and also surround the entire composition (fig. 26). The protomes of great bulls that serve as impost blocks on the complex columns wear rosette-adorned collars (fig. 27). Surviving glazed bricks that once faced the superstructures of the ceremonial

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FIG. 28.
Tomb VI (of Artaxerxes III) on Mount Rahmat above the Persepolis Takht. After Herzfeld 1941: pl. XLV.

installations on the Takht also display lavish use of the rosette (Schmidt 1953: fig. 35).

Most significantly for the present analysis, bands of twelve-petaled rosettes embellish the three-stepped recess of the doorway of Tomb VI of Artaxerxes III above the Takht, on Mount Rahmat (Schmidt 1970: 105, fig. 38, and pl. 70 [here fig. 28]).[38] This decorative flourish is unique to Tomb VI. Its addition to the royal tomb looking down over the Persepolis vista suggests that the designers of this particular tomb were inspired by the proximity of the rosette-strewn architectural landscape of the city. The addition of the ro-

sette bands of Tomb VI to the more austere prototype established by Darius I at Naqsh-i Rustam unites this late Achaemenid tomb in yet one more way to the visual presentation of the Takht over which it presides.

The rosette, like the merlon, had an ancient history in the Near East before the rise of the Achaemenid empire. As a symbol of the goddess Inanna/Ishtar, it alluded to fertility and abundance (Van Buren 1939). By extension (and also because of the evolving nature of Ishtar as a goddess of war as well as sexuality and fertility) the rosette was closely associated with notions of royalty and dynasty. Rosettes decorate relief representations of the Neo-Assyrian king's high turban crown and in this sense create a conceptual backdrop for the crown of Darius at Bisitun (fig. 17). Here we note again the band of rosettes running directly below the crenelations. The combination of these two motifs on the crown portrayed on this seminal monument underscores the special role they played in Achaemenid royal art. Rosettes may also have been added to some of the crowns on the Persepolis reliefs either in paint or inlay (Henkelman 1995–96). Furthermore, some of the most finely detailed royal crowns represented on the seals used on the Persepolis Fortification tablets (e.g., PFS 7* and PFS 11* [here figs. 19 and 21]) display bosses below the dentate crenelations. These bosses (in minute scale) were surely meant to indicate rosettes.

Crenelated parapets with rosettes running below appear on the Ishtar Gate at Babylon (Oates 1986: fig. 108). This may have had an impact on the planners of Darius's program of personal iconography—bringing the symbolism of Ishtar on a colossal scale into the service of the Persian king's bodily presentation. As appropriated by the Achaemenids, the ancient rosette acquired complex multivalence that deserves more inquiry. The force of the rosette as a symbol of dynastic fertility at Persepolis (Root in press) created the conditions that led to its subsequent strategic deployment as an architectural embellishment on specific contexts in the West—first in Athens during the period of the Achaemenid empire (in conscious quotation of Achaemenid Persian culture) and subsequently in the architectural ornamentation of Augustan and later imperial Rome.[39] Roman uses of the rosette abound in the Augustan period, when floral imagery is asserted as a major theme of imperial abundance

(Zanker 1988). The important issue of the plausibility of Augustan appropriation of Achaemenid strategies in the visual programming of empire is as yet hardly touched upon in scholarship. When we look at the Nabataean deployment of rosettes on the crenelated tombs, we may be tempted to see them as a Graeco-Roman feature rather than an Oriental one. Yet the complexities of multiple influences across time in the Greater Mediterranean yield layers of cultural reworking that need to be understood within specific historical frameworks. The rosette is one of those images that might have been brought into the Nabataean architectural vocabulary through direct relations with Augustan Rome, for instance. But its emblematic display on the crenelated tombs, taken together with the crenelations themselves and the cavetto cornices (figs. 1 and 8), evokes a direct inspiration from the Achaemenid heartland. Significantly, the rosette appears prominently as an emblem on the Oriental tombs rather than on the ostentatiously flowery Graeco-Roman ones.

The Nabataeans employed several different forms of rosettes, and there is more than one interpretation of their use. On freestanding architecture (such as the Altar Pedestal II at Khirbet el-Tannūr and the Kasr el-Bint Faʾrun at Petra), the rosettes are characterized by clearly defined and finely drafted petals of a rather naturalistic form (Gleuck 1965: pls. 103, 104; McKenzie 1990: pl. 40a). On the crene-

lated tombs, however, the rosette is often expressed in a more stylized manner (fig. 29). The flower is formed of six or four pointed petals in high relief, which are either framed by a circular rim or further elaborated by the addition of more petals in lower relief. Those set in circular medallions resemble solar emblems as much as they do flowers. They may be attributes of sun-associated gods such as Helios or Hadad (cf. Glueck 1965: 144, 455). Those set nested among additional petals become twelve-petaled rosettes that are sculpturally articulated in two planes. The visual fluidity we see in Nabataean art between solar emblem/star and rosette flower is itself not without interest for the original Near Eastern senses of the rosette that form the backdrop for Achaemenid formulations (Black and Green 1992: 156).

Eagles. Approximately twenty-eight tombs at Hegra are decorated with relief representations of frontally displayed eagles.[40] They are most often placed atop the pediment of the door frame, as if rendering in relief a freestanding central acroterion (fig. 30).[41] But they are sometimes situated within the pediment area crowning the tomb door (fig. 31). The eagles on all these tombs probably relate on one level directly to Nabataean deities, including Atargatis and Baʾal-shamin (see Jaussen and Savignac 1909: 400–401; Gleuck 1965: 471–74; Healey, Schmitt-Korte, and Wenning 1997; Healey 1989; 2001). But additional

Detail of crenelated tomb B-5 at Hegra, showing doorway with eagle as acroterion. Afer Jaussen and Savignac 1909: pl. XLIII.

Detail of crenelated tomb B-19 at Hegra, showing eagle within pediment. After Jaussen and Savignac 1909: 2.1:326, fig. 139.

resonances are also possible—resonances that would have supplemented rather than supplanted references to the Nabataean pantheon. In Rome, the eagle, as an attribute of Roman Jupiter, was deployed on military standards. Conceivably, then, the eagle on crenelated Nabataean tombs might imply Nabataean emulation of Roman symbols of imperial cult and power. The eagle crowning the standard in the center of the cuirass of the statue of Augustus of Prima Porta (Zanker 1988: fig. 148b) is, for instance, very close to that rendered on Hegra tombs C-15 (fig. 29) and B-5 (fig. 30). This scene on the cuirass displays the Parthians' return of the Roman standard, bringing us within the historical orbit of political interactions between Rome and the Eastern inheritors of Achaemenid legacies of kingship. The eagle was simultaneously an important emblem in Parthian tradition, so that ambiguities are rampant in the pos-

sible associations this emblem might hold in the Augustan age (Dirven 1999: esp. 54–55, 85–87).

The other style and pose of the eagle shown on the crenelated Nabataean tombs (fig. 31) resembles its form on many examples of Roman arts of small scale (on coins and cameos, for instance: Zanker 1988: figs. 76–77), where it represents the eagle of Jupiter and hence a surrogate for the emperor.

Against this backdrop, a specifically Achaemenid connection adds yet another layer of interpretive resonance to the eagle. Xenophon, writing his Greek narrative of military life in the service of the Persian prince Cyrus the Younger in 401 B.C.E., describes the Achaemenid standard as a golden eagle stretched across a shield, implying a display with wings spread (Xenophon *Anab.* 1.10, 12; also *Cyrop.* 7.1, 4). Unfortunately, the square standards depicted behind the royal entourage on the original central panels of the

FIG. 32.
Symbols of Ahuramazda expressed both anthropomorphically (as emergent from the winged symbol) and in reductive mode (as the aniconic winged symbol), on the south jamb of the eastern doorway of the Council Hall at Persepolis. Photo by M. C. Root.

Apadana reliefs at Persepolis and on doorjamb reliefs of the Throne Hall do not preserve any vestige of applied painted decoration. Such figural decoration may well have existed, as carefully retrieved evidence of applied color elsewhere on the Persepolis reliefs now demonstrates (Tilia 1978). An important exploration of the subject by Nylander (1983) focuses on the famous Alexander mosaic discovered in the House of the Faun at Pompeii (pre-79 C.E.). This mosaic was based upon a now-lost fourth-century B.C.E. painted prototype created soon after the fall of the Achaemenid empire in 330, plausibly for an imperial loyalist. The standard represented in the mosaic is in an area that has suffered much damage in modern times. Archival research indicates, however, that it originally showed some kind of bird. An actual plaque, ca. 12.30 cm square, of blue stone (lapis lazuli?) was excavated at Persepolis in 1948 (Sāmi

1955: 66; reproduced in Amiet 1980: fig. 709). Decorated with an image of an Egyptianizing falconlike bird with outspread wings, it could be an Egyptianizing version of the image on the Achaemenid royal battle standard. This interpretation is appealing not least since it was found in the Hall of Thirty-two Columns in the eastern sector of the Takht, an area closely associated with the garrison at the site. The plaque is perforated for attachment and may have been an element of architectural decoration featuring military allusions.

In the Achaemenid context the eagle was linked to Ahuramazda, the great patron deity of the dynasty. It is also possible that the displayed eagle Xenophon speaks of was actually a rendering of the Achaemenid image of the great god Ahuramazda. Nylander emphasizes that the eagle standard as described by Xenophon would have been a deeply symbolic means of connecting the Persian king with Ahuramazda. This deity was typically portrayed as a half-length figure emerging from a symbol with outspread wings (fig. 32).[42] The figural representation of Ahuramazda coexisted in Achaemenid art with nonfigural renderings of the winged symbol alone, without the human-form image emergent. The relation Nylander posits between a displayed-eagle standard and the figural symbol of Ahuramazda reminds us of the eagle-as-Zeus in Roman iconography. In both spheres the ruler was symbiotically associated with the god himself as well as with the god's eaglelike aspect and his capacity to *be* an eagle.

The eagles of the Nabataean tombs may have conveyed multiple valences—at once relating to Nabataean deities in the aniconic mode demanded of Nabataean religion (Hammond 1972; 1982; Patrich 1990) and also invoking either allegiance to a contemporary Roman interest, a contemporary Eastern (Parthian) allegiance, or a nostalgic association with the Achaemenid imperial past. This possibility deserves separate treatment in all its complexities.[43] Among these complexities looms the ongoing question of the associations the owner of the House of the Faun at Pompeii would have made with the last Persian king, with his loyal soldiers, and his eagle standard. This question has elicited competing views from Nylander (1993) and Cohen (1997). Nylander is more concerned with the patronage context of the original wall painting and Cohen with the Roman

FIG. 33.
Detail of crenelated tomb B-17 at Hegra, with heraldic animals. After Jaussen and Savignac 1909: 2.1:pl. XXXV.

reprise. Like the literary testimony of Diodorus on the sacking of Persepolis, this *visual* resurrection of an Achaemenid past (however fictive) among the Roman/Romanized elites of the Roman empire at Pompeii situates the Persian empire squarely within the complicated discourse of Augustan Rome and the Nabataea of Aretas IV. At this moment, Rome was negotiating with Nabataea, struggling with Parthia, and honing its own symbolic strategies in aid of the pacification and incorporation of both. How, under these circumstances, might the eagle of the crenelated Nabataean tombs have been multiply encoded—by deliberate intention, layered reception of an originally straightforward symbolic intention, or both?

Heraldic Animals. A display of heraldic animals frequently figures in the repertoire of crenelated tomb decoration, sometimes flanking a central rosette (fig.

33). Displays of heraldic sphinxes with one foreleg posed before a central floral element or an inscription panel are an important feature in Achaemenid monumental art at Persepolis (Schmidt 1953: e.g., pls. 19, 63). A more static variant of this motif is preserved at Susa in glazed brick (Harper et al. 1992: 229). At Persepolis there are also numerous friezes of animals in procession presented heraldically in two opposing files flanking a central emblem (Schmidt 1953: e.g., pl. 105). These friezes appear as architectural embellishments and also as decorative features on representations of elaborate royal robes and hangings (Schmidt 1953; Tilia 1978). We find this motif added to Tomb VI on Mount Rahmat at Persepolis (fig. 28) as yet another special embellishment to the prototype established by Darius I at Naqsh-i Rustam (along with the bands of rosettes already discussed). Here a floral motif provides the central focal point of the composition.

In the courtly seals preserved through impressions on the Persepolis Fortification tablets, such images of heraldically disposed animals and creatures also abound. To cite only one example, an inscribed Persepolitan Court Style cylinder (PFS 108*) was used by a high-level accounting official in Persepolis (Garrison 2000: fig. 24; Garrison and Root forthcoming). The man reckoned the transactions in the Persepolis district of a wide array of people from across the empire (Garrison and Root 1996 for the tablet texts with which PFS 108* is associated). His seal (not completely preserved in the impressions) displays two ibexes, each originally with one foreleg raised toward a rosette/wheel-like emblem (compare Hegra tomb B-17 [fig. 33]). The style of the seal is itself a mark of great prestige within the Persepolis corpus (Garrison 1991; Garrison and Root 2001).

PLAUSIBILITY OF NABATAEAN
ACCESS TO PERSEPOLIS

Distance. Persepolis is some 1,650 km from Petra as the crow flies and just under 2,500 by the usual road up through Syria. The distance is significant but was certainly not prohibitive. Contact between the Persian heartland and the areas eventually subsumed into the Nabataean kingdom was demonstrably regular

during the Achaemenid empire and was not discontinued in its aftermath. Table 1 lists several important sites, with distance (in km) given both in linear terms (D_1) and as traveled by ship or road (D_2).[44]

TABLE 1.
Distances from Petra

Site	D_1	D_2
Saqqara	450	450
Alexandria	550	625
Beni Hasan	550	775
Thebes	625	1025
Berenike	750	850
Failaka	1200	1275
Athens	1425	1800
Persepolis	1650	2425
Mārib	2000	2000
Qanaʾ	2250	2300
		2875
Rome	2550	3300

Egyptian sites (selected for either importance in trade or presence of tombs frequently compared with the Nabataean tombs) are by far the closest to Petra. Failaka, in modern Kuwait, is next nearest. Notably, however, Petra lies closer (in both D_1 and D_2 values) to Persepolis than it does to Rome—where elite Nabataean physical presence and cultural interaction are well attested in classical sources.

Figure 34 centers Petra (and Nabataea generally) on the map, bringing the relations among these distances into context and showing that Nabataea was neither a fringe community nor a frontier land. As we recenter Nabataea on the spatial map, we can better appreciate its pivotal position and the reason the region and its skilled desert navigators were so important to the Achaemenids and then to the Romans. Distance as the crow flies is not, of course, the only element that must be considered in weighing relative
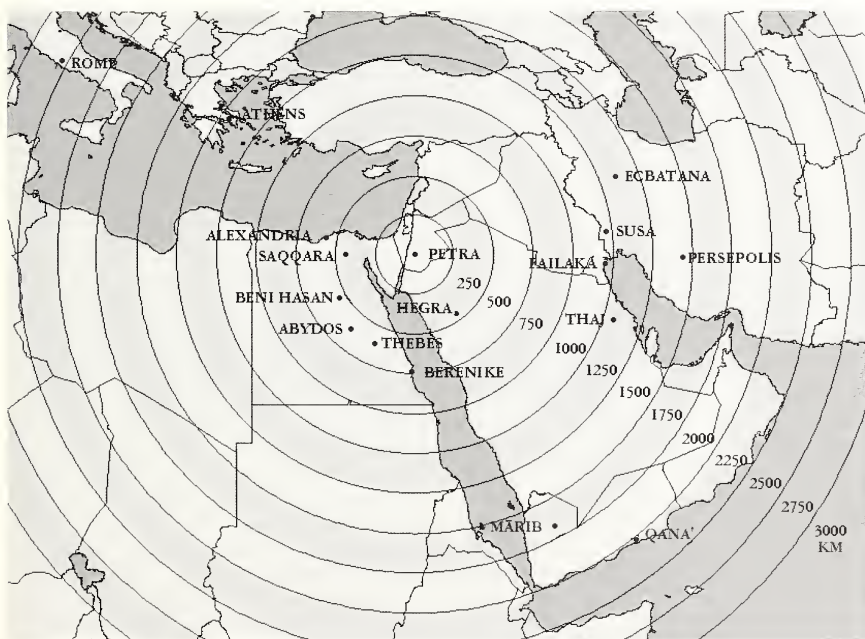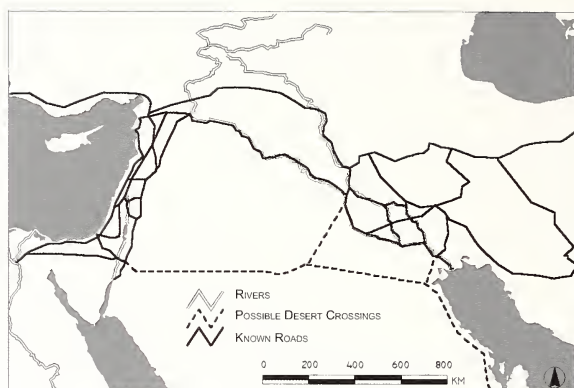
FIG. 34.
Map showing a Petra-centered view of the Nabataean world. Rendering by the author.

FIG. 35.
*Schematic plotting of
major regional road
systems in the Persian
period. Rendering by
the author.*

accessibility for Nabataeans of distant places. Here we must remember the legendary expertise of the Arabians/Nabataeans as travelers and guides through unknowable terrain as well as over roads and sea lanes.

The Myth of a Hidden Persepolis. Consideration of the ancient routes of eastern Iran and northern India shows that Persepolis did link East and West along the south and was quite literally at the center of the empire (Graf 1994b). A host of Western ideological constructs have created the idea of the remoteness and isolation of this city, even stressing that it was deliberately meant to be hidden away from all but Persian eyes. This old view is simply untenable. Although there are good ways to discredit this claim, it is an idea that dies hard (Root 1980). As we have seen, the Persepolis Fortification tablets reveal the bustle of imperial pursuits in the city, with officials crisscrossing the empire along this east-west route carrying documents to and from the king and conducting other business as well (Garrison and Root 2001: 9–10).

Time. There is only an eighteen-year gap between the fall of the Achaemenid empire and the earliest mention of Nabataeans by name in the later classical sources. The Nabataeans must have had a sense of collective identity before their kingdom was actually cited as such by external commentators, suggesting

that Nabataea was already coalescing during the late Achaemenid period. But the first crenelated tombs at Hegra dateable through craftsman signatures were not initiated until the reign of Aretas IV in the first century C.E. This creates a gap of more than three hundred years between the capitulation of the Achaemenid empire and the construction floruit of the crenelated tombs. Three complementary analyses will address this issue. First I shall consider the Achaemenid presence in the Arabian region,[45] then the evidence of "proto-Nabataean" Arabians in Persia during the Achaemenid empire, and finally Nabataean contacts with the Iranian heartland in post-Achaemenid times.

ACHAEMENID PRESENCE IN THE ARABIAN REGION. Achaemenid presence near Petra is clear from both historical and archaeological evidence (Bienkowski 2001, with bibliography). The campaign of Cambyses in Egypt (ca. 525 B.C.E.) required a significant transport of goods and materials overland from Persia, passing through the region that was to be named Nabataea (fig. 35). This transport will have followed the same trajectories as those later developed into the road systems of the Romans, which were arguably based upon Achaemenid antecedents (Graf 1994b). The Arabians' reputation as unparalleled navigators of the desert tracks for Achaemenid ventures supports the important position they held for the Achaemenids' crossings from Asia to Africa for their conquests and reconquests

of Egypt. Herodotus records that Arabian camel units were used in Xerxes's invasion of Greece (7.86–87, 184). Such testimony presupposes extensive military interaction between Achaemenid leadership and Arabians deployed from this region. Evidence of *qanat* irrigation installations that seem to be of Achaemenid rather than later date in the Hijaz area hints at Achaemenid technological infusions here that deserve more systematic field investigation (Graf 1990a: 137).

Katzenstein (1989) proposes that there was a large Persian presence in Gaza during this period, as Gaza was a well-situated staging post with both land and sea routes to Egypt. Gaza itself has not been excavated, but storehouses nearby have been dated to the Persian period.[46] Deutsch and Heltzer (1997), examining votive inscriptions in the Sharon plain, have found "strong evidence of Phoenician and Persian presence."[47] Tell Mazar (in northern Jordan) has yielded stamp seals and impressions, arms, metal products, bronze and silver jewelry, and ceramics of Persian date and manufacture. Nearby, at Tel es-Saʾidiyeh, a Persian-period fortress retains the inscription *l z k w r*, translated "belonging to Zakkur."[48] Perhaps more significant to the present inquiry is the discovery of a cuneiform document at Tawilan (near Petra), which records the business dealings of a local entrepreneur while in Syria. This document is dated in the accession year of Darius (but *which* Darius cannot be gleaned [Weippert 1987]). Weippert cautiously suggests that the transactions themselves may have taken place in the context of an Achaemenid satrapal headquarters and that the tablet may have been brought to Tawilan rather than written there. Whatever the case, the existence of this one tablet presupposes others and implies communications mechanisms in the Arabian territory of the empire that mimic document traditions of Achaemenid Mesopotamia/Iran.[49]

Accumulating documentation and interpretation of Achaemenid presence along the Persian Gulf is also crucial in appreciating aspects of physical links used to facilitate travel and mechanisms of hegemonic incorporation between Persia and the Arabian region (Salles 1990).

"PROTO-NABATAEAN" ARABIANS IN PERSIA. The presence of Arabians in Persia is documented in numerous types of activity: ceremonial and diplomatic appearances at imperial events, presence as laborers, passage through the region in caravan ventures for long-distance trade and guiding services, travel in Persepolis by individual Arabians on court business. The types of evidence for these modes of presence include classical testimonia, Achaemenid imperial inscriptions and captioned sculptural representations, and the Persepolis administrative documents. The indication of Arabian presence at Persepolis is impressive. What remains an open question is the extent to which the Arabians referred to in these contexts can be equated with a specifically proto-Nabataean element. Some, doubtless, can be.

The Arabians enjoyed special status in the Achaemenid empire, we are told by Herodotus (3.4–9), thanks to their assistance in the first Achaemenid conquest of Egypt. When summarizing the satrapies of the Persian empire, Herodotus (3.97) notes that the Arabians paid no tribute per se, although they did render an annual gift to the king in the form of a thousand talents' weight of frankincense. The Apadana reliefs at Persepolis display foreign emissaries presenting gifts of praise to the king in the heartland capital. This sculptural representation as well as others (on the royal tomb façades and elsewhere) that portray peoples of the empire lifting the king on high include Arabians as participants in these ideologically charged celebrations of the Achaemenid empire. Such representations seem to blend references to actual gatherings of dignitaries from the subject lands with metaphorical statements of empire. Their metaphorical aspect does not reduce their significance as records *in some sense* of court rituals meant to reinforce the incorporation of the subject lands (Root 1979: 227–84; 1985; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1991b; Wiesehöfer 1996: 25). Such visits by delegates from the subject lands to the heartland capital of the empire will have been important mechanisms of hegemonic incorporation. The Arabian group takes part in the Achaemenid ideology that emphasizes voluntary cooperation and reciprocal loyalties for all subject peoples—even those who paid regular tribute as well as "voluntary" gifts to the king (Root 1979; Ephʿal 1982: 206–10; Briant 1996: esp. 408–10). Briant points out that the special tribute-exempt situation of the Arabians (as described in Herodotus) is echoed in late fourth-century testimonia concerning the named Nabataeans. This is yet
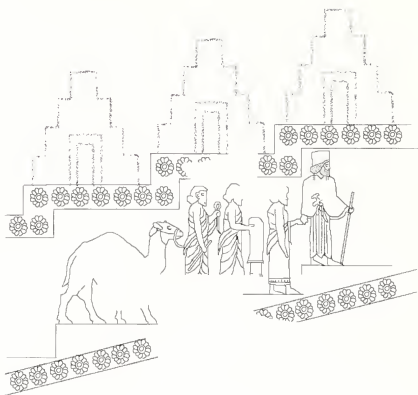
FIG. 36.
Drawing of the Arabian delegation on the east staircase of the Apadana at Persepolis, with crenelations restored from other sections of the same staircase. Rendered by the author.

FIG. 37.
Composite drawing of PFS 298s (2:1) on the Persepolis Fortification tablets, belonging to an Arabian personage. Courtesy of M. B. Garrison, M. C. Root, and the Persepolis Seal Project.

another indication of the linkage between the Arabians of Achaemenid times and a subset of the later-named Nabataeans.

Among the personifications of subject lands shown lifting up the king on Tomb VI (of Artaxerxes III) looking down upon the Persepolis Takht is an Arabian. An Arabian personification appears on other Achaemenid monuments as well (Roaf 1974; Hachmann 1995). But Schmidt (1970: 111, 116) comments on the special "torque of honor" worn only by this Arabian figure. He suggests that this embellishment was added to the tomb of Artaxerxes III specifically to acknowledge the Arabians' help in the third conquest of Egypt. It is well within the norms of Achaemenid art to articulate subtle distinctions of prestige alluding to historical specificities even on monuments that have overarching metaphorical content.

On the Apadana (fig. 36), the Arabian delegation is shown bringing a large tasseled textile and leading a one-humped camel to the king (Schmidt 1953: 89 and pl. 46). There is no sign of the frankincense described by Herodotus. Emphasis is clearly on the dromedary here as a sign of the desert region so critical to the cultural identity of the Arabians. The gifts on the Apadana are a mix of elements that seem intended to evoke specific peoples and regions as well as those that seem more generically meant to signify prestige and value.

The Persepolis Fortification tablets offer glimpses of an Arabian personage named Ištabatukka traveling with small groups of other Arabians through the Persepolis region under court authorization to see the king in 500 B.C.E. (Hallock 1969: PF tablets 1477, 1534, and 1539).[50] These nonpolemical Persian primary sources recording food disbursements are crucial evidence. They testify to significant give and take between Arabians and the courtly/administrative activities of the vast Achaemenid realm on the level of business rather than ritual ceremonials. The seal used by Ištabatukka on these documents (fig. 37) is carved in a local Persepolitan court workshop mode, the style called by Mark Garrison the "Fortification Style" (Garrison 1988; 1991; Garrison and Root 2001: 18 and passim). This suggests that Ištabatukka was very well integrated within the Persepolis cultural sphere, where he surely commissioned his seal (Garrison and Root 2001: 342, cat. no. 236: PFS 298s). The mainstream stylistic qualities of the seal of Ištabatukka, in the context of Persepolis seals used by high-level people crisscrossing the empire on court business, speak eloquently of the place of elite Arabians within this empire. This particular Arabian was well established in the workings of the imperial bureaucracy (trusted with discretion on behalf of the king), and he was familiar enough with the culture in Persepolis to want to commission a seal in the local style popular in court circles there.[51]

Evidence for lower-level individuals from the Arabian region in the Fortification tablet texts is more elusive at present. Elite guides are frequently mentioned in these texts—but not usually with any ethnic/regional characterization attached. Similarly, people leading caravan groups of Egyptian workers to Persepolis may have included Arabians who are

simply not indicated as such in the texts.[52] Already in the Neo-Assyrian period the incense trade between north Arabia and Mesopotamia is well attested (Graf 1990a: 131). The testimony of Herodotus encourages us to accept the importance of this exotic product at the Achaemenid court just as we also know its popularity as an import in other contexts (Sidebotham 1997; Retsö 1997). Arabian trading caravans probably traveled through the Persepolis region just as men like Ištabatukka did on official court business.

NABATAEANS IN PERSIA. Evidence is less direct for the presence of Nabataeans in Persepolis after the fall of the Achaemenid empire. Persis in the Seleucid period is not as well understood archaeologically as some other regions of Iran are. Did members of the ruling class of Nabataean society travel there for political or trade negotiations? The Seleucid kingdom did incorporate Fars (Persis), and the nature of Hellenistic diplomacy generally (Bagnall and Derow 1981; Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1987) suggests the likely exchange of letters and gifts specifically between the Nabataeans and the Seleucids. Although the Seleucid capital lay in Mesopotamia, not Iran, Persis was well integrated into the network of Seleucid control, and at least one new city is known to have been founded in the region (Wiesehöfer 1996: 109–10). The deliberate links made by the Seleucids to an Achaemenid past (e.g., in royal titulary) guarantee that Nabataeans and others partaking of diplomatic communications with Seleucid centers will have been aware of the significance of the Achaemenid monuments and the resonance of Achaemenid mores. There was certainly gift exchange and business at places other than the capital of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, continuing earlier traditions.

The Parthian kings also controlled Fars. But the areas of Iran most investigated for this period are Turkemenistan, Kurdistan, and Khuzistan (Wiesehöfer 1996: 125). Susa in Khuzistan brings us well into the orbit of close connection along the southern route to Persepolis. In Achaemenid times, Susa was at the far western rim of the Persepolis administrative purview documented by the Fortification tablets, as shown by the impression of PFS 7* on a tablet from Susa (Garrison 1996; Garrison and Root 2001: PFS 7*). Post-Achaemenid rebuilding in Persepolis as well as graffiti on the Takht remind us that this city was continually part of the inhabited landscape of Fars even though the Takht itself was left to a great extent as a monument, we might even say a memorial, following the sacking by the Macedonians.

It is currently impossible to document the presence specifically of Nabataean traders and caravan leaders/travel guides moving along the southern east-west route via Persepolis. Indeed, the very notion of defining merchants from the region encompassed by Nabataea as "Nabataeans" has been called into question by Macdonald (1991: 106–16). He argues that, while merchants may have shared a common ethnicity with the inhabitants of the Nabataean kingdom, the designation "Nabataean" ought not apply to them; in his view the term should rather be reserved for those connected with the political administration of the kingdom. This position is perhaps too narrow under the current state of our understanding of the Nabataean cultural enterprise. It also seems to ignore any administrative control (i.e., tariffs) the Nabataean kingdom would have exerted over their activities. It seems better for now to broaden the definition of "Nabataeans" to include merchants operating in the service of Nabataean economic ventures.

The discussion here shows how complicated the situation is and how delicate are the nuances of identity construction. Even if we accept traders from Nabataea as "Nabataeans," their presence in the Persian heartland cannot be demonstrated archaeologically at this point. Any attempt to trace "Nabataean" merchants and travel guides by means of a ceramic record along plausible routes to Fars yields sparse evidence along the Persian Gulf. From Failaka only eight specimens of Nabataean wares have been recovered (Hannestad 1983). Potts (1991) has recently extended the frontier of Nabataean ceramic finds to reach Thaj and Qatif on the coast of the Persian Gulf, but so far no sherds have been found in Iran.[53] By contrast, the ceramic evidence from Yemen and Saudi Arabia is strong. The interpretation of this uneven record is, however, open to question. Nabataean ceramics cannot be taken as the sole indicators of either Nabataean presence or Nabataean absence. As Parr has pointed out (1978: 204), the chronology of ceramics only partially correlates with the presence of the established kingdom.

Difficult as the issues are, it is helpful to consider

FIG. 38.
Eighteenth-century engraving of the
Persepolis Takht. After Le Bruyn 1737:
unnumbered pl. following p. 22.

the diversity of society in Seleucid and then Parthian times in the arenas controlled by these kingdoms. Onomastic evidence from Dura Europus in Syria, for instance, shows the presence of individuals with Nabataean-Arabian names as well as names implying many other regional/cultural affiliations (Wiesehöfer 1996: 120).

In the Parthian period the scanty literary evidence contains some oblique clues about merchants plying the routes between Arabian regions and Iran. Pliny (*HN* 13.18) mentions that myrrh was a favorite unguent of the Parthian kings; elsewhere (*HN* 6.145, 162) he comments on the role of Arabians as middlemen between Rome and Parthia.[54] In addition, traders from India and Afghanistan traveled overland with some regularity.[55] Isidore of Charax, writing in the first century B.C.E., documents the northern trade route across Iran serving the Afghanistan connection. The southerly route via Fars served traffic between India and Fars from remote times and with great activity in Achaemenid and later times (Kleiss 1981; Garrison and Root 2001). Naqsh-i Rustam and Persepolis were prominent sites for all passing by on this road.

Indeed, Fars was strategically critical as well as symbolically potent in Parthian activities at the time when the crenelated tombs of the Nabataeans were being built (Colledge 1977 for an overview of Parthian sites and presence in western Iran). The post-Achaemenid rock reliefs at Naqsh-i Rustam nestled under the royal tomb façades of Darius and his successors include a scene of the victory of Ardashir I (the first Sasanian king) over the last Parthian (Seidl 1997:

101). The well-traveled peoples of these times saw the ruins of Persepolis and more recent additions to the landscape in symbolically charged historical relation.

Magisterial Ruins. Diodorus (17.70) describes the sacking of Persepolis by Alexander:

> The enormous palaces, famed throughout the whole civilized world, fell victim to insult and utter destruction. . . . Persepolis, as much as it had exceeded the other cities in richness, was thrown down to the same degree beyond the others into misfortune. (author's translation)

There is clear evidence that the city was indeed "destroyed," but this destruction was not as utter as Diodorus claimed. Wiesehöfer (1996: 25) rightly observes that the destruction of Persepolis, much touted among the historians of Alexander writing in Roman times, was probably a literary device: the symbol of opposing power had to be destroyed in order for Alexander's victory to seem complete. He points out that parts of the site continued to be occupied in the following centuries, although at a much reduced level. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1993) has observed that the destruction of the Macedonian army was far from total, as archaeological investigation has revealed that fires were set in specific locations associated with kingship. Yet, as early modern travelers' illustrations show (viz., Bruyn 1737), the skeletal ruins of the royal buildings were not only preserved but remained uncovered (fig. 38). The fact that the site became known

as Chehel Minar, or Forty [as in "Many"] Columns, may suggest, as Sancisi-Weerdenburg proposes (1991a: 3), that the ancient name of the place had been forgotten. But it also indicates, in a positive vein, the stature the physical vestiges held as dramatically visible phenomena (Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Drijvers 1991; André-Salvini et al. 1998).

The stone remnants of architecture preserve door frames and window frames with elegant cavetto cornices arcing high as well as stairways crowned everywhere with stepped crenelations, all surrounded by fallen architectural members. The door frames, owing to the integrity of their construction, stand in marked isolation, giving the site a ghostly yet magisterial character. Following the targeted destruction by the Macedonian army, the Takht would have already assumed much of its present form in the late fourth century B.C.E. The site remained actively visited after its destruction. Among the continuously visible monuments here were the two tombs of late Achaemenid kings (fig. 39). Diodorus (17.71.7) specifically describes the tombs on the "royal hill" (which, he notes, was called by that name) although he does not refer to the decorative façades per se.

The continued evocative visibility of the Persepolis Takht and the late Achaemenid royal tombs overlooking it presents a most interesting possibility. The connection of the Graeco-Roman type Nabataean tomb façades to the palatial architecture of the Hellenistic world has been clearly illustrated (Schmid 2001b). In a similar light, the crenelated Nabataean tombs may in part reflect the palatial installations at Persepolis—specifically *as ruins* in their dramatically symbolic skeletal state.

APPROACHES TO MONUMENTS AND MEMORY

Alexander of Macedon used fifth-century Athenian grievances against the Achaemenid empire to justify his campaigns. The classical sources recounting his exploits reinforced for a Roman audience the notion that in his sacking of Persepolis Alexander was delivering the West's retribution for the Achaemenid burning of the Athenian acropolis. In the late Roman republic and early empire, the time of Nabataean floruit, neoclassicism in Rome revived the legacy of

the Athenian empire (Zanker 1988). It was in this context that the Roman authors dealt with the narratives of Persepolis and the Achaemenid empire. To a Western audience, Persia was portrayed as a bloated, extravagant world. But to those who had once enjoyed its favor, its legendary hegemony and structure of allegiances may well have been differently conceived. As Western domination rose, the memory of a strong Eastern power perhaps stirred the pride and chauvinism of those who dwelt in the region, especially Nabataeans.

I argue here that Nabataean appropriation of Achaemenid forms served an important dynastic purpose for an elite patronage, particularly during the reign of Aretas IV. The mechanisms and inspirations for such a process of appropriation and adaptation will have been similar to those that guided the creation of Achaemenid imperial art, drawing in calculated and richly informed ways upon antique and foreign models (Root 1979; 1990a; 1990b; 1994).

Hellenistic and Roman rulers regularly depicted themselves wearing Alexander's *anastole* as a means of taking unto themselves his reputation for power. In the same way, the Nabataean kings (in particular Aretas IV) arguably encouraged the invocation of the Achaemenid past to connect themselves with the majesty of the Achaemenid rulers and to articulate a resistance to Roman pressures.[56] A little historical detail will demonstrate the force of this undercurrent of resistance in the politics of Nabataea as particularly marked in the reign of Aretas IV.

Syllaeus, who served as chief administrator to the Nabataean king Obodas III (r. 30–9 B.C.E.), is often remembered for his attempt to seize the Nabataean throne. The death of Obodas III had left the succession in dispute. According to Josephus (*Antiq.* 16.293–99), Aretas IV assumed the throne without first soliciting the consent of the Roman emperor Augustus, who was severely displeased that his presumed authority in the kingdom's affairs had been usurped. Seizing upon Augustus's displeasure, Syllaeus attempted through bribes and emissaries to Rome to have Aretas removed and himself installed. Aretas likewise sought favor in Rome, sending a lengthy epistle and costly gifts in an attempt to mollify the emperor. Augustus, however, left the parties to settle among themselves. Syllaeus continued his
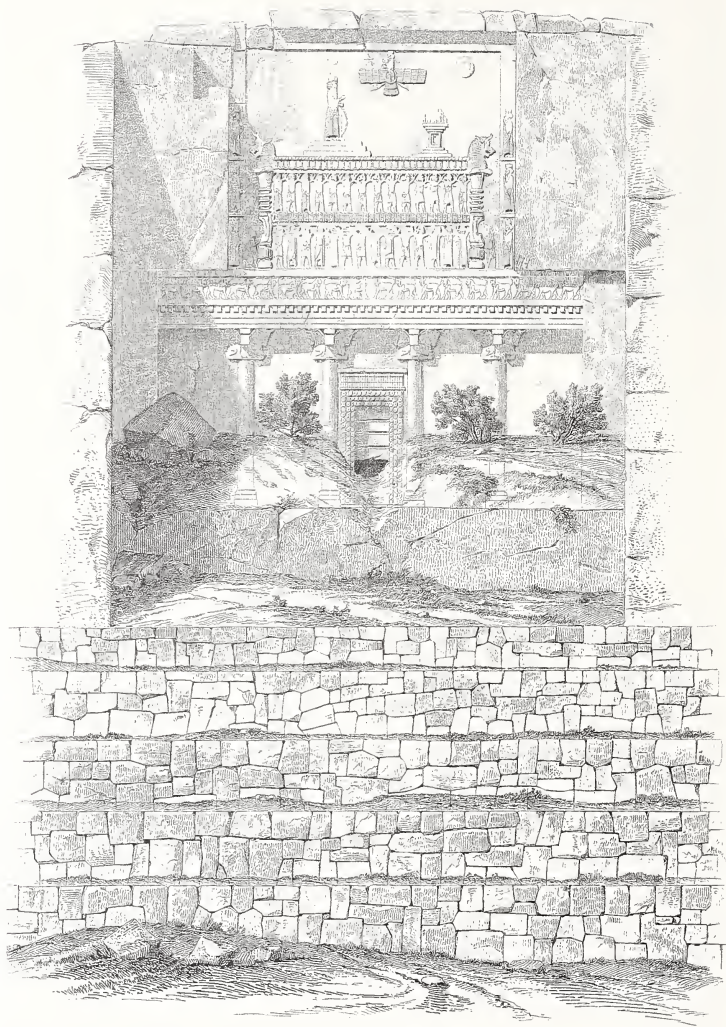
195

FIG. 39.
Nineteenth-century engraving by Pascal Coste of Tomb VI (now attributed to Artaxerxes III) at Persepolis, with some inaccuracies. After André-Salvini et al. 1998: 151.

intrigues for a few years, but his enmity with Herod led him to be sent to Rome for trial (on numerous charges) and subsequently executed. Aretas IV was then able to consolidate his kingship and ruled for forty-nine years. So, at least, runs the account of Josephus, the only ancient source to describe this series of events in detail.[57]

The early years of Aretas's reign were characterized by conflict with the Roman empire and a need to establish the legitimacy of his rule. Rome may actually have temporarily annexed Nabataea in 3–1 B.C.E., although this is not certain (Bowersock 1983: 53–56). In any case, Aretas was not officially confirmed by Rome until his kingdom regained its independence. Continued disregard for Rome's authority is evident in the expedition of 27 C.E., when Aretas invaded Perea without Roman consent. In response Rome sent troops to Arabia with the intent of punishing the rogue king. The mission was aborted only because the death of Tiberius forced a shift in imperial priorities.

Aretas IV shows himself to have been a keen observer, a master manipulator of political message, and a strong activist voice for a Nabataean identity and against Roman acquisition of the Nabataean kingdom. He was one of two Nabataean monarchs to give himself an honorary epithet. The first was Aretas III, who presented himself in the Greek language as "Philhellene." Aretas IV, by direct and certainly calculated contrast, used the Nabataean language exclusively and presented himself on coins and other inscriptions with the formulaic title "Lover of His Own People." It is an irony of eurocentric scholarship that this unusual formula composed in the Nabataean language is often rendered in the modern literature by the Greek "Philopatris."[58] The epithet appears on Aretas's coinage as early as 8 B.C.E. Aretas seems to be playing on the Latin epithet "Pater Patriae" (Father of the Fatherland), apparently introduced by Julius Caesar.[59] Both the Nabataean and the Roman epithets emphasize notions of a collective identity and of a filial bond of patriarchal protection exercised over all the people. Aretas IV has taken the "Pater Patriae" formula and made it Nabataean. He has done this by combining three elements: reference to Hellenistic titulary (the "lover" descriptor, as in "Philhellene"), allusion to an assertively local Nabataean ethos (the Nabataean language), and—in a subversion of the

Latin "Pater Patriae" formula—an emphasis on "*His Own* People" in opposition to the Roman "Patriae."[60]

CRENELATED TOMBS AND NEGOTIATIONS OF IDENTITY

In presenting himself as the Nabataean "Lover of His Own People," Aretas IV was addressing Rome through coinage and other formal presentations of the honorific. But he was also addressing a local Nabataean audience. The title is used as part of the dating formula that occurs with artists' signatures on the crenelated tombs at Hegra.[61] This brings us back full circle to the crenelated tombs and their formal echoes of Achaemenid iconography.

Schmitt-Korte (2001) has proposed that the ostentatious, but never-completed, Graeco-Roman type tomb at Petra (al-Khazneh) may have been commissioned by Syllaeus. Given his attempts to curry favor with Rome and to discredit his rival, Aretas, the patron choices behind al-Khazneh become most interesting. We are left to contemplate the possibility that sociopolitical allegiances were an important factor in determining the patron choices made by the builders of the crenelated tombs as well—both in Petra and Hegra. Could these include referencing an ancient time of Arabian traditions and allegiances with a *different* world empire—the Achaemenid hegemony?

To date, there has been little speculation on the patronage forces determining the variations in the Nabataean tombs. In beginning to query this issue, Schmid (2002a: 53) considers that the crenelated tombs were commissioned by a less prominent group of elites than those who sponsored the very small group of Graeco-Roman tombs at Petra—but an elite sector of the population nevertheless. This notion of an economic distinction between those who commissioned Graeco-Roman tombs and those who commissioned the less ornate Oriental types may be valid. Complex ornamentation was generally associated with wealth in antiquity (owing to the increased production effort required). Also, with one exception, the twelve Graeco-Roman tombs occupy the most prominent positions in the spatial landscape of Petra. The extraordinarily restricted number of the Graeco-

Roman tombs further increases the likelihood that some extreme distinctions of wealth and status were operating here. It is generally assumed that all of them were destined to receive the burial of royalty (or, in the case of al-Khazneh, would-be royalty), although the only evidence to support this is the prominence and elaborateness of the tombs themselves.

Many of the crenelated tombs display fine carving technique (e.g., figs. 1, 29, and 30 [Hegra tombs B-7, C-15, and B-5]). Furthermore, many of them achieve a grandeur in their scale and deployment of selective ornamentation. Thus, while the Graeco-Roman tombs may indeed indicate the patronage of a royal super-elite, some of the crenelated tombs certainly indicate significant capacity to commission quality work. We need to consider the idea that in these instances *profusion* of ornamentation may simply not have been the aesthetic priority. Perhaps what mattered more was *allusiveness of message* in the ornamentation.

The appearance of the earliest dateable crenelated tombs in the reign of Aretas IV cannot be mere coincidence. On the one hand, the importance of this fact cannot be overstated. And on the other hand, the coexistence of the crenelated tombs alongside Graeco-Roman and undecorated monuments should not cause concern. Current thinking on cultural identity stresses that notions of consistent behavior (either chronological or pancultural) are unfounded (Tomlinson 1991; Woolf 1997; Terrenato 1998; van Dommelen 1998). Thus, we should not expect uniformity in the situation at hand—in which the Nabataeans and Romans were variously allied or at war until the annexation of Arabia by Trajan in 106 C.E. What we should seek instead are points of inquiry into the workings of Nabataean visual culture at which we can sight specific conjunctions of complex political/military events and manifestations of complex responses to them. Our study of the Nabataean crenelated tombs is one such point of inquiry.

The fact that the earliest dateable crenelated tombs are also the most elaborately decorated strongly suggests that the development of this modality in funerary architecture reflected an aggressive ideological positioning—not some gradual evolution of formal trends unattached to cultural meaning. It would seem that elites operating closely within the

orbit of Aretas IV created an alternative vocabulary of grand funerary architecture specifically reflecting the larger political agendas of their ruler's stance in relation to Rome. This new vocabulary (which was surely encouraged by Aretas IV himself) revived the cultural memory of an allegiance to the Eastern-centered empire of the Achaemenids. While this vocabulary (in less grand terms) remained a feature of the Nabataean funerary tradition even in later times, the phase of its creation is of particular interest to us here. Evocation of an Achaemenid legacy figured prominently in Nabataean realizations of an iconography of resistance during the age of Aretas IV in the face of his encounters with the imperialist agendas of Augustus. □

Notes

1. See Briant (1996) for the most comprehensive overview (with vast bibliography) of recent approaches to the history of the Achaemenid empire based on various types of non-Western as well as classical sources. Also see Wiesehöfer 1996, Kuhrt 2001, and many contributions to the published proceedings of the Achaemenid History Workshops (listed in Sancisi-Weerdenburg, Kuhrt, and Root 1994: 437–42).

2. For analogous examples specifically of nomad *sedentarization* in areas of weakened local authority, see Finklestein 1990.

3. The classical historians we depend upon for narrative accounts of the Nabataeans had their own interests in mind and/or worked under the direct patronage of the politically powerful. They often deliberately exaggerated a ruler's valor or mercy and deployed other literary devices as well to enhance a ruler's authority. In this case, our sources are Cassius Dio (fl. early third century C.E.) and Ammianus Marcellinus (fl. late fourth century C.E.), both of whom are notorious in this regard.

4. This owes partly to the paucity of archaeological material that can be securely dated prior to the first century B.C.E. In my view, however, this problem is not prohibitive, and a thorough reappraisal of the matter is overdue. See Bartlett 1979; Negev 1982; Knauf 1989 on the Nabataean issues; Betts 1989 and Cribb 1991 for implications of nomad theory in archaeology.

5. Compare the Solubba of Jordan, who engage in a variety of activities beyond pastoralism. The Beni Sakhr nomads of northern Jordan offer an interesting case in point for this variability of interaction. They employed slaves for agricultural work in the late Ottoman period (ca. 1880–1917). See Betts 1989.

6. Nylander (1970) makes a path-breaking case for this at the early Achaemenid heartland capital of Pasargadae. See Root (1979) on the notion of the Persians as nomads who by definition therefore had no cultural tools of their own with which to consolidate a visual program capable of expressing an ideology. This study did a great deal to redirect the understanding of Achaemenid art as a carefully planned program meant to communicate a pervasive message about kingship and empire rather than a randomly eclectic phenomenon.

7. See Hermerén (1975: esp. 42–50) for a thoughtful unpacking of the ranges of meaning embedded in the term "influence" (including issues of "negative" versus "positive" influence). See also Schmid 2001a; 2002b. For a different but analogous historical context, compare Bandyopadhyay 2000.

8. A precise chronology of the tombs has so far been difficult to establish. Numerous tombs at Hegra preserve dateable inscriptions including stone carvers' signatures (McKenzie 1990: 25–30). But few tombs at Petra have surviving inscriptions. McKenzie has attempted to construct relative dating schemes based on stylistic criteria. Perhaps other approaches to microdating, based upon close examinations of technical features correlated with other archaeological evidence (published and as yet unpublished), can someday be attempted.

9. McKenzie (1990) argues that the now-lost architecture of Hellenistic Alexandria (as depicted on Roman wall paintings) was the principal source of influence for the Graeco-Roman tombs. But Schmid (2001b: 398–400) suggests a wider Hellenistic vocabulary.

10. Reports on the ongoing excavation activities at Petra are published annually (e.g., Keller, Savage, and Zamora 2002). Martha Joukowsky (Brown University) engages in annual fieldwork at the Great Temple in Petra (see Joukowsky 1998). Several studies of specific types of material in addition to the tombs are available.

11. The designation "Hegr-type" (first employed by Brünnow and von Domaszewski) is often applied to all the crenelated tombs. Within this classification system there are several subdivisions based mainly on the layout of the crenelations and the form of the entablature. While the term "Hegr-type" is familiar to Nabataean scholars, some use it specifically to denote only those tombs with the split merlons—not those with the running merlon friezes. The variables of its application in the literature render use of the term problematic here. I have thus elected to avoid the term entirely.

12. For discussions of the site see, e.g., Healey and al-Theeb 1993, Bowsher 1986, Potts 1993, Wenning 1996. Strabo 16.4.24 simply says that Hegra lies "in the territory of Obodas [the Nabataean king]" without specifying how much farther south the kingdom may have extended. After Trajan's annexation of Nabataea, Hegra became the site of a Roman garrison. Published finds there of Nabataean pedigree include (in addition to the tombs) inscriptions and ceramics (McKenzie 1990: 11).

13. That said, it would be a worthwhile project to reexamine all the Hegra tombs on site, asking new questions of the record.

14. I wish to thank Dr. Saad al-Rashid, Director of the Ministry of Antiquities and Museums in Saudi Arabia, for his very helpful discussion with me on this subject.

15. Patrich (1996) defines a Nabataean capital as comprised of four concave faces terminating in blunted corners. The capitals on the engaged tomb columns do not display all four faces.

16. See Zayadine (1970) for discussion of crenelated tombs and their potential connection to pedestal tombs at Amrith (Marathus) in Syria. The presence of a crenelated tomb at Amrith can also be seen as a reference to Achaemenid architecture, for Phoenicia was an important Achaemenid holding and provided the navy with which the Persian campaign against Greece was conducted in 490 B.C.E.

17. Zayadine (e.g., 1970: 232) is the only Nabataean scholar known to me to have mentioned Dā u Dukhtar in connection with the Hegra-type tombs. Speaking of the deployment of stepped crenelations, he says: "Von der assyrischen gelangte sie zur persischen Baukunst, wo sie in Persepolis und bei dem Felsgrab von Da-u-Dukhtar reichlich Verwendung fand."

18. There are also elements not apparently connected to Achaemenid art, such as the urns that regularly serve as acroteria on the pediments crowning the doorways of the tombs.

19. E.g., Curtis and Reade 1995: 46, 61, 63, and 98–99 for representations of non-Assyrian cities, and 78 for a representation apparently of the Assyrian capital, Nineveh. Actual fragments of stepped merlons were discovered in association with the walls of Ashur (Andrae 1913: 90–91, fig. 136; 148, fig. 226). *Reconstructions* on site of some Assyrian city fortifications give a wonderful idea of what such fortification superstructures probably did look like: viz., Curtis and Reade (1995: 27), even though they are perforce based on very limited actual physical remnants with respect to the merlons.

20. On fortress imagery on Urartian gold belts, see Smith in press: chap. 6, 29–30. See also the model fortress from Nimrud (ninth–seventh centuries B.C.E.), where the representations again include a crowning merlon frieze: Curtis and Reade 1995: 106.

21. Koldewey 1918; Klengel-Brandt 1997. For a well-illustrated and useful brief account of Babylon at this time and the Ishtar Gate in particular, see Oates 1986: 144–60.

22. The stone-working traditions of Urartu are in a separate category due to the stone resources available to this kingdom. But

the point I am making here concerns the major powers that were the key players on the international scene extending into the Levant in the pre-Achaemenid first millennium.

23. Tomb F70 in McKenzie's classification scheme.

24. On the fragmentary copy of the relief originally set up in Babylon, see Seidl 1976.

25. The crowns of Assyrian monarchs are tall, turbanlike affairs. See, e.g., the comparative illustrations of Darius at Bisitun and Ashurbanipal at Nineveh in Roaf 1989: figs. 10–11.

26. This is certainly the case if we leave aside the image of the winged "genius" at Pasargadae, which may be a metaphorical vision of kingship rather than a representation of an historical king (Root 1979: 300–302 and pl. 1).

27. The Achaemenid crown is discussed by Root (1979: 92–93, with references). See Tilia (1978: 58–64) for details of the representations of crowns on the Persepolis reliefs.

28. Interestingly, there are representations of the Assyrian queen wearing a *mural* crown. See, e.g., the famous depiction of Ashurbanipal's wife on the "banquet relief" from Nineveh (Curtis and Reade 1995: 122). This tradition of a royal woman wearing a mural crown is also seen earlier, both in Mesopotamia and in Elam, as illustrated, e.g., in Root 1990b: 43 (seal of the third millennium showing the Akkadian princess Tutanapsham) and 24 (queen figure on the [first-millennium?] Elamite addition to the second-millennium Elamite relief at Naqsh-i Rustam). This mural crown is a different entity from the crenelated crown under discussion in Achaemenid art. The mural crown depicts an actual defensive wall, with spaced towers. Its application in Near Eastern art deserves a separate study.

29. See Root (1979: 118–22) for a brief review of Achaemenid royal-name seals from all contexts (including unexcavated examples of actual seals). On administrative aspects of Achaemenid royal-name seals, see, e.g., Garrison 1991 as well as discussion in Garrison and Root 2001: 10–11.

30. There are also cases of nonroyal-name seals of heroic encounter where the hero wears a dentate crown on the Persepolis Fortification tablets; but the issues here reflect a complex courtly milieu of symbols shared as a direct statement of granted prerogatives. See Garrison and Root 2001: 56–58 (on fluid identities of the hero and on the crown in relation to these), 68–70 (entry for PFS 7*), and 88–89 (entry for PFS 113*, which is identical with Persepolis Treasury seal 4 [PTS 4*]). For PFS 11*, see Garrison 2000: 141–42 and fig. 18.

31. Zanker (1988: 93) notes that the laurel is sacred to Apollo and as such "conferred on the entry to Augustus' house a sacred aura and invoked the powers of primordial religion."

32. One of these is an additional seal known through an impression on a label from the Treasury tablet archive (PTS 57). The other is an actual cylinder seal found in the Treasury (PT6 699). See Schmidt 1957: 27, 37, 43, and pls. 7, 13, and 15, respectively.

33. Collon 1987: 162–63, no. 754. The early date of its acquisition (well before the Persepolis finds were known) greatly reduces the likelihood that it is a forgery. The seal is large for Achaemenid times. At 3.1 cm in height, it is as tall as the largest cylinder seal in the Fortification corpus of seals of heroic encounter: the royal-name seal PFS 7* (which is estimated to have had a preserved height of 3.0 cm). See Garrison and Root 2001: fig. 1 and 471–72. This seal, assuming again that it is genuine, was undoubtedly owned by an exalted personage.

34. See Dusinberre (1997) for the significance of supporting pedestal creatures in Achaemenid glyptic iconography, especially with implications for allusions to heartland formulations in the western satrapies.

35. As evidence for the claim of Assyrian precedence specifically for the merlon on altars Moorey (1979: n. 14) cites Campbell-Thompson and Hutchinson 1931: pls. 20 and 27. This is a small rectangular altar, damaged on three sides, with a preserved split merlon motif incised on the surviving side above the figure of a mythical beast. The authors explain that it must belong to the period of Ashurnasipal's palace (early eighth century B.C.E.), presumably on stratigraphic grounds. The site was heavily disturbed in the Parthian period, and the stratigraphic argument is tricky.

36. There are *horned* (not crenelated) altars of Egyptian type which have a widespread occurrence in the Mediterranean as well. They should not be confused with the Achaemenid representations of crenelated installations.

37. The crenelated altars displayed on courtly Achaemenid seals find direct parallels in later graffiti in the Nabataean sphere. Several representations of altars of similar design are inscribed along the walls of the Bab el-Siq at Petra. Ranging in size from 0.8 to 2 m high, these renderings incorporate split merlons atop pedestals adorned with pronounced bases and crowns (Brünnow and von Domaszewski 1904: figs. 350–57). One of these Nabataean altar representations (Brünnow and von Domaszewski's no. 428: f) is flanked on either side by palm trees, important symbols of royalty in Achaemenid glyptic art (Porada 1979: 85–86; Garrison and Root 2001). While the crenelations are not stepped on these renderings, the overall formal similarity to the representations of crenelated altars in Achaemenid glyptic strengthens the hypothesis that such imagery reflecting associations with the Achaemenid legacy enjoyed various modes of resonance in the Nabataean environment.

38. On identification of the kings associated with the tombs on Mount Rahmat, see Schmidt 1970, with suggested nuances in Calmeyer 1975; Kleiss and Calmeyer 1975.

39. In the Greek orientalizing period the rosette was a major element of Eastern iconography brought into designs in painted

pottery, terracottas, and textiles. It was a hallmark of Oriental influence at this time. See Akurgal (1968: 37) for a still-valid commentary on the Eastern pedigree of the rosette. It is, however, the later occurrences of the rosette in the Greek sphere, specifically as an architectural ornament during the phase of multiple emulations of Achaemenid visual culture (Root 1985; Miller 1997), that concern us here. Among several significant examples, note the late fifth-century Erechtheion at Athens, where the entablature over the caryatid porch is decorated with a rosette frieze and "Asiatic dentils" (Dinsmoor 1973: 193).

40. The number is approximate because conditions at several tombs prevent a clear analysis of whether or not they incorporated eagles. Significantly, none are seen on the crenelated tombs at Petra, although several eagles in similar style crown cultic niches (Patrich 1990: 108). A finely drafted, frontally posed eagle survives in the 1967 Group of Sculpture (perhaps from a previous version of the present temenos gate?). See McKenzie 1990: 134–35 and pl. 63c. Al-Khazneh is crowned by four large birds (eagles?), but these are sculpted in the round.

41. In most cases, these eagles are flanked by representations of funerary urns. The urn is a recurring feature in Nabataean tomb architecture and can be seen on several tombs at Petra as well. Alternatively, two eagles flank a central urn.

42. On the controversy over the identification of the winged symbol with Ahuramazda, see Garrison and Root 2001: 39 and 69, with references.

43. The role of Palmyrene art specifically would be part of any such examination.

44. In the estimation of distances by sea, I assume usual sailing routes in accordance with trade winds and coastlines (Groom 1981; Casson 1989; Sidebotham 1989; Macdonald 1997). For Qanaʾ I assign two D_2 values, one for land travel (which the Nabataeans engaged in frequently because of their connections with caravan trade) and one for the usual sea route through the Red Sea. On Qanaʾ, see Davidde and Petriaggi 1998.

45. "Arabia," as I use the term here, is chiefly focused in modern Jordan and northern Saudi Arabia. There were also a Persian presence in the Arabian gulf and connections with the Omani state of Makar. For discussion and bibliography, see Potts 1990: 1:350–52.

46. Katzenstein (1989) recounts Petrie's excavations at Tel Jemmeh and Tel el-Farʿah, both near Gaza. Otherwise, his evidence is chiefly literary.

47. Gitler (2000) has commented on the presence of Achaemenid motifs in fourth-century coinage from Ashkelon and Gaza, which is especially important in the present survey because of the proximity to the date of a known "Nabataean" kingdom.

48. The excavator describes it as a "massively constructed square building consisting of seven rooms built around a paved court-

yard with a drain and tower at the SE corner" (Tubb, in Homès-Fredericq and Henessey 1989: 2:entry for Saʾidiyeh).

49. For further discussion of Achaemenid rule in Arabia, see in particular Graf 1990a and Knauf 1990.

50. Twelve Arabians are also mentioned traveling with a different individual on official business on PF 1507 (Hallock 1969: 422).

51. This local style (the Fortification Style) produced in the court environs of Persepolis is not to be confused with the Persepolitan Court Style, which is a style of very restricted upper-echelon usage.

52. There are many difficulties in assessing the "ethnicity" of a person on the basis of name type—particularly in an imperial situation.

53. The Nabataean sherds at Thaj have long been known but thought to be local imitations. Potts (1991), however, reexamined all the pottery from Thaj and found that one sherd was unmistakably from Petra, thrown from the distinctive buff pink clay found near the site.

54. The fabled Magi of the biblical tradition bear consideration as well. Often seen as Zoroastrian priests, they bore gifts of gold, frankincense, and myrrh. If they indeed came from Persia, their gifts suggest that frankincense was available in the Iranian heartland (see Shashaani 1999).

55. Consider too the elephant capitals on the Great Temple at Petra, which Joukowsky (1998: 198) has pointed out are clearly Asian, not African, elephants and therefore indicative of a special presence of India in the minds of those who commissioned them. In Achaemenid times there was a lively traffic through Fars (Persepolis) to India, as evidenced by the Fortification texts.

56. For a discussion of the importance of "role models" to those who seek to establish their power, see Flannery 1999.

57. Josephus's interest lay not in Nabataean but in Jewish history; thus any attention to the events at Petra is the result of Nabataean intersection with the affairs of the Herods. Despite the limitations of this source, it is possible to move from a simple reconstruction of events to a more complex analysis of the motivations and themes that underlie them.

58. There is only one *ancient* case in which the Greek *philopatris* and the Nabataean *rḥm ʿmh* occur together: the bilingual Inv. Palmyre 10.54. (175 C.E.)

59. According to Suetonius (*Caesar* 85), the title was bestowed on Julius Caesar in monumental fashion on a marble column nearly twenty feet tall. *Res Gestae* 35 (Barini 1930) records that the title was conferred officially on Augustus in 2 B.C.E. Meshorer 1975: coins 49, 49a, 51, 52, 53, 65 all bear the epithet for Augustus and date before 4 B.C.E.

60. See Anderson (in press) for a more in-depth treatment of the complexities of Nabataean royal epithets and the politics of their pedigrees.

61. E.g., *Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum* 2.197: "in the ninth year of Aretas, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his own people."

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Persepolis in Retrospect: Histories of Discovery and Archaeological Exploration at the Ruins of Ancient Parseh
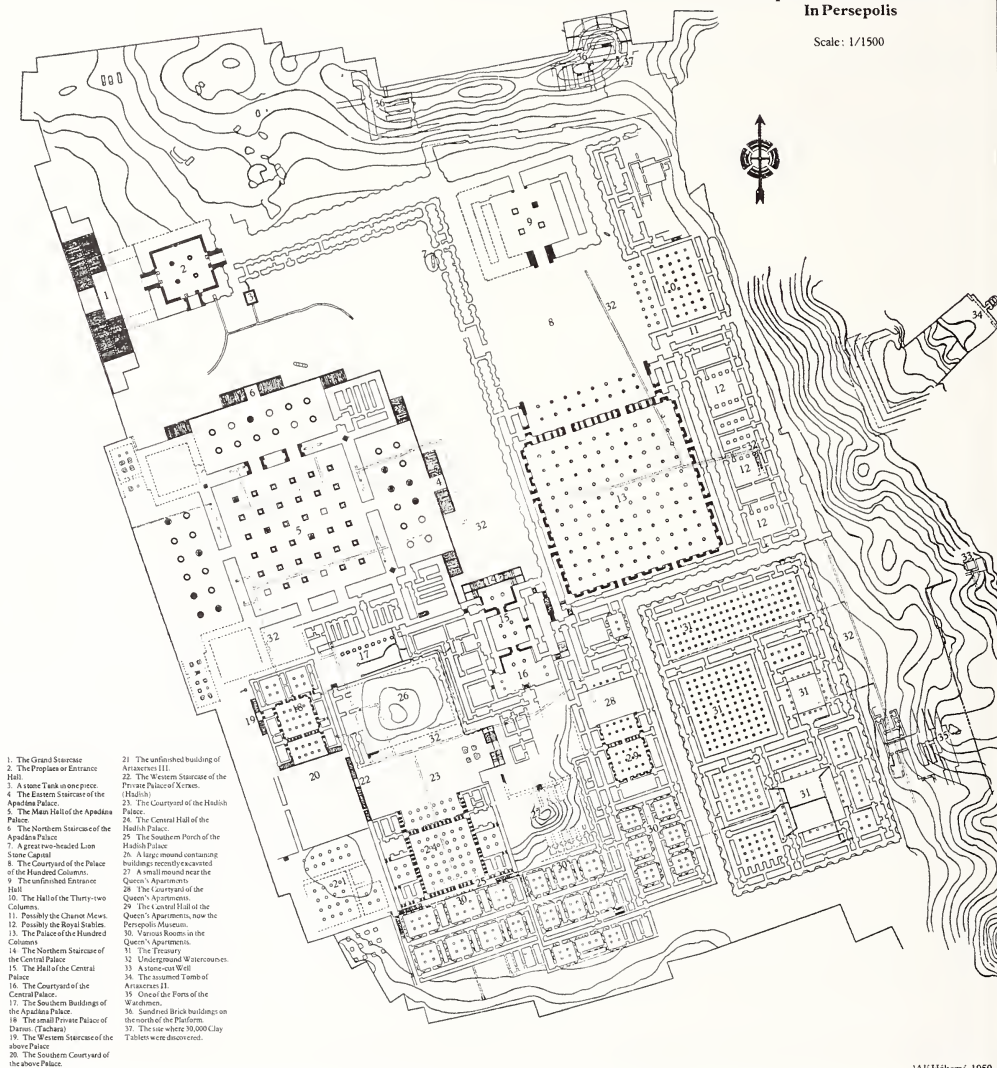
For my father, to whom I owe my passion for the ruins of Takht-e Jamshid.

ABSTRACT

Since the fall of the Achaemenid empire in 330 B.C.E. the ruins of Parseh (Grk. Persepolis), in the imperial heartland region (modern Fars), have projected manifold aspects of symbolic power and mystique. Considerable attention has been devoted in Western scholarship to the investigations and perspectives of early European visitors to the site, followed by attention to the results of European and North American archaeological efforts. But comparatively little attention in Western scholarship is devoted either to Iranian symbolic associations with Persepolis or to the legacy of Iranian documentary and archaeological work there. This essay reviews a range of archival photographs and documents as well as published Iranian work to reveal new aspects of the history and historiography of Iranian engagement with Persepolis—following its destruction by Alexander and across the ages through the 1970s. In doing so, the article ponders the sense in which all the archaeological excavations at Persepolis have been expected to fulfill the double goal of symbolic conversation with highly charged notions of the past and scientific achievement with respect to empirical discovery. Through the intricacies of these crosscurrents, Persepolis has maintained its unique status in Iran as a national monument *par excellence.*

**Plan of
The Imperial Achaemenian Palaces
In Persepolis**

Scale: 1/1500

1. The Grand Staircase
2. The Propilaee or Entrance Hall.
3. A stone Tank in one piece.
4. The Eastern Staircase of the Apadâna Palace.
5. The Main Hall of the Apadâna Palace.
6. The Northern Staircase of the Apadâna Palace
7. A great two-headed Lion Stone Capital
8. The Courtyard of the Palace of the Hundred Columns.
9. The unfinished Entrance Hall
10. The Hall of the Thirty-two Columns.
11. Possibly the Chariot Mews.
12. Possibly the Royal Stables.
13. The Palace of the Hundred Columns
14. The Northern Staircase of the Central Palace
15. The Hall of the Central Palace
16. The Courtyard of the Central Palace.
17. The Southern Buildings of the Apadâna Palace.
18. The small Private Palace of Darius. (Tachara)
19. The Western Staircase of the above Palace
20. The Southern Courtyard of the above Palace.

21. The unfinished building of Artaxerxes III.
22. The Western Staircase of the Private Palace of Xerxes. (Hadish)
23. The Courtyard of the Hadish Palace.
24. The Central Hall of the Hadish Palace.
25. The Southern Porch of the Hadish Palace.
26. A large mound containing buildings recently excavated
27. A small mound near the Queen's Apartments.
28. The Courtyard of the Queen's Apartments.
29. The Central Hall of the Queen's Apartments, now the Persepolis Museum.
30. Various Rooms in the Queen's Apartments.
31. The Treasury
32. Underground Watercourses.
33. A stone-cut Well
34. The assumed Tomb of Artaxerxes II.
35. One of the Ports of the Watchmen.
36. Sundried Brick buildings on the north of the Platform.
37. The site where 30,000 Clay Tablets were discovered.

'Ali Hâkemi, 1950

Tout est grand et saisissant d'ailleurs dans l'austère paysage qui sert d'encadrement à Takht-i-Djemchid: l'immensité de la plaine qui domine l'antique palais, les lignes majestueuses des montagnes dont l'aspect change à chaque pas, la pureté de l'atmosphère, l'azur d'un ciel profond, et jusqu'au silence de ces lieux habités. (Flandin 1851: 149)

WITH THESE WORDS Eugène Flandin, the celebrated French artist and traveler, conveyed the profound impact of Persepolis during his visit there more than 150 years ago. He was neither the first nor the last visitor to be impressed by the ruins of Takht-e Jamshid (the "Throne of Jamshid")—the beautiful citadel of a once vibrant city that stretched out across an expansive fertile plain (the Marv Dasht) in Fars.

Monuments all over the world have played symbolic roles as emblems of identity, epitomizing and transforming into historical legacy selective towering moments of achievement along the stream of human civilization. Among these formidable cultural icons of place are the ruins at Takht-e Jamshid. In this instance, the iconic status has served the often competing interests of the Western world as well as the long and varied sequence of Iranian culture itself. The monumental structures there (fig. 1) were conceived and constructed as an ambitious program under the reign and patronage of Darius I, the Great (r. 521–486 B.C.E.). As ruler of a vast empire, he was not content with the small capital that his predecessor and founder of the empire, Cyrus II, the Great, had begun to build at Pasargadae some 80 km to the north. With the foundation of Parseh (conventionally called by the Greek name, Persepolis), Darius put his own seal on the dynastic heartland both for his own time and for posterity.[1] Indeed, the *raison d'être* of Persepolis—as an urban complex crowned by the Takht, with its strong walls and elaborate ceremonial monuments—cannot be fully understood

without embracing the crucial idea of transmission of a message to later generations.

The rediscovery of Persepolis by the West in the early modern era has been a fascinating topic of growing interest in academic research and exhibition presentation (e.g., Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1991; Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Drijvers 1991; André-Salvini et al. 1998). Such work has, however, maintained a focus on European exploration and documentation. Similarly, most archaeological discussion and interpretation of Persepolis has been based on the European and American excavation reports. By comparison, rather little has become widely known about how Iranians have received and considered Persepolis from the time soon after its devastation by the army of Alexander of Macedon in 330 B.C.E. up into modern centuries. Furthermore, reference to the archaeological findings and interpretive strategies of Iranian investigators at the site have been rare in Western scholarship.

Contrary to the impression created in Western academe of a dearth of Iranian involvement in the ruins at Persepolis, there is, in fact, much to ponder here. The first years of the twentieth century saw a keen interest in excavating the ancient ruins of Persepolis—an epic enterprise that had the effect of catalyzing national interest in archaeological activity throughout Iran. What were the processes that inspired this attention, giving new national status to the place? How did Iran in those years come to see the site as a monument of Iranian history *par excellence*, the exploration of which would influence the future of all archaeology in Iran? To what extent have the efforts of centuries of exploration at Persepolis contributed to our present knowledge of Iranian history and that of the Achaemenid period? How, in short, has Darius's city fared in its aim to converse with posterity? In addressing such questions, this article will review selected key evidence of early Iranian engagement with the site. Additionally, it will survey European and Iranian archaeological exploration, visual documentation, and excavation there, highlighting the Iranian perspectives and agendas in such work by featuring published work in Persian that has received little attention in the West as well as recently accessed Iranian archival material.

FIG. 1.
Plan of Takht-e Jamshid as redrawn with additions by Ali Hākemi in 1950. After Mostafavi 1978.
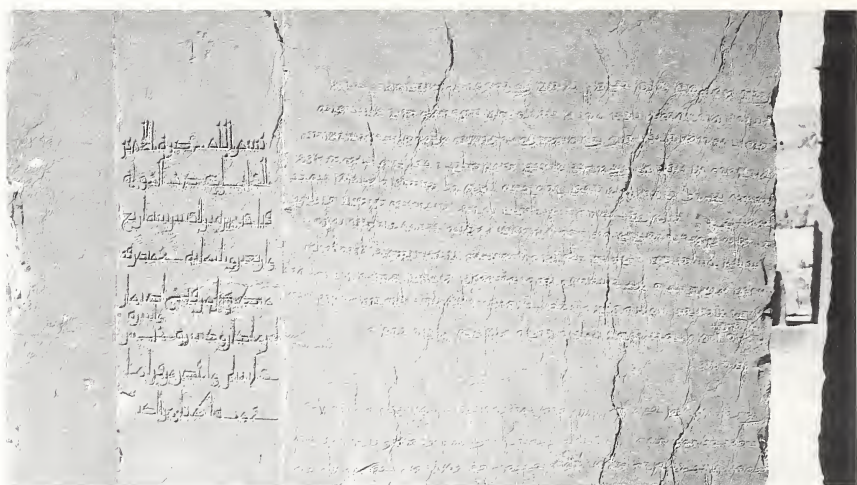
FIG. 2.
One of the stone doorways of the Palace of Darius (the Tachara) with inscriptions in Pahlavi of the Sasanian king Shapur II (at right) and the Kūfic inscripiton of Azad-od-Dowleh dated to the tenth century C.E. (at left). Photo courtesy of A. Hākemi.

OF MYTH AND REALITY: TAKHT-E JAMSHID/PERSEPOLIS

Mythologies. After Persepolis was plundered, destroyed, and abandoned in 330 B.C.E., the Takht became a place of fascination, evoking a glorious past of spiritual/mythological associations rather than literalistic historical recollections. A few decades after the fall of the empire local rulers seem to have reoccupied a limited area of the southwest quadrant of the Takht. Remnants of construction and reuse of structural and decorative elements from various locations at the site of the so-called Palace H bear witness to this (Schmidt 1953: 274–75; Tilia 1972: 243–316, esp. 315–16). But no attempt was made to rebuild the place *in toto* or to reestablish it either as a working administrative center or as the routinely used palatial backdrop for dynastic rituals and royal ceremonies. A passage by the Roman author Diodorus relates that Peucestas, the trusted officer whom Alexander had installed as his administrator in Pars, used the Takht as a setting for an elaborate military

banquet and religious sacrifice toward the end of the fourth century B.C.E. (Diod. 19.22). Whether or not this text recounts a specific event that actually occurred centuries before Diodorus recorded it, the words somehow ring true in a general way. They can be understood as an interesting reflection of a pervasive situation that runs like a thread through the post-Achaemenid history of Persepolis. For the ruins of the Takht did indeed continue occasionally to perform as settings for affirmation of a notion of continuity with more ancient traditions as well as for symbolic practices of rulership and religious observance in the Persian heartland.

In terms of active urban life, the city of Istakhr, already in existence during Achaemenid times, gained greatly in stature following the fall of Persepolis. The Sasanian kings, themselves native to Fars and probably descendants of the Achaemenids, used Istakhr as a royal residence and regional center. But they remained attracted by the ruins of Persepolis, only 5 km away and so magnificently sited against the mountains. They did not seem to know

an ancient name for the place, referring to it by the descriptively evocative term Sād-Sotūn (100 Columns). Yet they were moved by its historical aura and wished to establish a spiritual connection with the bygone rulers who had created it. Shapur II is proudly advertised through two inscriptions in Pahlavi (Middle Persian) engraved on the southern face of the east jamb of the doorway linking the main hall to the portico of the Palace of Darius (the Tachara) [fig. 2]).[2] One of these bore witness to a royal visit in the second year of the kingship of Shapur II (r. 309–379 C.E.), and the other was carved by two nobles in his honor decades later in his long career. The text of the earlier inscription reads:

> In the month of Spandarmad, in the second year of the reign of His Zoroastrian Majesty Shapur [II], the king of kings of Eran and Aneran, whose origin is from the gods. At that time when Shapur, the king of the Sakae, king of Hindustan, Sakistan and Turan down to the seashore . . . traveled on this road, the road to Istakhr to Sakistan, and graciously came here to Sād-Sotūn, he ate bread in this building. . . . And he organized a great feast, and he had divine rituals performed, and he prayed for his father and his ancestors, and he prayed for Shapur, the king of kings, and he prayed for his own soul, and he also prayed for the one who had built this building. (After Wiesehöfer 1996: 223)

Two incised sketches of Sasanian princes on horseback were carved on the stone elements of the so-called Harem of Xerxes, with another (of a standing figure) occurring on the walls of the Palace of Darius (Schmidt 1953: 227, 258). Here, as well as on the monuments of the Achaemenids at the nearby royal burial site of Naqsh-e Rustam (Schmidt 1970: 45–49), the Sasanian kings inserted themselves and their deeds into the narrative of Iranian history alongside their illustrious predecessors. In addition to applying important inscriptions and visual representations on and adjacent to Achaemenid monuments in Greater Persepolis, the Sasanians emulated major Achaemenid motifs visible on the still-standing ruins of the Takht for their own imperial presentations (Schmidt 1970: 122–36, pls. 80–95).[3]

Later, in Islamic times, inscriptions engraved by order of the Bouyid princes on the stone remnants of the great palaces testify to the inspirational effect of the ruins on new generations of Iranian rulers addressing themselves to a long line of predecessors. Prince Azad-od-Dowleh, for instance, ordained that an inscription in Arabic be carved at Persepolis in 344 A.H./955 telling of his visit there. In it, he explained that he had Marāsand, the *mobad* ("priest") of Kazerun, interpret for him the Pahlavi inscriptions from the time of Shapur II (Mostafavi 1978: 218). It is clear that, notwithstanding any loss of specific historical knowledge about the precise identity of the Achaemenid builders of the monuments at Persepolis, a crucial essence of its symbolic value was handed down over the centuries. This essence reinforced Persepolis as a place of spiritual resonance with Iranian traditions of noble greatness, transcending myriad sociopolitical changes.

Additional nuances of meaning accrued to the ruins on the Takht as succeeding eras attached special symbolic qualities to them. They acquired the status of legend through association with Jamshid, the mythical hero-king of ancient Iran, to whom the construction of the monuments became attributed. The inscription of Shapur II in the Palace of Darius proves that the Sasanians knew Persepolis as Sād-Sotūn.[4] But it is likely that already in Sasanian times the ruins were also known as Takht-e Jamshid. When the poet Firdowsi wrote his epic, the *Shahnameh* (the Book of Kings, completed in 1010 C.E.), he used both names; the connection of Jamshid with Persepolis is likely to have had a long history already. The metaphorical concept of the citadel platform as a *takht* (a throne) goes all the way back to Darius himself, who described it thus in one of the inscriptions on the south wall.[5]

One of the earliest post-ancient descriptive references to Persepolis appears in the characterization of the Palace of Solomon contained in one of the oldest surviving books in the Persian language: the Persian translation of Tabari's *Commentary on the Koran*. Here notions of the mythical Iranian Jamshid and the biblical Solomon merge in the attribution of Persepolis. Tabari's *Commentary* was prepared at the Samanid court in the early years of the tenth century. It preceded the earliest European allusions to Persepolis by several hundred years (Shahbazi 1378/

213

1999: 3).[6] The subtleties of Iranian engagement with this place in early Islamic times deserve to be addressed with rigor and critical acumen. An excellent example of what is possible is the interesting article by A.-S. Melikian-Shirvani (1971), which has considered in some detail the mystical significance of the ruins.[7] As Melikian-Shirvani has pointed out, the dialogues between the present and the past created by generations of rulers inscribing Persepolis—sometimes explicitly conscious of placing a new text in proximity to an earlier one—created fugal themes, the harmonies of which enhanced one another (Melikian-Shirvani 1971: 38). This notion, calibrated to mythical and mystical ranges of meaning, has been at the heart of the resonance of the ruins with Iranian tradition. It reflects a very different approach to monuments and history than that exercised by the Western travelers who have been discussed at length in other scholarly contexts. The Europeans sought positivistic, material-world connections with the palaces and personae of the Achaemenid Persian kings. They sought out connections to an ancient Orient as they understood it (rather uncritically in those days) from classical and Biblical sources: an ancient Orient meant to serve narratives of a Western rather than an Iranian romance with the past. The early European visitors were, to a significant degree, inscribing a different history and a different concept of history onto Persepolis.

The Iranian modes of connection with Persepolis took various turns. A sense of the everlasting *melancholy* of the ruins at Takht-e Jamshid (as evidence of a glorious built environment now re-naturalized and given over to the animal kingdom) is evoked in the fatalistic refrain of the celebrated Omar Khayyām (whose eleventh-century writings were arranged posthumously into continuous verse entitled the *Rubāiyāt*):

> They say the Lion and the Lizard keep
> The Courts where Jamshid gloried and drank
>   deep. (Khayyām quatrain 17)

In the early twelfth century appeared the *Fars-nameh*, attributed to Ebn-e Balkhi, where the author describes the fortress of Jamshid as the most marvelous accomplishment of this mythical hero-king:

He [Jamshid] built a palace at the foot of the hill, the equal of which was not to be found in the whole world. At the foot of the hill, he laid out a platform of solid stone that was black in color, the platform being four-sided, one side against the hill foot and the other three sides towards the plain, and the height of the platform was on all sides 30 cubits. In the fore-face thereof he built two stairways, so easy to ascent that horsemen could ride up without difficulty. Then upon the platform he erected columns of solid blocks in white stone so finely worked that even in wood it might be impossible to make the like by painting or carving; and these columns are very tall, and different in pattern and design, and among the rest there are two columns in particular which stood before the threshold, these being square in shape, and formed of a white stone that resembled marble. Nowhere else in all provinces of Pars is any stone like this found, and no one knows whence these blocks were brought.[8]

Hamdollah Mostowfi, in his *Nozhat-ol Qolub*, composed in the first half of the fourteenth century, in the course of a description of Istakhr quotes Ebn-e Balkhi with only minor changes. But following a somewhat different line, Muhammad ibn Mahmud Hamadani, in his *Ajāʾeb-Nameh* (Book of Wonders) of about 590 A.H./1194, considered the monuments of Pasargadae and Persepolis to be among the works that monsters must have made, so incredible were the engineering feats they represented:

And in the palace of Jamshid, as it is called, a thousand columns have been erected, each one of which is forty-eight cubits in height, and their girth is such that four men cannot encompass it with their arms extended, and it was not within human capacity to set them up, and many have claimed that in that age, even by mechanical means, it would not be possible. And it is clear that it was done by demonic power. And in this black stone edifice [the Palace of Darius] there are figures carved in stone of Daylamites and attendants, and the hair of the Daylamites is curly, and the style of hair of the Turks cannot be described, and until one has seen them, the

wonder of them cannot be imagined, for the stones erected one above another weigh each ten thousand "man" [45 tons], and are so closely fitted that there is not a hair's breadth between each stone. And two great bulls have been carved, with hoofs as a bull, and a beard as a man, twelve cubits long and high, and of what weight only God knows, one on one side, and another on the opposite side, such as in the present age no man could erect. If it be said that a genius or fairy had made it, this would be acceptable to the intellect. (Adapted from Mostafavi 1978: 22)[9]

Descriptions. Situated on the natural route linking the Persian Gulf to the north of the Iranian plateau, Persepolis was an unavoidable station for travelers. Europeans who visited Persepolis from the fourteenth century onward have left us their passing comments or full-blown narratives. The significance of their early explorations has been summarized in two very useful publications (Gabriel 1952; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1991). Nevertheless, further details need to be added here. The Age of Enlightenment was an intense period of "scientific" travel for the sake of acquiring knowledge. It was in this period that the antiquity of Persepolis and its identification as an historical site were established. The earliest extant visual documents of the site in the form of drawings and sketch plans appeared at this point. Credit for the first identification of the ruins as the ancient Persepolis goes to the Spaniard Figueroa (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1991: 6). When Figueroa visited Persepolis in the seventeenth century, he had a copy of Diodorus at hand. He would have read Diodorus's version of the violent sacking and burning of the city ("the most hated in Asia") as retribution for the Achaemenid invasions of Greece (Diod. 17.70–72). It was Jean Chardin, the distinguished French traveler, who left the first thorough description of the ruins (Chardin 1735; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1991: 15–17). Chardin made the important observation that the cuneiform inscriptions carved on the window frames of the Palace of Darius were inlaid with gold. Indeed, the other inscriptions of the site may also have been inlaid with precious metals, traces of which were still visible in the seventeenth century. He ex-

pressed his delight at wandering over the beautiful and lush Marv Dasht—in the company of Arrian, Quitus Curtius, Diodorus, and other classical authors. He truly appreciated the magnificence of the ruins even though many of his interpretations of their purpose were faulty (Ferrier 1996: 155–64). His sympathetic relation to contemporary Persia and its traditions was multifaceted, informed in interesting ways by his religious inclinations, his French Huguenot background (which marginalized him in his native land), and his eagerness to learn about the Islamic faith (Ferrier 1996: 97).

Forty-three years before, Persepolis had been visited by another Frenchman, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier. In contrast to Chardin, Tavernier exuded great disdain for the site: "Car enfin, ce ne sont que des vielles colonnes, les unes sur pied les autres par terre, et quelques figures très mal faites" (Tavernier 1677: 657). The significance of Tavernier's visit lies in the fact that he was accompanied by Philip Angel, a Dutch painter and draftsman. Angel apparently shared his comrade's dislike for Persepolis. He spent eight days drawing the ruins and then complained that he had wasted his time because the monuments weren't worth drawing (Tavernier 1677: 657). He had arrived in Persia around 1651 with an embassy of the Dutch East India Company in order to teach Shah Abbas II the art of drawing (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1991: 10). It may well be that Angel's renderings of the ruins at Persepolis were in fact produced on the order of Shah Abbas II. Certainly, if his distaste for the art was as total as Tavernier suggests, he would not have spent eight days on the task without the pressure of a very important obligation. This implies that the great Safavid king was eager to place himself into relation with the ruins of Takht-e Jamshid through production of a visual record of the site that would bear the stamp of his patronage.

Subsequent visits by Europeans over much of the eighteenth century were mostly focused on the enigmatic "arrow-headed" (cuneiform) inscriptions there (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1991: 22–25 for a good summary). The decipherment of Old Persian was a major milestone in the study of Achaemenid Iran, opening up many new avenues of interpretation based on Persian as well as classical and Biblical texts.

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PHOTOGRAPHY AND
EMERGING ARCHAEOLOGY

With the creation of national museums in Europe from the second half of the eighteenth century and the resulting increased demand for art objects, travelers attempted to investigate further by excavating for portable artifacts and removable architectural elements. Unfortunately, very few of them left records describing their digging operations. James Morier (1780–1849), a British diplomat and traveler of Swiss origin, visited the site twice and decided to carry out excavations there. On his first visit in 1809, Morier came to Persia with Sir Harford Jones, the first British envoy to the court of Fath-Ali Shah Qajar. In 1811, he returned to Persia as secretary to the embassy of Sir Gore Ouseley. After Ouseley's departure from Tehran, Morier took over the charge of the British Mission for a year as minister *ad interim* (Wright 1977: 83).[10] Aside from his well-known picaresque novel, *The Adventures of Haji Baba of Isfahan*, Morier published the accounts of his travels in *A Journey to Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor* (1812) and *A Second Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor* (1818). He is also known as the first to draw attention to the fact that the so-called Tomb of Mother of Solomon should correspond to the monument described by the classical authors such as Arrian and Strabo as the tomb of Cyrus the Great (Stronach 1978: 2–3). Having read the accounts left by Jean Chardin (1735) and Cornelius Le Bruyn (1737), he had become acquainted with the ruins before arriving in their midst. He writes on his explorations as follows:

> I went early in the morning to the ruins, which were situated about a mile from my habitation, attended by the stone-cutters. Considering the quantity of sculpture remains that had fallen from their original positions, and which were spread about the ruins in great profusion, I did not hesitate to appropriate such parts of them as seemed the most fitting to be sent to England. . . . The most interesting part of the ruins, in point of sculptural detail, is certainly the front of the staircase, which leads to the great hall of columns; and here I found many fallen pieces, correspond-

ing to those still erect. I caused one large stone to be turned, upon which was sculptured the busts of two large figures. It was impossible to carry away the whole block, as I had no other mode of conveyance than the backs of mules and asses, consequently the two figures were obliged to be separated; but unfortunately a vein running across the upper part of the stone, the head-dress of one of the figures was broken off in the operation. The Persians do not know the use of the saw in stone-cutting, therefore my dissections were performed in a very rudder manner. . . . Both Le Bruyne and Chardin have only given one line of figures on the left staircase; but as it was evident that in order to complete the symmetry there must have been the same number on the left as there are on the right, I hired some labourers from the surrounding villages, and made them dig. To my great delight, a second row of figures, highly preserved, were discovered, the details of whose faces, hair, dresses, arms, and general character, seemed but the work of yesterday. (Morier 1818: 75–76)

Shahryar Adle has ardently criticized Morier's practices:

> He [Morier] did not ask himself whether or not, under the ethical or legal standards prevailing at the time in Persia, or even in England, the unauthorized removal of a work of art would deserve reprehension. Nor did he realize that he had at least made an error of management by entrusting the task to Persians, whom he considered devoid of any skill or quality and corrupt. (Adle: 2000: 230, my translation from the Persian)

Morier continued his work for two days, after which it was interrupted by the local governor. Then he made inquiries to locate other ruins in the region as well as coins and gems. He was not successful in this pursuit either. His next effort was to dig the "subterranean passages that traverse the ground on which Persepolis is built." He recognized these passages as sewage canals, but once again he complained of not being as lucky as Chardin (who in his first attempt had been able to discover them). Morier describes this venture as follows:

I had several people with me with candles and lanterns, but we found ourselves stopped short by a very narrow passage, after having walked some forty paces upright. We then crept through this on our hands and knees, and again came to a higher part. Again we proceeded, and then were obliged to crawl on our bellies, until there was only room to put one's head through, when we thought it time to return. (Morier 1818: 75–76)[11]

He also explored the structure known as the Unfinished Tomb (Schmidt's Tomb VII), mistaking the large cuttings of the rock, which had been left unfinished, for "intricate avenues, as to form a labyrinth" (Morier: 86). In July of the same year, Morier returned to Persepolis for further digging, now in the company of Robert Gordon (1791–1847), another member of Gore Ouseley's mission. This time the local governor was unable to supervise his activities. With the help of some artillerymen, Morier cleared away the "very narrow passage into the first tomb described by Chardin" (apparently Schmidt's Tomb V) and briefly explored the interior tomb chamber that Chardin had mentioned. Gordon meanwhile hired some villagers to dig for him "near the front of the staircase" [of the Apadana] that Morier had previously uncovered. Gordon wrote enthusiastically to his brother, Lord Aberdeen, about his finds. Gordon's unbridled pilfering led Ouseley and his companions to criticize him: not for unethical behavior toward the ancient Persian heritage but for glutting the antiquities market back in England. Gordon promised not to do this and ultimately sought Lord Aberdeen's partnership in antiquities dealing (Curtis 1998: 48). Gordon found sculptural fragments, including a section from the Apadana showing a chariot drawn by two horses, which he gave to Ouseley, who then sent them to England (Morier 1818: 114–15).[12]

Despite the removal of many elements from Persepolis, some important scientific discoveries continued to be made. In 1839, the Frenchman Charles Texier observed that the stone sculptures at Persepolis may well have been originally colored. He proceeded to conduct chemical experiments and was able to show that there had, in fact, been paint on the reliefs (Texier 1842–52: 189). His proposed reconstruction of the structures in full color was not apparently taken as seriously as were those by two other French artists, Eugène Flandin and Pascal Coste (1843–54), who made the first drawings of the ruins deemed to be accurate and reliable in the late 1840s (André-Salvini et al. 1998).[13] The discomfort and difficulties encountered during their travels in Persia did not prevent Flandin (1851: 211) from admiring the ruins of Persepolis in his concluding words: "on peut dire que les monuments de Takht-i-Djemchid sont parmi ceux du vieux monde, les plus étonnants et plus admirables que le voyageur puisse rencontrer. . . . Non! à Persépolis tout est art, tout est élégance." The publication of Flandin and Coste is typically praised as an invaluable work of artistic graphic documentation, but Flandin's written account (1851: 145–242) contains interesting observations on the structures that likewise deserve attention.

By this time, photography begins to play a role in the history of the exploration of Persepolis. In the summer of 1266 A.H./1850, Jules Richard, a Frenchman working in Iran, was sent on the order of Nasser-ed-Din Shah (r. 1848–96) to take photographs of the ruins. Richard failed to receive the necessary funds to cover his travel expenses due to the government's financial problems, and he returned to Tehran midway through his job without having fulfilled his task. Despite many years of service in Iran, Richard seems not to have grasped the significance of Nasser-ed-Din Shah's command. Although this was a difficult period, when Amir Kabir was reorganizing the country's financial system, the king's passion for photography would ultimately have carried the day and would have guaranteed that a pay order would eventually come through. If Richard had fully understood the far-reaching impact a photographic record of the site might have had on his career, it is difficult to imagine that he would not have done the work either at his own expense or with borrowed funds pending the release of the shah's promised stipend (Adle 1983: 255–56; 2000: 231).[14] Instead, it was eight years later that Luigi Pesce, an Italian infantry officer from Naples, took the first photographs of the ruins at Persepolis and Pasargadae. He did so at his own expense.[15] Pesce presented his album to Nasser-ed-Din Shah on 15 Ramezan 1274 A.H./29 April 1858 (fig. 3). In the dedication note to his album he wrote:

FIG. 3.
*The first known photograph of
Persepolis by Luigi Pesce,
showing a doorjamb relief in the
Hall of One Hundred Columns
in the fall of 1857. Pesce himself
is standing at left taking the
time exposure (signed L. Pesce
at lower right). Albumen print
conserved in the Photothèque of
the Golestan Palace, Tehran
(photograph no. 5 in the Shiraz
and Persepolis Album, 7356/
335). Photo after Adle in press.*

This book contains images of Takht-e Jamshid, the Tomb of the Mother of Solomon known as Mashhad-e Morqāb, Naqsh-e Rostam, and some other monuments. Despite many difficulties, and at my own expense, your servant set out on horseback from Tehran to Shiraz in order to take these pictures, and as God willed it, I was able to accomplish the task. I hope it gives His Majesty fulfillment. In order to see the reliefs and monuments at Takht-e Jamshid, the rulers of the Western countries give huge sums of money to painters to travel to Iran, to draw and carry images of Takht-e Jamshid back to them, because there is not any other monument so astonishing as Takht-e Jamshid in the whole world; and there has yet been nobody from the West to capture the images of the ruins by the procedure of photography. Therefore, it is for the first time that your servant took photographs of the reliefs and ruined edifices of Takht-e Jamshid, and presented them to His Majesty. Hence, I hope to receive His Majesty's gratitude and be rewarded. On the 15th of Ramezan 1274 [A.H.] your servant, Pesce the Italian instructor in the royal in-fantry, presented the photographic images of Takht-e Jamshid.[16]

The king, himself a passionate amateur photographer, was delighted, and there is sufficient ground for believing that Pesce was indeed subsequently rewarded (Adle 1983: 256; in press).[17] In the early 1860s, upon the order of this king who had such a keen interest in the photographic documentation of Persepolis, an Iranian named Aqā Reza learned the art of photography expressly to record the ruins.[18] Notably, Nasser-eddin Shah had already expressed his interest in photography in the service of archaeology by supporting the first Iranian excavation at Khorheh, where the work was documented with photographs (cf. Adle 2000: 231). The archaeological expedition at Khorheh is probably the earliest for which photography was used to record the finds. It thus preceded the use of this technology in archaeology by the Austrians at Samos, in Turkey, in 1860.

The third major excavator of Persepolis was a Persian rather than a European. Prince Mo'tamed al-Dowleh Farhad Mirza (1817–87) (fig. 4) was a son

FIG. 4.
A lithograph showing Prince Farhad Mirza. After Sharaf
(a news journal), no. 7, Rajab 1300/May 1883.

of Abbas Mirza, the celebrated crown prince of Fath-Ali Shah. Farhad Mirza became well acquainted with the ruins of Persepolis when he served as governor of Fars. Legendary for his cruelty in punishing local robbers and bandits (Nāvvab-Sāfā 1366/1987: 48–75), the prince had an intellectual and antiquarian curiosity about the nearby ruins that was surely enhanced by his interactions with Flandin and Coste, whom he hosted in Shiraz in December 1840.

Based upon that early encounter, Flandin (1851: 224) describes Farhad Mirza as extremely friendly (his reputation as an iron-handed governor notwithstanding) and specifically notes his eagerness to acquire knowledge.[19] In 1876 Farhad Mirza subdued a rebellion in Fars. On that occasion, he sent his sons to carve an inscription in his name on the walls of Persepolis.[20] A few years earlier, in 1872, one of his sons, Soltan Oveys Mirza, had produced a series of photographs of the site (Adle in press). These images represent the first systematic attempt to docu-

ment the state of the ruins photographically for scientific purposes. The task was an ambitious one for the time. It reveals the depth of interest felt by the Qajar court in serious exploration of the country and its ancient past. The emergent use of photography did not totally eclipse drawing as a medium for recording Persepolis. In the first decade of the twentieth century Forsat-al Dowleh, known as Forsat Shirazi (1854–1920), traveled extensively in Fars and documented various monuments of the province, including Persepolis (Kasheff 1999). His best-known work, *Āsār-e Ajam*, is a collection of some fifty of his own drawings of these monuments, which was first published in Bombay in 1935 (Forsat-al Dowleh Shirazi 1362/1983). This publication stands as the first methodically illustrated description of the Achaemenid capital.

In 1877 Farhad Mirza sent Mirza Bāqer, his accountant, to hire workers and dig at the ruins of Persepolis with the aim of finding "ancient tools" (*asbab-e atiq*). He himself joined the dig a few days later. The excavation lasted from 14 March to 16 April of that year. Although the prince may have sent a record of his investigations to the court in Tehran, there is no evidence of this. An account of his work was, however, incorporated into *Vaqāye-e Ettefāqieyeh* and has also been reproduced in Navvāb-Sāfā's biography of Farhad Mirza (1366/1987: 131). From this we learn that the work yielded "sculptures in stone, the location of a lofty edifice, a bridle and an iron plate that bore no figure on it." The "lofty edifice" here is the building known today as the Hall of One Hundred Columns, or alternatively the Throne Hall (Schmidt 1953: 129). It is a pity that nothing is known now of the whereabouts of the objects revealed by this dig. As with the motivations driving early European excavators at the site, Farhad Mirza had hoped to find bountiful artifacts. It is hence understandable that the brief but intensive excavation (on which some 600 workers may have been employed) was disappointing for him and was thus soon abandoned.[21]

Somewhat cynically, Georges Perrot and Charles Chipiez (1892: 287) were later to acknowledge that the clearing operation Farhad Mirza had undertaken with such a massive deployment of labor served an important purpose for later visitors—both treasure-seekers and more serious investigators: "in any case

we may congratulate ourselves that such a whim ever came into his head. To it we owe the fact that recent travellers have found the approaches and the interior of the Hall of a Hundred Columns cleared down to the floor, where Texier and Coste had their progress impeded by earth two or three metres high."

In October 1877, less than a year after disbanding his own operations at Persepolis, Farhad Mirza gave permission for excavation to the Germans Friedrich Carl Andreas and Friedrich Stolze. But on behalf of the government the prince refused their request to take possession of any items they might discover.[22] The Germans did not accept this condition and abandoned the idea of digging at the ruins. Nevertheless, they did take photographs, which they published in two large volumes (Stolze and Andreas 1882). As Sancisi-Weerdenburg points out, however, the results of this project do not live up to the effort and cost expended on it. The quality of the Stolze and Andreas images is no match for the quality of those produced either before or very soon thereafter. Better photographs were, for instance, taken by Marcel Dieulafoy in 1881–82 (Dieulafoy 1885). And the work of Antoin Sevruguin is similarly far more accomplished.[23]

In 1892, a publication by the English Lord Curzon attempted a thorough study of the ruins of Persepolis and a comprehensive synthesis of all knowledge of the site acquired to date (1892: 2:148–96). Curzon's *Persia and the Persian Question* offers an interesting and useful presentation of a long phase of early modern graphic and archaeological exploration. In a sense it marks the end of the prescientific era of archaeology at Persepolis.

In the late nineteenth century a new spirit emerged—one that increasingly recognized other ambitions beyond mere treasure-hunting for museums and collectors. An Englishman named Herbert Weld-Blundel led an expedition to Persepolis that left home in November 1891 "for the purpose of taking moulds of the more prominent sculptures, with a view to their preservation and reproduction." He arrived in Shiraz in January 1893. His report to the Ninth Congress of Orientalists in London was laced with disdainful criticism of the Persian government for its position in relation to Persepolis. He complained of the difficulties experienced in obtaining a work permit, describing how he had shrewdly managed to obtain local permission from the current governor of Fars: "By acting on the principle of not asking too close a definition of my powers, I was able, without distinct infringement of the laws of the Medes and Persians, to take a surreptitious peep into the hitherto sealed book" (Weld-Blundel 1893: 538).[24] Turning to more substantive matters, Weld-Blundel established the goals of his enterprise in specific opposition to the methods Prince Farhad Mirza had employed earlier in the century while governor of Fars: "not for the purpose of research, but with the idea of something valuable turning up."

Contrary to most of his predecessors (the Europeans at least as much as the Persians), who were generally in quest of antiquities, Weld-Blundel's aim at Persepolis was to obtain "data for drawing conclusions and assisting any future efforts in the same direction, supposing at any future time powers for excavating on a large scale might be possible." He mainly dug at four areas of the Takht: Palace H (the so-called Palace of Artaxerxes III), the Palace of Xerxes, the mounds behind the Palace of Darius and the Palace of Xerxes, and the courtyard to the north of the Palace of Darius. Aside from making squeezes of the reliefs, his principal objective was to learn as much as possible about the architectural organization of the site and its defensive structures (Weld-Blundel 1893: 538). In his opinion the exterior fortifications ran from the Unfinished Tomb to a point facing the northwestern corner of the Takht, as was later proved to be true (Mousavi 1992: 217). Weld-Blundel was the first excavator who paid serious attention to the remains in the plain. His plans and reconstruction sketches, though schematic and conjectural, represent the first documentation of the architectural ensembles of the southern plain. Excavations conducted eighty years later show that some of his reconstructions in this area were reliable (fig. 5).

In addition to these efforts, Weld-Blundel's observations about traces of paint preserved on the Persepolis sculptures was significant. While uncovering the lower part of the reliefs decorating the entrance of the Hall of One Hundred Columns in order to make squeezes of them, the Italian craftsman working at this task found that the surface was covered with a coating of blue paint, which came away
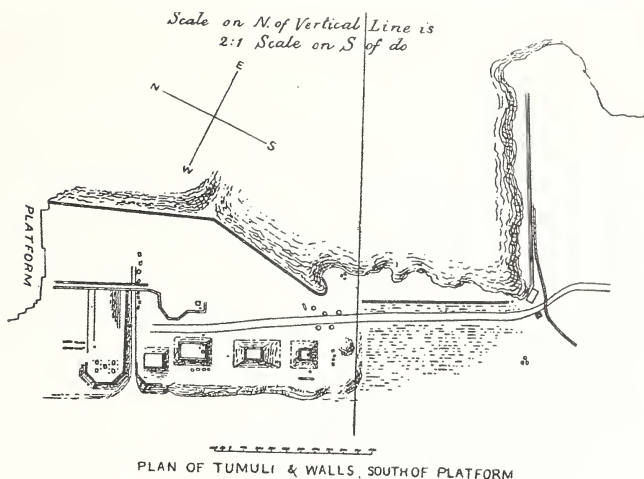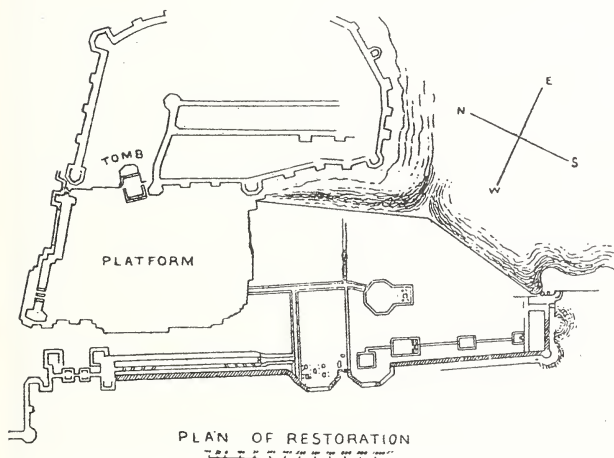
Scale on N. of Vertical Line is
2:1 Scale on S of do

PLATFORM

PLAN OF TUMULI & WALLS, SOUTH OF PLATFORM

TOMB

PLATFORM

PLAN OF RESTORATION

FIG. 5.
*Two sketch
maps of
Persepolis
drawn by
Weld-Blundel
in 1892. After
Weld-Blundel
1893.*

readily to the touch as fine blue powder. Weld-Blundel had this powder examined in London by Flinders Petrie. It was found to be silicate of copper, or "Egyptian blue." Under Weld-Blundel's direction several traces of paint were also found in the Palace of Darius and the so-called Palace of Artaxerxes III. His persistence in gaining chemical evaluation of the retrieved blue substance was a notable indication of the scientific inclinations that set him apart from earlier investigators and forecast an agenda for future research.[25]

With the squeezes made during this campaign at Persepolis, Weld-Blundel was able to make plaster molds from which casts could be produced. In

FIG. 6.
*View of Persepolis taken by
Friedrich Krefter in 1928 while
accompanying Ernst Herzfeld on a
reconnaissance visit before
commencement of their
excavations. Photo courtesy
of Dr. H. Krefter.*

1931 these were exhibited for the first time in the British Museum on the occasion of the Exhibition of Persian Art held in the Royal Academy in London (Simpson 2002: 253).

THE BEGINNING OF CONTROLLED EXCAVATIONS

Two important interrelated events facilitated the beginning of scientifically controlled archaeological excavations at Persepolis. First, the emergence of the Pahlavi dynasty in 1925 promoted nationalistic feelings, which created broad-based interest in the site as a national monument. Second, and as a direct result of Pahlavi agendas, the abolition in 1927 of the French Monopoly on all rights to conduct archeological explorations in Iran increased international attention focused on Iran, opening the door to various possibilities and voices both domestic and foreign. The distressed condition of the ruins had already become a significant concern among the Iranian intelligentsia. Their condition also became a point of discussion with other internal groups. Competing European and American interests soon became a major factor in the history of archaeology at Persepolis as well.

In the fall of 1922, Reza Khan (minister of war under the Qajar king Ahmad Shah) had visited Persepolis on his way to the port of Bushehr. He registered his distress over the poor condition of the ruins. And the impact of that visit remained with him after he became Reza Shah, the first king of the Pahlavi dynasty.[26] In 1923/24, Ernst Herzfeld (1880–1948), the eminent German archaeologist who was then living in Iran, made a trip to the site. At that time Herzfeld produced a careful plan and apparently took hundreds of photographs. Then in March 1924, at the request of Firouz Mirza, the Qajar prince who was currently governor of Fars, Herzfeld returned in order to complete a report on the ruins (Herzfeld 1929a). Although Herzfeld himself does not explain how he personally came to be solicited to work at Persepolis, it must be said that he was uniquely qualified among archaeologists in Iran in the early 1920s to take on such a task. While engaged in this reconnaissance at Persepolis, Herzfeld received a number of visits from Firouz Mirza. During one of those visits, Herzfeld spoke to the prince about the possibility of conducting excavations.[27] Apparently interested, the prince revealed that negotiations were in progress in Paris to abolish the French Monopoly. Then came the question of funding: "He asked how much it would cost. I said: 15 to 20,000 pounds, and I told him that I might get the Parsis of India interested in that." [28] Later, with the backing of Firouz Mirza, Herzfeld presented a proposal concerning

possible excavations at Persepolis, without any claim of possession on any finds that might ensue. But in order to satisfy any potential donating organization, Herzfeld proposed that permission should be granted also to excavate at Istakhr, the finds from which would be divided between the donor and the Iranian government. This particular proposition, so dependent upon the good auspices of the governor, never came to pass. Firouz Mirza was arrested following a "plot of high officials against him during the insurrections in Fars and Isfahan" (Herzfeld Papers, Herzfeld to Schmidt-Ott, 1 Nov. 1929: 1). This takes us to the brink of the foundation of the Pahlavi dynasty. Once this new order was established, the French Monopoly was soon abolished.

In 1927, Herzfeld was invited to give a series of lectures to the members of the newly founded Anjoman-e Āsār-e Melli (Society for National Heritage) in Tehran. Preceding Herzfeld's presentation on 18 May, Mohammad-Ali Foroughi, then the minister of foreign affairs and one of the founding members of the Society, gave a short lecture, at the end of which he talked about Persepolis and Herzfeld as follows:

> I do not need to speak in detail of Takht-e Jamshid and its pitiful condition, you gentlemen have all heard about or seen it. . . . For its protection from robbery, it is necessary to put a metallic or wooden enclosure with a gate, and to employ guards to control the entrance of the site, and to build a residence for them nearby, etc. . . . But all these require huge expenses, and I do not know when the time would come. It is warm here, and I must not hold you gentlemen anymore with my words. I had better end my talk and give the turn to Professor Herzfeld. (Foroughi 1351/1973: 66–67, my translation from the Persian)

Herzfeld took advantage of the privileged position he occupied in Iran (as shown by the trust placed in him by the Society). He skillfully used his status to emphasize the importance of preserving historical monuments and encouraging the role they played in shaping the identity of a nation. His opposition to the French Monopoly was an important factor in its abolition. The whole quarrel between Herzfeld and

the French Monopoly was, it seems, centered on Persepolis and the possibility of its excavations. Herzfeld had yearned to excavate there since the early 1920s. It was with the prospect of digging at Persepolis in mind that Herzfeld eventually participated so energetically in the drafting of an antiquities law for the Iranian government (Mousavi 1382/2003). Persepolis offered a very promising focus for fundraising. In this regard as well as in intrinsic historical significance it was an outstanding rival to Susa, which had been excavated by the French since the late nineteenth century.

In the spring of 1928, on the heels of the abolition of the French Monopoly, Herzfeld organized an expedition under the auspices of the Deutschen Wissenschaft for excavating at Pasargadae with the assistance of Friedrich Krefter, a young German architect.[29] In the same year, they spent time together at Persepolis, with Krefter making photographs of the site (fig. 6)—foreshadowing a successful collaboration there a few years later.

Meanwhile, Herzfeld's expedition to Pasargadae was the first fieldwork undertaken in Iran after the abolition of the Monopoly. In fact it was to be the only excavation in Iran carried out in the absence of a law for the protection of antiquities (Mousavi 1382/2003: 36). This shows the esteem in which Herzfeld was held at the time among the Iranian leadership—although his relations with many Westerners working in Iran were very strained. But Pasargadae was one thing; Persepolis was another. In the absence of any concrete legislation to protect Iranian interests, there was now no way excavations at Persepolis would be allowed to proceed. Herzfeld's first task was, thus, to convince the Pahlavi government to approve a law regulating excavation procedure in general and then to apply such a law to the site of Persepolis. It was Herzfeld who drafted the first excavation law, called Loi sur les Fouilles, presented to the court minister on 10 October 1929.[30]

The development of archaeology in Iran took a decisive turn when the Act for the Antiquities of Iran (the Antiquities Law), prepared ultimately under the supervision of the French architect André Godard as well as Herzfeld, was finally approved on 3 November 1930. Just after the passage of the Law, Herzfeld (in Tehran, where he was serving as the

archaeological advisor to the government) sent a telegram to James Henry Breasted, director of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, urging American action. Breasted replied to Herzfeld at once. Subsequently, Herzfeld asked permission to dig at Persepolis. This extraordinary concession was awarded to him by the unanimous vote of the Persian parliament on 16 December 1930. It was the first excavation permit under the Antiquities Law.

The cost of excavating at Persepolis was sure to be very high, and no European country seemed to be able to raise the necessary funds for such a task. Herzfeld nevertheless repeatedly tried to interest German institutions, especially the Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft, in the prospect. As he wrote to Schmitt-Ott:

> In the past few weeks especially, I have pushed the case of Persepolis more energetically because Mr. Pope has begun to meddle in it. I have not yet figured him out. One thing is for sure: he is not a person of real influence, yet he is trying with great effort to establish himself as a kind of scholarly broker between all American missions and Persia. (Herzfeld Papers, Herzfeld to Schmitt-Ott, 1 Nov. 1929: 5, my translation)

Apparently, Arthur Upham Pope (an art historian/dealer of Iranian antiquities who harbored a strong enmity toward Herzfeld) was spreading the word about the imminent excavations at Persepolis with the intention of getting other countries interested in the project and consequently undercutting Herzfeld's control.[31] The beginning of American participation in Iranian archaeology thus suffered from a rivalry between the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania and Chicago's Oriental Institute. At this point, Herzfeld thought it was time to get in touch with the Americans. Perhaps Herzfeld had a premonition that the United States was headed for an economic crisis. At all events, adroit as he was, he began by asking the University Museum if they could provide him with an address for James H. Breasted. He was thereby making an initial approach to the University Museum while simultaneously signaling to them that he was prepared to look elsewhere for support for the project. Breasted and Herzfeld

had known each other from the time of Breasted's studies in Berlin in the early 1920s. In 1928 they met again in Bonn and in Oxford. During these encounters Herzfeld broached the subject of his desire to excavate at Persepolis.

As a result of Herzfeld's fundraising strategy, Horace Jayne, director of the University Museum, cabled Herzfeld offering him the opportunity to direct an expedition to Persepolis supported by his institution for a minimum of four years with an annual budget of $20,000. At the same time, Jayne (perhaps not realizing the intensity of rivalries between various foreign scholars operating in Iran at the time) asked Pope to "take any further steps to clinch arrangements." In response to Jayne's request, Pope sent a telegram to Herzfeld encouraging him to discuss with him "in full detail" the University Museum's proposal. It soon became apparent, however, that Pope was trying to challenge Herzfeld rather than assist him in his negotiations with Pennsylvania. Jayne immediately asked Pope to suspend his interference. Herzfeld's original intention of contacting Breasted continued to worry the University Museum. And in the end, after all this negotiation and intrigue, the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago won the day.

In 1931, Herzfeld was finally able to begin excavating at Persepolis, sponsored by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, with the financial support of Ada Small Moore (1859–1955). Mrs. Moore was a wealthy benefactress interested in archaeological activities in Iran (fig. 7), whom Robert Byron, an English writer/traveler with a caustic wit, described as "a matriarch in shawl, more than seventy years old and worth as many millions" (1934: 15). It was thus that a large-scale project of controlled excavation at Persepolis was launched.[32]

Recent research on unpublished documents and antiquities papers both in the United States and Iran indicate that the Persian government had not actually granted permission to Herzfeld and the Oriental Institute for an excavation per se (Mousavi 1382/2003; forthcoming). What *was* granted was a "clearance permission" for promoting restoration and preservation of the ruins. It seems that originally excavation of the site was not seen as an end in itself. Herzfeld's first published report (Herzfeld 1929a)

FIG. 7.
Mrs. Ada Small Moore standing before the staircase of the Apadana at Persepolis. From Mohammad-Taqi Mostafavi's album of Persepolis dated November 1933. Photo courtesy of the Iran Bastan Museum.

is, in fact, a proposal for the *preservation* of the monuments at Persepolis. In an official letter to the Iranian ambassador in Paris, Teymourtash (the court minister) clearly indicated that "no excavation permit was given to foreign institutions" and that the Oriental Institute, through Herzfeld, "offered a proposal merely for the preservation of historical monuments at Persepolis, which was then approved by the government that released an authorization; the permit had nothing to do with an excavation process."[33] Moreover, the government

was reluctant to authorize a foreign institution actually to dig at such an important and symbolic site.

It is not clear how the initial work of preservation and restoration was subsequently transformed into a real archaeological excavation (for more details, see Mousavi 1382/2003; forthcoming). In his first and only comprehensive report, Herzfeld (1929a: 37–38) estimated the amount and length of the work at Persepolis and in so doing gave some sense of what he envisioned as the character of the enterprise:

> Le travail à exécuter est approximativement pour la terrasse entière, le mouvement de 210 000 m cubiques de terre. Ce travail peut être exécuté à l'aide d'un petit chemin de fer Décoville [*sic*] sans que les haldes de décombres déforment l'aspect et gâtent l'impression incomparable de la terrasse. Avec un Décoville de 12 chars et avec 240 ouvriers on est à même d'accomplir ce travail en 300 journées de travail à 10 heures. Les frais n'en surpasseraient pas 30 000 tomans. Les travaux nécessaires pour mouvoir les grandes pierres demandaient approximativement la moitié de cette somme et de ce temps, et les travaux pour construire le système de drainage et pour couvrir les pierres d'une couche protectrice de ciment, requérions encore une fois la même somme et le même temps. Ainsi au cours de deux années j'estime qu'on pourrait accomplir tous les travaux nécessaires.

He subsequently revised his cost estimate upward to a total of 100,000 tomans (approximately £6,500) and stated in a letter to the court minister in Tehran that he was convinced he would be able to raise the necessary funds if the Persian government would support the project (*Bāyegāniy-e Rāked*: letter dated 23 January 1931). The security of the site was an obstacle to the beginning of excavations. (The region was often the scene of conflicts between the tribes of Fars and governmental forces; these rebellions were eventually subdued in the early years of Reza Shah's reign.) In the winter of 1929, a police headquarters was established at Persepolis. This eventually provided the security necessary for the start of work (*Bāyegāniy-e Rāked*: letter of 13 Dey 1307/3 January 1929).
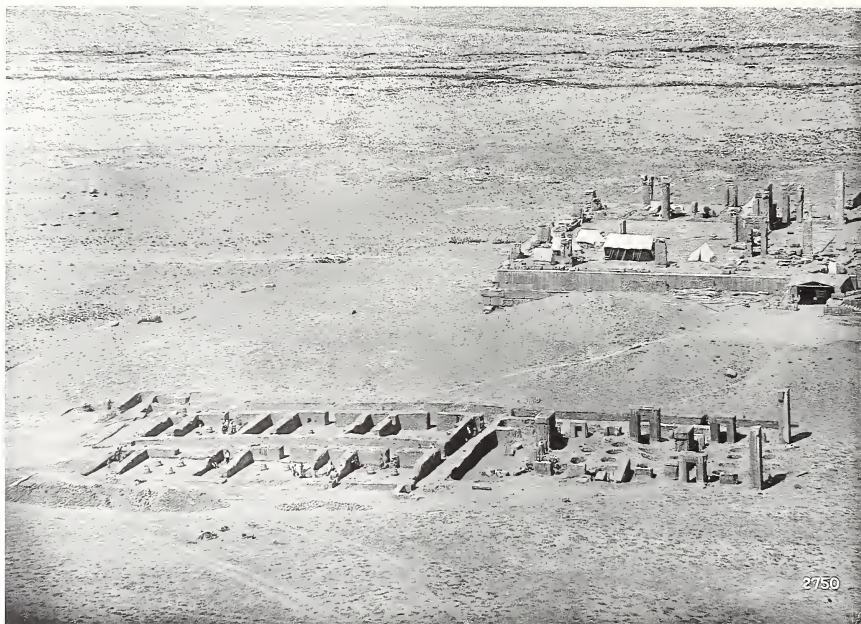
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FIG. 8.
The so-called Harem of Xerxes before reconstruction, in the foregound, and the tents of the Oriental Institute team set up in the main hall of the Palace of Xerxes (the Hadish) in the background. Photo courtesy of the Archives of the Freer Gallery of Art and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (Ernst Herzfeld Archive).

The Persepolis expedition seems to have been intended by Herzfeld to pursue a triple aim:

(1) examination by excavation of the principal palatial complexes of the terrace;
(2) reconstruction of one of the palaces for housing the expedition;
(3) preservation of buildings and sculptures of the terrace, to "be effected by reopening the ancient subterranean drainage system, and protection against damage by rain, frost, and man" (Herzfeld 1933: 406–7).

The government's vision of preservation as the main goal of the entire project gradually gave way to different agendas. "Preservation" came to be synonymous with physically protecting the Takht by employing guards to control access to the site. But most of the excavated remains in mudbrick received very little conservation treatment. The vast area of the Takht, so long exposed to natural and human destruction, has remained a major issue in archaeological preservation—one certainly not dealt with in any systematic way during the Chicago expedition.

Herzfeld's staff was composed of Germans: Friedrich Krefter (the architect who had accompanied him to Pasargadae and Persepolis in 1928), Karl Bergner as a second architect and draftsman, Alexander Langsdorff and Donald MacCown as field assistants, and W. von Busse as photographer. Initially,

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Herzfeld had intended to reconstruct the Palace of Darius to serve as the expedition house (*Bāyeganiy-e Rāked*: letter to the court minister dated 23 January 1931). On the advice of Krefter, this idea was soon abandoned. As Krefter rightly wrote, the building known as the Harem was larger, and its northern portico was in a good state of preservation (figs. 8–9). The northern hall could easily be configured as a museum, while the smaller rooms located in the southern part of the building offered the necessary space to house the expedition staff and equipment. Besides, by virtue of its peripheral location, the Harem could be easily reached from the southeastern corner of the terrace; such an access would have been impossible for the Palace of Darius. A major challenge in modifying any structure on the Takht to serve modern needs was the importance of not disrupting the aesthetics of the site as a whole. The Harem was well suited to meeting this need, since its location on a low level compared to the other buildings on the Takht would make it less obtrusive in altered form (Krefter 1979: 20–22). The first season of work was thus spent in excavating the main part of the Harem and in its partial reconstruction. This task, undertaken by Krefter, was completed by the end of 1932. Byron, who visited Persepolis a year later, described it as "a palace, reconstructed of wood on the

site, and in the style of its Achaemenian predecessor, whose stone door and window frames are incorporated in it, . . . the outcome is a luxurious cross between the King David Hotel in Jerusalem and the Pergamum Museum in Berlin" (Byron 1937: 184).

In 1932, Herzfeld excavated the major portion of the Gate of All Lands and the system of subterranean canals. In addition, the outline of Palace G was defined, and part of the western wing of the Harem and the southern stairway of the Central Building were uncovered.[34] The most remarkable task of the 1932 season was the excavation of the large avenue to the north of the Central Building, between the Hall of One Hundred Columns and the Apadana. This work resulted in the important discovery of the sculptured stairways of both the northern façade of the Central Building and the eastern façade of the Apadana.[35] In the same season, Herzfeld's team discovered the post-Achaemenid building of Fratadara, 200 m to the west-northwest of the terrace, revealing reused structual material from the Takht as well as doorjamb sculptures carved in emulation of the earlier Achaemenid forms visible at Persepolis. A stone platform called Takht-e Rustam, situated halfway between Persepolis and Naqsh-e Rustam, was also investigated. Finally, the vast site of Istakhr was tested.[36]

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FIG. 10.
View of one of the palatial ensembles uncovered by Herzfeld in the southern plain, from Mohammad-Taqi Mostafavi's album of Persepolis dated November 1933. Photo courtesy of the Iran Bastan Museum.

In 1933, the courtyard between the Hall of One Hundred Columns and the Apadana was cleared. Small trenches resulted in the discovery of the heads of the bulls flanking the entrance of the Hall of One Hundred Columns; at the east of this building, the excavators found a stairway leading to the subterranean canal system. While leveling debris for construction of a roadway for the removal of excavation debris, Herzfeld discovered an archive of some 30,000 inscribed and sealed clay tablets and sealed clay labels in rooms of the northeastern fortifications (the Persepolis Fortification tablets). The discovery has emerged as one of extraordinary significance. The documents record food disbursements relating to work and travel in Persepolis; they contain vast information on the site and on the nature of the economy and life in the empire. Bearing dates between 509 and 494 B.C.E., the texts inform issues of chronology at the site as well as these myriad other social matters. The seals applied to the documents are equally significant.[37]

Although Herzfeld was primarily interested in

the structures on the Takht, he did conduct soundings in the southern plain and discovered a palatial ensemble there (fig. 10). Like his discovery of the Fortification tablets, his work in the plain laid the basis for important efforts later in the history of excavation and interpretation of the ancient city.

The soundings at Istakhr were abandoned in the winter of 1932/33. Attention was directed instead to Naqsh-e Rustam, where Herzfeld traced the outer enclosure of the site and copied the inscription on the Tomb of Darius I. Meanwhile, on the Takht itself in that same year, Krefter's architectural training and sharp sense of terrain led him to one of the most dramatic archaeological discoveries ever made in Iran. M.-T. Mostafavi, who was present on the site, wrote the firsthand description of the discovery of the foundation tablets of the Apadana (figs. 11–12):

> In September of that year, when Professor Herzfeld was on vacation in Germany, and the excavations at Persepolis had been frozen because of financial difficulties, there were a few

FIG. 11.
View of the excavation at the northeastern corner of the main hall of the Apadana, where the first pair of the Apadana Foundation Tablets was found in September 1933. Mohammad-Taqi Mostafavi is sitting outside at the left corner of the trench, looking directly at the camera; the two Arab excavation foremen Herzfeld had brought from Samarra are standing in front of him inside the trench, while Friedrich Krefter is visible inside the trench at the far right (wearing the German hat). Photo courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

FIG. 12
View of the excavation at the southeastern corner of the main hall of the Apadana, where the second pair of the Apadana Foundation Tablets was found in September 1933. Friedrich Krefter is shown at left holding the gold tablet, with the stone box that contained the precious tablets visible at his feet. One of Herzfeld's Arab foremen is kneeling at the right corner of the trench. Photo courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

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Arab foremen from Samarra employed full time by the expedition, which had to pay them whether or not there was work to do. Professor Krefter, the engineer and architect of the expedition at Persepolis, who was generally in charge of executive tasks, took advantage of such an opportunity to find out what had been intriguing him for a long time. Professor Krefter had already noticed that in the northwestern angle of the central hall of the Apadana, there was a small square hole of about half a meter with a depth of 15 cm. . . . Contemplating various hypotheses, he thought that it might have contained some inscribed documents. On 18 September 1933, in order to test that hypothesis, he made careful observations of the opposite spot at the northeastern angle of the main hall of the Apadana, where an elevation of about one meter above floor level could be seen. . . . On the same day and on the order of Professor Krefter, the above-mentioned foremen began to dig a 1.5 m trench at that spot. Since they were very skillful, they soon realized that what they were digging was a mud-brick wall, which should not be destroyed. So they stopped the work and went back to Professor Krefter, informing him that the spot he had ordered dug was a wall, the mud bricks of which would be destroyed in the course of excavation. Professor Krefter told them: "I am glad it is mud brick! This shows that the lower part of the original wall of the main hall is still in place there. Continue to dig, and if during the excavation, you come across something, leave it in place and call me." The foremen did as Professor Krefter told them, and two hours later, at a depth of 70/80 cm, they found a stone slab approximately 55 × 55 × 40 cm, which had been placed within the mud bricks. They called Professor Krefter, who, after having examined and photographed the slab, had it removed. Under the slab, there was a beautiful square stone box of 45 × 45 × 15 cm, which had been partly broken under the pressure of the slab. So they were able to remove easily the fragmentary stone lid of the box (35.5 × 35.5 × 4 cm). At that moment, in a space (33 × 33 × 1.5 cm) inside the box, there were a gold and a silver tablet. . . . The silver tablet had been placed on the gold tablet face to face so that the inscriptions did not touch the rough surface of the box. (Mostafavi 1355/1976: 70–76, my translation from the Persian)

Two days later, Krefter probed the southeastern corner of the main hall of the Apadana and found another similar box containing a gold and a silver tablet bearing inscriptions of Darius I (DPh—Lecoq 1997: 230, 218, 125). According to the Antiquities Law of Iran, a pair of these tablets would have been given to the Oriental Institute, but as the news of such an outstanding discovery soon reached Tehran, Reza Shah, saying that "he did not want to see again what had happened to the objects from Susa," ordered that both pairs be kept and brought to the capital (Mostafavi 1355/1976: 80). Robert Byron met Krefter in Tehran a few weeks after the discovery:

> At the English club we found Krefter, Herzfeld's assistant at Persepolis, deep in conversation with Wadsworth, the American First Secretary. Their secret, which both were too excited to contain, was that in Herzfeld's absence abroad, Krefter had dug up a number of gold and silver plaques which record the foundation of Persepolis by Darius. He calculated their positions by abstract mathematics; and there they lay, in stone boxes, when the holes were dug. Rather unwillingly he showed us photographs of them; archaeological jealousy and suspicion glanced from his eyes. Herzfeld, it seems, has turned Persepolis into his private domain, and forbids anyone to photograph there. (Byron 1937: 44)

After the discovery of the Apadana foundation tablets at Persepolis, Roland De Mecquenem, then director of the French Mission at Susa, remembered that fragments of probably similar boxes in stone had hitherto been discovered at Susa, but the excavators had not been able to discern what type of object the fragments might represent. It thus seems likely that similar foundation tablets of precious metal may also have been deposited at Susa (Mostafavi 1355/1976: 89).

In October of that year, Reza Shah officially visited Persepolis (fig. 13). Herzfeld and Godard were

FIG. 13.
Herzfeld with members of his team and guests at the time of the visit of Reza Shah, shown in the northern portico of the so-called Harem on 18 October 1933. Left to right: Alexander Langsdorff and his wife, Joseph Upton, Lotte Bradford (Herzfeld's sister) and her son Charles, Ernst Herzfeld, Friedrich Krefter, Haus Kühler (technician of the expedition), Mohammad-Taqi Mostafavi, and André Godard. Photo courtesy of the Iran Bastan Museum.

present to welcome the king, and Herzfeld guided a comprehensive tour of the monuments and his recent discoveries. At the same time, Breasted, on behalf of the Oriental Institute, sent a telegram welcoming Reza Shah to Persepolis. The king stayed for lunch and was so pleased with his visit that at the end he said to Herzfeld: "You are doing a work of civilization here, and I thank you."[38]

Herzfeld's fourth campaign of 1934 was his last. The expedition continued to excavate different parts of the Takht and replaced fallen architectural fragments in their original positions. Restoration work was also carried out at different spots on the terrace, and the new-found reliefs of the eastern staircase of the Apadana were very wisely protected by means of a screen made of reed. Work on the subterranean canal continued, but it did not provide satisfactory results. Other Achaemenid remains were found in the northern sector of the terrace around a reused Persepolitan stone doorway. Herzfeld also excavated a large Achaemenid building in the plain below the terrace.

In the winter of that year, the seemingly ubiquitous Byron visited Persepolis. His impression of the ruins and his tense meeting with Herzfeld were amusingly noted in his *Road to Oxiana* (Byron 1937).

Byron did not like Achaemenid art, and he was affronted by Herzfeld's prohibition against photography on the Takht. Byron's comments are important because they reveal how much Herzfeld, supported by a "code of academic malice controlled from Chicago," wanted to keep the discoveries secret (Byron 1937: 184–88). It is true that Herzfeld had the right to authorize or refuse photography of the finds, but he apparently thought the information obtained from his excavations was his own scientific property. He never published the results of his work at Persepolis. In November 1934, the crown prince of Sweden, Gustav VI Adolf, visited the ruins in the company of his wife, Princess Louise, and his son, Prince Bertil. The visit was a memorable one for both Herzfeld and the crown prince (fig. 14). On this occasion, Herzfeld offered two sculptured fragments to the crown prince in the presence of Iranian officials.[39] Later, in the face of mounting problems with the Oriental Institute in Chicago, Herzfeld had to resign his directorship of the expedition.[40] Leadership of the Oriental Institute expedition was temporarily given to Krefter, who remained in charge until Erich Schmidt's arrival in 1935.

Schmidt's work in Iran has been summarized in an article by Jack Balcer that is based on the records

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held in the Oriental Institute. A few details on his work at Persepolis can be added. Schmidt (1897–1964) came from a background very different from that of Herzfeld, who became acquainted with Iran at the very outset of his professional career. Schmidt spent part of his youth fighting in Europe during the Great War, then in captivity in Siberia as a prisoner of war. After his escape from Siberia, he made his debut in archaeology by studying first in Berlin and then in New York (Columbia University) with Franz Boas. He came to Iran late, in the early 1930s.[41] While Herzfeld had to fight almost single-handedly to get the Persepolis excavations up and running, Schmidt was able to step into an organized and fully operational endeavor. He was assisted by a larger team of specialists. Although Krefter left Iran in 1935, two new architects, John S. Bolles and Eliot F. Noyes, replaced him. Karl Bergner, Herzfeld's architectural

draftsman, and Donald McCown stayed to work with Schmidt. One of the best-qualified members of the mission was undoubtedly the photographer Boris Dubensky, an Iranian of Russian origin who had worked with Schmidt at Rey and replaced Von Busse at Persepolis. Dubensky had a very intimate knowledge of structures at the site. The architectural elements at Persepolis receive the light at different times of the day. Dubensky knew exactly what was the best moment to photograph specific places (Ali Sāmi, pers. com.). It was Dubensky who prepared many of the final photographs eventually illustrating the Persepolis volumes (Schmidt 1953; 1957; 1970). His withdrawal from the expedition was a loss for Schmidt, who replaced him with Ursula Schneider in 1938.

Schmidt began to work at Persepolis by excavating the southeast sector of the terrace, where his team found the impressive architectural remains of the garrison (Schmidt 1939: 7–15; 1953). The discovery there of seven inscribed slabs of an inscription of Xerxes (XPh) has provided a series of controversial interpretations on the religious policy of this Achaemenid ruler.[42] The remains of the fortifications at the base of Kuh-e Rahmat led to a thorough study of the defense system of the site. During the same season, the excavators cleared a cistern, which had been cut into the rocky slope of the mountain to a depth of about 24 m, without reaching its floor (Schmidt 1939: 88–90). In the spring of 1936, the excavation of the Treasury began (fig. 15), which resulted on 30 March in the discovery of the so-called audience reliefs attributed to Darius the Great (fig. 16). These two reliefs were found set into the rear walls of the eastern and southern porticos of an open courtyard measuring 13 × 15.5 m, in the eastern part of the Treasury. The height of the reliefs is 2.60 m, while their length varies from 6.275 m to 6.225 m. The better preserved of the sculptures (the southern one) was removed to the Iran Bastan Museum. Schmidt tried in vain to obtain the eastern one for his patron institution in the United States (*Bāyeganiy-e Rāked*, letter to Ali-Asqar Hekmat, minister of public instruction, dated 5 April 1937). But it remains to this day in situ at Persepolis. During the 1960s, the meticulous observations and studies of Giuseppe and Ann Britt Tilia showed that these reliefs had been removed from the main staircases of the Apadana.[43]

FIG. 15.
Work crews excavating the Treasury in 1937. Photo courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

FIG. 16.
The damaged relief preserving the king in audience, seen as it was discovered set into the rear wall of the eastern portico of the Treasury courtyard, where it remains in situ (but now reassembled). Photo courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

The date of the removal of the orthostats, as well as the political circumstances and implications of this major event in the history of the Takht, have been much discussed and remain controversial (e.g., Tilia 1972: 207–8, also recording views of R. N. Frye; Shahbazi 1976). What is clear is that the meanings and functions of the ceremonial installations on the Takht did evolve over time during the Achaemenid period. They were not static representations of the original vision of Darius I.

Still in the Treasury complex Schmidt found the hundreds of clay tablets and sealed labels now known as Persepolis Treasury tablets (Schmidt 1957; Cameron 1948; Garrison and Root 2001: esp. 33–34). While much smaller and more limited in scope than the Fortification archive discovered by Herzfeld, the Treasury corpus (dating between 492 and 459 B.C.E.) also offers major opportunities for ongoing research on the social and economic history of the Achaemenid court and empire.

In the fall of 1936, Schmidt decided to dig trenches in the interior of the Hall of One Hundred Columns, where Farhad Mirza had left heaps of dirt from his excavation there in 1877. The season of 1937 involved a great deal of activity, mostly concentrated here and on the continuing excavation of the Treasury. It was in the beginning of this season that Reza Shah and his crown prince, Mohammad-Reza, visited Persepolis. On that occasion, the king authorized Schmidt to resume his aerial explorations in Iran. But this significant venture was allowed to continue for only three months before being stopped forever, despite Schmidt's repeated requests for their resumption.

The work of the 1938 season consisted of completing the excavation of the Treasury. During the last excavation season, in 1939, focus turned to southern sections of the Takht. Part of the southern area of the Apadana was excavated. And in the southwest corner of the Takht the uncovering of the western wing of the Harem was completed. As an effort in historical preservation, the sections of the mudbrick walls of the Treasury were lowered to a uniform "preservable height" (Schmidt 1957: 5). In retrospect the initiation of this practice (albeit motivated by an interest in preservation) seems unfortunate. The uniform wall-leveling of this building was continued by the Iranian teams after the departure of the Oriental Institute. As a result, it is
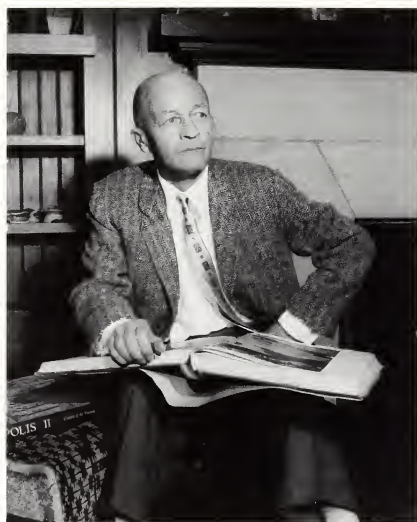
FIG. 17.
Erich Schmidt posed with Persepolis I *(1953), probably in the early 1960s on the occasion of a press interview. Photo courtesy of Mrs. Lura Schmidt-Janda and the late Walther Hinz.*

difficult today for visitors to the remains of the Treasury to gain a good sense of the dimensions and impressiveness of this vast, complex structure.

Schmidt left Iran in December 1939. His directorship of the excavations at Persepolis coincided with a period of increasing tension among European powers in Iran. Contrary to Herzfeld, who took considerable advantage of the nationalistic significance of the site to build support for his work, Schmidt's increasing tendency to concentrate more on the scientific aspects of the excavations may have led to governmental dissatisfaction with his efforts given the political realities in Iran at that time. The excavations of the Oriental Institute made two remarkable contributions: they stimulated a broad spectrum of archaeological activities in the region, and they provided indispensable knowledge of the site through three luxurious volumes as well as, ultimately, additional documentary and interpretive studies based on the discoveries of those years. The first volume

(Schmidt 1953) on the structures and sculptural decorations on the Takht was offered in 1959 to Queen Elizabeth of England on the occasion of her visit to the campus of the University of Chicago. It was cited as the publication *par excellence* of the university (Haines 1965: 147) (fig. 17).

POSTWAR EXCAVATIONS

After the departure of the American expedition in 1939, the Iranian government took over excavating and restorating the site. With the outbreak of World War II, and in the absence of any foreign archaeological mission in Iran, the newly hired members of the General Office of Archaeology moved into higher ranks. Consequently, Hossein Ravânbôd took charge of restoration work at Persepolis for four months. From January 1939 to June 1940, Dr. Isā Behnām replaced Ravânbôd. Behnām, an archaeologist, studied later in France and became chair of the Department of Archaeology at the University of Tehran. From the end of 1940 to September 1941, Mahmoud Rād took over direction of the site. It was at this time that the mudbrick walls of the Treasury, which had remained partly intact to a height of 2 m since the time of their discovery, were lowered to a height of 30 cm; the mudbrick walls of the northern court of the Harem were also lowered. No excavation was carried out at the site. During this period, André Godard, as director of the General Office of Archaeology of Iran (GOA), had overarching authority over the work at Persepolis.[44] The name General Office of Archaeology is deliberately used here (rendering the Persian title of the organization, Edārey-e Koll-e Bāstānshenāsi). The usual Anglicization (as Archaeological Service) is misleading in its specificity. The truth is that after its creation in 1910 as the Edārey-e Atiqāt, or Antiquities Office (reorganized fundamentally in 1930), the Iranian General Office of Archaeology undertook multiple tasks of excavation, preservation, and restoration of archaeological sites all over the country for more than forty years before breaking up into several interacting offices within the Ministry of Culture and Arts.[45]

After the war, Godard opened a special account for Persepolis in the Central Bank of Iran. The post-

FIG. 18.
Ali Hākemi (left) and Ali Sāmi in front of the reconstructed Harem of Xerxes, spring 1950. Photo courtesy of Ali Hākemi.

war years were fraught with financial difficulty for the GOA, but Godard eventually managed to find an Iranian sponsor living in France. Mr. H. G. Tufenkdjian directed the Calous Gulbenkian Foundation in Paris. In October 1946, Tufenkdjian paid £1,000 for the maintenance of the restoration work at Persepolis. Another £1,000 was paid in January 1947 (*Bāyegauiy-e Rāked*, Godard's correspondence with Essayan: October 1946).

From 1941 on, Ali Sāmi (1910–89) took charge of excavations and restoration at Persepolis. Sāmi was without doubt one of the major figures of Iranian archaeology (fig. 18). He began his career as a teacher in 1936 and then took part in the restoration and construction of some of the historical monuments in Shiraz. Meanwhile, he made the acquaintance of Erich Schmidt, who frequently came to Shiraz for administrative matters and to procure provisions while he was digging at Persepolis. After the departure of

the Oriental Institute expedition, Sāmi started his work at Persepolis, first as an accountant for the engineer H. Ravānbôd. Gradually developing an interest in excavation, he became an energetic archaeologist under Godard's supervision. Sāmi was later appointed director of the Scientific Bureau at Persepolis (Bongāh-e Elmiy-e Takht-e Jamshid). During the twenty years of his tenure at Persepolis (1941–61) he excavated various parts of the site and explored other sites of the region, notably Pasargadae. This period coincides with an increasing number of official visits. Obviously, Sāmi's successful efforts to prepare and highlight the site were extremely important in the eyes of the government. After his retirement in 1962, Sāmi devoted himself to teaching ancient Iranian civilizations at the Pahlavi University of Shiraz until the late 1970s.[46] His reports, published in two thick volumes of Gozāreshhāy-e Bāstānshenāsi (Archaeological Reports) in 1951 and 1961, are organized in chronological order, summarizing annual work at Persepolis. He gives quite a concise description of the objects and their context. Nevertheless, his main concern was the publication of those finds that seemed significant to him. Thus, the whole scheme of excavation and its progress is not presented in his reports.[47] His principal architect, who drew topographic maps and building plans, was Ali Hākemi, who went on to a brilliant career in Iranian archaeology.[48]

The excavation of the northern part of the terrace was the main objective of Godard and Sāmi, who were interested in probing structures adjacent to the Hall of One Hundred Columns and its principal means of access. Godard, who was bothered by Schmidt's somewhat dismissive characterization of these structures as "courtyards," wrote:

> Besogne ingrate, mais il nous semblait que les grands édifices étant connus, l'importance était désormais de savoir comment s'accrochait, au reste du plan, le vestibule monumental situé en haut de l'escalier principal et ce qu'était au juste cet autre édifice qu'on appelle 'la Porte inachevée'. Nous pensions aussi que cette cour ou ces cours d'honneur devaient être bordées de bâtiments d'apparat et d'habitation. Et puis, il fallait bien que la surface entière de la terrasse fût dégagée. (Godard 1946: 265)

Work at the site was uninterrupted in spite of the war and financial difficulty. The plan of the subterranean drainage system was finally completed. Godard (1946: 265) explained the aim of working on the canal system:

> Nous chercherons aussi les réservoirs où devait aboutir l'extraordinaire système de canalizations dont les ramifications, taillées dans le roc, s'étaient sous la terrasse tout entière. Herzfeld et son adjoint, F. Krefter, les ont cherché déjà et ont déblayé, sans les trouver, plusieurs centaines de mètres de tunnels, qui mesuraient 1 m 15 environs de largeur et une hauteur de 1 m 75 à 2 m 10. Ils attachaient une grande importance historique à ce vaste drainage, dans lequel Herzfeld voyait la preuve que le plan général des bâtiments de la terrasse avaient été établi dès le début des travaux, sous le règne de Darius Ier.

In addition to this historical significance, a full understanding of the subterranean canal system seemed likely to enable the excavator to reestablish the ancient evacuation system of the site so as to avoid the deterioration of the structures by the waters flowing down from the mountain. Sāmi also conducted a series of restorations of the stairways of the Apadana and the Central Building, as well as the mudbrick walls of the Treasury. Given the many archaeological, restoration, and conservation activities at Persepolis from 1939 to 1961, the following summary has been collected from Sāmi's various reports:

1939–42: removal of the dumps that had remained from the Oriental Institute excavations and shortening the mudbrick walls in front of the Harem; excavation of the southern area of the Apadana; discovery of an embossed gold sheet weighing 289 g (February 1940), which may have been used to cover the wooden doors of the central hall of the palace; work on the Gate of All Lands.

1942–43: excavation of the unexplored spots between the Apadana and the Hall of One Hundred Columns; discovery of the discarded lion-creature protome capital in the eastern portico of the Apadana (fig. 19) (Sāmi 1330/1952: 186); two silver phialae

FIG. 19.
The lion-creature protome capital found in the northern courtyard outside the Apadana. Photo courtesy of A. Hākemi.

(weighing 470 g and 394 g respectively) found "outside the northern wall of Takht-e Jamshid" (by which he seems to mean in the debris of the northern fortification); discovery of mudbrick rooms to the east of the Hall of One Hundred Columns; uncovering of the northern avenue linking the Gate of All Lands to the Unfinished Gate north of the Hall of One Hundred Columns.

1943–44: excavations of the northern court of the Hall of One Hundred Columns.

1944–47: uncovering of a thirty-two-columned hall north of the Hall of One Hundred Columns; one of the most fascinating finds was the small lapis lazuli head of a prince(?) wearing a crenellated crown; completion of the excavations in the northern and eastern areas of the Hall of One Hundred Columns.

1947–49: uncovering of adjacent rooms to the east of the Hall of One Hundred Columns; discovery of a lapis lazuli standard with the design of an eagle (12.5 × 12.5 × 32 cm). In August of this year Javad Zakatali began to make his model of the ruins at Persepolis, which he finished in 1951.

1949–51: excavation at southern rooms of the Harem and northern area of the thirty-two-columned hall; investigations at the Palace of Artaxerxes III (Palace H) in southwestern corner of the terrace.

1952: clearing of the area known as the Main Mound, to the west of the Harem. The excavation at the Main Mound yielded a silver coin of Ardashir I. Sāmi thought that the central parts of the terrace, including the Main Mound, were better preserved and may have been reoccupied after the burning and abandonment of Persepolis. The Mound, in fact, covers a surface of 1,982 m² and is 1.5 m higher than the Palace of Xerxes. It was toward the end of this season that Sāmi resumed the excavation of a large palatial structure in the southern plain, which had been discovered earlier by Herzfeld. It lies about 500 m south of the terrace, close to the mountain. It is a square twelve-columned hall covering an area of 240 m². One of the column bases bears the name of Xerxes, much the same as in the other structures of the southern plain (Godard 1946: 267). Sāmi (1348/1969: 335–36) reports on "some traces of burning on the walls and on the floor as well, while the floor of the main hall was covered with a red plaster similar to that found at the Treasury."[49] At this time, Sāmi was able to excavate another important monument situated in the southern plain. It is the closest building of the plain to the terrace. Although it is called the Small Apadana, its main four-columned hall covers a surface of about 324 m² (fig. 22). The main hall is flanked by three two-columned porticos. Unlike the other buildings in this area, the columns of this monument were entirely of stone and possessed lion-creature capitals much like those of the eastern portico of the Apadana. This palace was also distinguished from the others by its separated location close to the Takht (about 140 m south of its southwest angle). The last extant column of this monument, 10 m high, was destroyed a few years prior to the visit of William Ouseley in 1811 (cf. Schmidt 1957: 62). Flandin and Coste (1843–54: 2:pls. 66–67) included this building in their general map of the site. Dieulafoy (1885: pl. II) gives an early plan of the building as it could be seen in the 1880s. Sāmi's report (1348/1969: 338–39) is unfortunately very brief, and no details are provided.[50]

1953–54: no work at Persepolis.

1954–56: excavation at the northern part of the Takht, beyond the main avenue linking the two gates.

FIG. 20.
*Professor and Mrs.
Krefter working on
the model of
Persepolis, probably
in 1966. Photo
courtesy of Dr. H.
Krefter.*
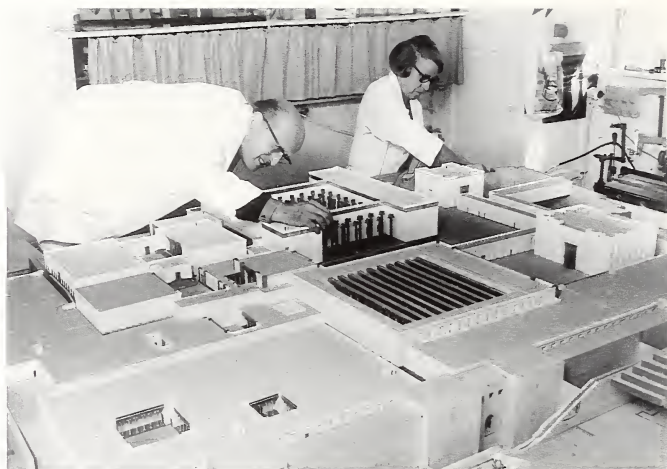
Excavation in front of Tomb V in Schmidt's numbering scheme (Schmidt 1970: 99–102) and Tomb VI (Schmidt 1970: 102–7).

1956–58: beginning of the excavation in the area east of the Treasury. Excavation of the rest of the eastern fortifications and the garrison quarters; discovery of the missing fragment of the Elamite version of the Daiva inscription (Cameron 1959).

Sāmi stopped excavating in 1959, and until his retirement in 1962, no significant excavation was done at the site. It should, however, be noted that restoration and conservation of the structures regularly followed Sāmi's excavation activities. One conservation measure that Godard and Sāmi adopted was to protect the reliefs of the eastern staircase of the Apadana. As Godard (1946: 268–69) explains:

L'eau n'est dangreuse à Persépolis qu'en cas de gel, mais il ne pleut pas souvent à Persépolis, et il ne gel guère. De plus, il est facile d'empêcher l'humidité de pénétrer dans la pierre en enduisant sa surface d'une encaustique quelconque. Nous en avons fait l'expérience avec du succès. Nous avons acquis la certitude que cette pierre rendue imperméable à l'eau est soigneusement défendue du soleil, se conserverait parfaitement en plein air.

In another measure, he affixed a folding wooden roof over the staircase. He explains the purpose as follows: "Et c'est pourquoi bien qu'à contre-coeur, peu fier du résultat esthétique de notre initiative, nous avons construit au-dessus des bas-reliefs à conserver, sur des piliers, une toiture en terrasse qui les maintient dans l'ombre."

Contrary to his assessment, this latter measure proved to be both aesthetic and protective, while the other measure was unfortunate. Alas, the wooden canopy was discarded in the late 1960s and never replaced.[51] An unwise protective device was adopted more recently: a huge metallic roof was installed over the eastern staircase of the Apadana and that of the Central Building. This roof, supposedly set up to protect the reliefs from the sun, is too elevated. The rays of the sun easily penetrate and reach one section or another of the reliefs at almost every time of day.

In 1961, a branch of the German Archaeological Institute was opened in Tehran, the direction of which was entrusted to Heinz Luschey, who had an idea for constructing a model of Persepolis as early as 1963. Later, with the support of Kurt Bittel, then

president of the Institute in Berlin, Luschey encouraged Krefter to make a 1/200 model of Persepolis, his genius once again being brought to bear upon the challenges of reconstructing Persepolis. There were certain serious problems, such as the reconstruction of cornices, ceilings, and roofing and the reconstruction of the poorly preserved and enigmatic Palaces G and D. Krefter ingeniously overcame these problems, as he had done thirty years before in reconstructing the Harem of Xerxes. The model was in wood (fig. 20). The platform measured 3.30 × 2.75 m, with a height of 10 cm. For transportation reasons, it was divided into three parts, 1.10 × 2.75 m each, which could be screwed together. A fourth part represented the mountain district with the two rock-cut tombs and the cistern. The platform was made out of plywood, whereas the palaces, gatehouses, and walls were in balsa wood to keep the model light in weight. The architectural details were cut out of cardboard with a very fine electric saw fitted out with a magnifying lens. These elements were then pasted together and modeled afterward with liquid wood applied with a very fine brush (Krefter 1969; 1971; 1972). In February 1967, the Auswärtiges Amt in Bonn had solicited Krefter to begin working on the model. In its finished state it was a masterpiece—worthy of its presentation as a coronation gift to the king of Iran, Mohammad-Reza Shah Pahlavi, by Dr. Heinrich Lübke, president of the Federal Republic of Germany. Sadly, this model ended up in a darkened storeroom of the Iran Bastan Museum. Another model, smaller than the first, was conceived by Krefter on the occasion of his eightieth birthday and is now held in the Charlottenburg Museum in Germany (Trümpelmann 1988).[52]

In 1964, a team of Italian restorers in collaboration with the Iranian National Office for Conservation of Historical Monuments began an expansive program of restoring historical monuments in Iran that lasted until 1979. The restoration work, first started by Cesare Carbone, was subsequently entrusted to Giuseppe Tilia. It involved an immense amount of study, practical experimentation, and patiently exercised skill. Ann Britt Tilia's publications on this restoration work at Persepolis have remarkably enriched our knowledge of Achaemenid architecture (Carbone 1968; Tilia 1972; 1978).

RESUMPTION OF WORK

In the fall of 1968, Akbar Tadjvidi proposed undertaking a new program of research at Persepolis and other sites of the Marv-Dasht plain with three main aims:

(1) investigation of the "origin of Achaemenid civilization and its early manifestations in Fars";
(2) establishment of a regional stratigraphy that would clarify the chronology of the plain at the time of the Persian empire (Tadjvidi 1347/1968).[53] This project proposed to open soundings in the southern plain adjacent to the terrace of Persepolis, at Istakhr, and at Pasargadae.
(3) establishment of a practical buffer zone for the site of Persepolis and its adjacent remains in order to implement more effective protection.[54]

One point on which Tadjvidi insisted was to hire workers who provided continuity with the earlier work of Sāmi and who were local people with a sensitivity to the Persepolitan landscape and the idiosyncrasies of its terrain. One reason why continuity among workers was considered a priority was that Herzfeld never fully published the results of his excavations, and Sāmi's reports, though useful and published promptly, lacked precision. Thus continuity of workers would provide anecdotal information about past efforts. For Tadjvidi this continuity was even more important than the workers' level of technical skill. Although the most skilled excavators, as a group, came from the ranks of those who had served the French Mission at Susa over generations, the faith Tadjvidi placed in the local workers trained by Sāmi was validated by results. Furthermore, his strategy of hiring local people of Fars bore fruit as his excavations pursued initiatives reaching far beyond the strict confines of the Takht.

Akbar Tadjvidi was born into a family of artists. Himself a painter, he studied art history and archaeology in Paris. In his ambitious program for Persepolis, he was assisted by various people, among whom were Mahmud Kordovani (an experienced archaeologist from the GOA) as field director for three seasons, Mahmud Mousavi (first as field assistant and later as field director), and Mohammad

FIG. 21.
Persepolis, spring 1970. Left to right: Asnāʾashar (assistant director of the Scientific Bureau of Persepolis), Mohammad Mehriyar (architect of the mission), Akbar Tadjvidi (director of excavations), Asghar Banāʾī (director of the Office for Restoration of Historical Monuments), Giuseppe Tilia (restorer), Hosseyn Tayeb-Naʾīmī (director of the Archaeological Office in Shiraz), Mahmud Mousavi (field assistant), Mahmud Kordovāni (field assistant), and Jafar Raʾnaï (director of the Scientific Bureau of Persepolis). Photo courtesy of M. Mousavi.

Mehriyar (as architect and draftsman) (fig. 21). Armed with an excellent staff as well as with a keen personal sense of aesthetics and urbanism, Tadjvidi was the first excavator of Persepolis who saw the monumental platform as a core feature of a much larger settlement. Thanks in significant measure to his vision and his project, Parseh can now be presented graphically with confidence as an urban entity with installations in the plain that served a large regional arena as well as the specialized activities on the Takht (fig. 22). It was with the idea of investigating the notion of an Achaemenid urbanism that he started to pursue and direct fresh archaeological activities at Takht-e Jamshid.

The Iranian GOA welcomed and approved Tadjvidi's proposal in 1968, with the actual field-work starting in the spring of 1969. The remarkable

rapidity with which the bureaucracy acted on this matter must be understood against a specific back-drop—one that lent energy and support to the archaeological mission but also conditioned and challenged it. The 2,500th Anniversary of Iranian Monarchy was to be celebrated in the fall of 1350/1971. Among the conditions and constraints Tadjvidi dealt with was the necessity of carrying out work that would not hinder preparation for the grand festivities that would highlight the glorious ruins on the Takht. In return for this accommodation, Tadjvidi's research program would benefit from the generous funds available for the preparation of the festivities.

An additional benefit of the arrangement was that it fostered the creation of an organization at Persepolis that could generate research programs

Labels visible on plan: Inscription of Darius, Terrace, Ensemble H, Ensemble A, Ensemble C, Unfinished Tomb, Ensemble D, Stone Pool, Ensemble B, Ensemble G, Ensemble F, Palace E, Southern Wall
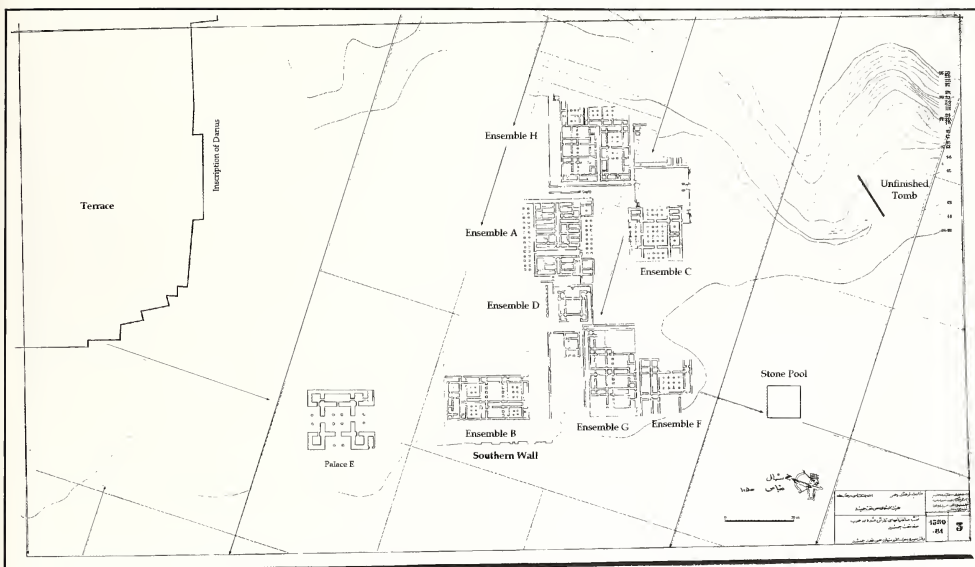
FIG. 22.
Plan of the excavated area south of the terrace of Persepolis. Adapted from Tadjvidi 1355/1976: fig. 22.

quite independently. This initiative was welcomed by the authorities in the Ministry of Culture and Arts. The activities of the Scientific Bureau of Persepolis, founded by Sāmi in the late 1950s, had been considerably reduced a decade later. Thus, Tadjvidi suggested a research institute for Achaemenid studies based right at Persepolis in the late 1960s. With the appointment of Ali Shapur Shahbazi as director of the Scientific Bureau of Persepolis, this idea was realized. The Institute of Achaemenid Studies (Bonyād-e Tahqiqāt-e Hakhāmaneshi) was founded and became operational in 1973.

Although Tadjvidi's excavations were prematurely interrupted in 1972 and were never resumed, his initiatives had far-reaching consequences for the legacy of Persepolis studies in Iran. They also had far-reaching consequences for our understanding of the site, as we shall now see.

Initially Tadjvidi chose four areas to be tested at Persepolis:

(1) the top of Mount Rahmat, where the eastern fortification system of the site could be explored;
(2–3) areas to the south and to the northwest of the stone courtyard (Complex C); and
(4) an area to the southeast of the Four-columned Hall (Complex E, or the Small Apadana).[55]

The grid system adopted by Schmidt's topographers (squares of 100 × 100 m) was maintained in order to transfer new discoveries to the preestablished general plan of the site. An illustrated and substantial report on these excavations was fortunately published in Persian (Tadjvidi 1355/1976), providing the basis for the present analysis. Although two brief notes on important finds were also published in English (Tadjvidi 1970; 1973), for more than three decades Tadjvidi's full publication has remained inaccessible to most scholars in the field.

The book is divided into two principal parts. The first section consists of a long introduction entitled

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FIG. 23.
General view of excavations in the southern plain below the Takht in 1968. Photo courtesy of M. Mousavi.

FIG. 24.
Trench revealing a section of the southern foundation wall of one of the brick platforms in the plain, upon which various architectural ensembles were erected. Photo courtesy of M. Mousavi.

"In Search of the City of Parseh." It deals with different problems of identifying and locating the city of Persepolis, the heart of which is marked by the huge stone Takht (Tadjvidi 1355/1976: 6–41). This introduction gives a full account of archaeological and historical evidence and extends the study to another chapter entitled "Was Persepolis Ever a Capital in the Achaemenid Empire?" Here Tadjvidi examines the importance and *raison d'être* of Persepolis as a city within the empire. His conclusion is that Persepolis, "without being necessarily a capital, was a sacred and symbolic place for the Persians in the heart of their homeland, an earthly manifestation of a heavenly world with which our ancestors, by virtue of their religious education, were familiar, and one that was kept hidden from foreigners' eyes" (Tadjvidi 1355/1976: 55, my translation; Mousavi 1992: 204–7).

The next chapter is an account of the excavations; the second half of the book deals specifically with the excavation of the palatial complexes in the southern plain and the fortifications on top of the mountain (Tadjvidi 1969; 1970; 1973; 1355/

1976; for full bibliography, see Vanden Berghe 1979: 56).

In the plain, aside from the excavation of seven architectural complexes (excluding Complex E, or the Small Apadana, close to the terrace), Tadjvidi was determined to explore the southern wall of the terrace and its relation to the structures located outside the platform (figs. 23–24). Earlier, Sāmi had dug quite a deep sounding (6 m) here, at the foot of what was called the "pre-rampart" wall near the inscription of Darius I. The question of why Darius should have wanted to place his inscription in such an inconspicuous spot was Tadjvidi's motivation to do some research in this area. His idea was to follow the water canals on the platform at the edge of the southern wall in this area since they had been altered following the modification of this portion of the wall. This investigation has enabled us to reconstruct a history of the southern wall as well as traces of the substructure of a staircase once planned for this location (Tadjvidi 1355/1976: 60–61; Mousavi 1992: 212) (fig. 25).

The other discovery at this spot allowed the

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FIG. 25.
View of the "Deep Trench" at the foot of the southern wall of the Persepolis Takht during the 1971–72 season. Akbar Tadjvidi (dressed in white) gives instructions, while his field assistant, Mahmoud Mousavi (in black) stands between Tadjvidi and members of the work crew. Second from left is Ali Zāṛe, who emerged as one of the most distinguished foremen ever trained in Iranian archaeology. Photo courtesy of M. Mousavi.

excavator to suggest the existence of a channel or ditch, at least at the foot of the southern wall. Hākemi had earlier suggested that a ditch might have extended around the platform, serving both to guarantee a supply of water and to provide protection for the terrace (Hākemi 1349/1970 and pers. com. 21 November 1988; Mousavi 1992: 220). Tadjvidi's team also found traces of burning in a small columned hall (fig. 26) (Tadjvidi 1354/1975: 10). The charred remains were not, however, submitted to radiocarbon analysis.

The most important Iranian excavation in this period was the exploration of the fortifications on top of Mount Rahmat. Herzfeld (1929a) had already documented the existence of these structures, and Schmidt (1939: 8, fig. 4) had pinpointed them on his aerial analysis of the site. Tadjvidi decided to excavate a portion of the upper fortifications, which comprised three towers and their adjacent structures (Tadjvidi 1355/1976: 187–213). Aside from the originality of architectural features and some 150 iron arrowheads, the most interesting artifactual discovery here was a collection of anepigraphic sealed

clay tablets. Most of them bear impressions of one cylinder seal that is identical to one already known from the Persepolis Treasury archive (Seal 28 [now designated PTS 28], published by Schmidt 1957: 10–11, 29, and pl. 9). This seal displays a martial scene featuring a victor in the Persian court robe dragging three Greek captives behind him while spearing a fourth (Tadjvidi 1355/1976: 201–7; 1973; Garrison and Root 2001: 34).

In terms of architecture, most of the arrowslits in the mudbrick fortification walls were found obstructed, and several small rooms in the fortifications revealed traces of abandonment. Tadjvidi dates the fortifications to an early phase of construction activities and insists that they had already been abandoned before the destruction of the city by the Macedonian troops in 330 B.C.E. (Tadjvidi 1355/1976: 212).

The most profound overarching significance of Tadjvidi's program rests with his attempt to prove the existence of urbanism at Persepolis and to articulate the nature of that urbanism. The interruption of his work in 1972 was a devastating blow to the long

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FIG. 26.
View of the burned two-columned hall, located in Complex H on the southern plain, during the 1971–72 season. Photo courtesy of M. Mousavi.

FIG. 27.
View from Mount Rahmat of the southern sector of the Takht (directly east of the Treasury) and out over the Tent City constructed to celebrate the 2,500th Anniversary of the Monarchy in 1971. Photo courtesy of M. Mousavi.

tradition of archaeological activity there. Had Tadjvidi been able to continue his investigations, we might be better equipped than we are now to deal with the complex and historiographically charged questions of what kind of place, in fact, Parseh was meant to be in the reign of its founder, Darius I, what it had become by the time of the last Achaemenid king, Darius III, and what its reception has been through the vicissitudes of subsequent ages (fig. 27).

As things stand now, the palatial complexes of Parseh are in desperate need of protection and restoration. A limited rescue excavation was carried out in the spring of 1975. Torrential rains had eroded the vestiges of the eastern section of the Central Building. Here there had originally been a vestibule east of the eastern doorway (linked to the Harem) and a long side room. The combined forces of early excavations and natural erosion of construction thus disturbed had demolished this part of the core—to the extent of turning it into an ugly slope of debris level with the Apadana courtyard. Rains had even endangered the foundation of the eastern doorway. Though opposed to any excavation in the absence of the head of restoration efforts, Giuseppe Tilia, Shahbazi had to take action in order to prevent further damage. He cleaned out the area at the foot of the eastern doorway and then reinforced it. During the cleaning mudbrick fragments (33 × 33 cm) were found, as well as paint pigments of yellow, red, and Egyptian blue, which had once been applied to the reliefs. Sculpture fragments were also uncovered. The largest one was a piece about the size of a fist, showing well-groomed beard curls. To the northeast of the doorway, Shahbazi encountered foundations of a mudbrick wall that had originally formed the northern wall of the vestibule (and so blocked the southeastern corner of the Apadana courtyard). This wall partly existed until earlier excavators leveled it to join the Apadana courtyard to the Harem. Aside from this, Shahbazi did two other things. He restored the stone staircase linking the Harem courtyard to the original vestibule leading to the Apadana courtyard. In fact, the spot had become a dangerous slope and yet was always used by visitors to and from the Harem. He walled up the eastern sector of the Central Building with stone slabs, thus "reconstructing the original form" (Shahbazi pers. com.) of the main hall and its southern portico. He also wanted to continue the work and restore the foundation of the vestibule and long side room. For this reason he reconstructed the retaining wall west of the Harem courtyard, but when it had come to a 7-m height, this project was halted on Tilia's suggestion.[56] During Shahbazi's tenure, the site was regularly restored and conserved until the end of the 1970s. After 1979, the direction of the site was handed over several times to different people whose interest could not go beyond daily administrative matters.

At first glance, it seems difficult to draw conclusions about the significance of archaeological excavations at Persepolis. The site has been a symbol of identity in Iran since its foundation. This extraordinary significance has in some ways encouraged scientific exploration of the ruins and in other respects tended to deflect energies. A great many questions remain to be asked of Parseh. The excavations to date have certainly enriched our knowledge of the Achaemenid empire significantly. But in some ways we still know remarkably little of the archaeology of Fars (its material culture, pottery sequencing, and the like) in the Achaemenid period. Despite the intensity of archaeological activity at Persepolis from the 1930s into the 1970s, a great deal of surface area on the Takht and in the southern plain remains to be investigated. Excavation has tended to focus on the uncovering of major monumental structures in both areas, with the most notable exception to this trend being work on the fortifications first by Herzfeld and then (more systematically and extensively) by Tadjvidi.

In spite of these regrets and hopes for future work that may adequately address such issues, there is another aspect of the contribution of the Persepolis excavations that deserves note. The effect of these excavations on the future of Iranian archaeology has been great. It was the project for the preservation of Persepolis that inspired the Iranian government to approve an Antiquities Law, which subsequently promoted and regulated archaeological activities in the country. Moreover, the archaeological excavations at Persepolis have provided numerous opportunities for training in excavation technique, restoration, and interpretive research, the

results of which have been remarkable not only in terms of the obvious explosion of art-historical/historical discussion based on the revelations of the last century but also in terms of technical achievement in Iran.[57]

Unlike the mounds at Susa, where the French had been digging since the late nineteenth century, the excavations at Persepolis have benefited from a remarkably high profile, including regular official visits of kings and queens. It has been said that the Iranians are bound by a three-way magnetic attraction to their place within the historical landscape. They are bound to their glorious ancient past, to the religious and spiritual impact of Islam, and to the technological and modernizing appeal of the West. Parseh seems to satisfy the complex and sometimes intertwining urgencies of all three of these profound impulses. □

Notes

I am very grateful to Margaret Cool Root, whose help, encouragement, and constructive suggestions made the publication of the present contribution possible.

1. The name Parseh appears in Old Persian as Pārsa in Achaemenid sources, including the Old Persian version of the trilingual inscription on the Gate of All Lands (Lecoq 1997: 251). In Elamite administrative texts it was rendered Parša (e.g., tablets in the Persepolis Fortification archive indexed in Hallock 1969: 742). For the meanings of the name and its etymology, see Shahbazi 1977: 197–99; for issues in the historiography of the conventional use of the name Persepolis, see Root 1980.

2. These inscriptions were originally published in translation by Herzfeld (1914). See Schmidt 1953: 223 n. 11 and Sāmi 1348/1969: 246–47.

3. The degree to which such emulations reflected historical awareness of the Achaemenids in precise terms is another issue (viz., Roaf 1998).

4. In later times, the naming tradition by reference to the remarkable soaring columns at the site might vary to indicate different numbers—such as the commonly used epithet Čehel-Minar (forty columns). The idea remained focused on conveying their marvelous abundance as a defining physical feature of the ruins.

5. Lecoq 1997: 229 on DPf, the Elamite text that uses a transcription of Old Persian gātu (in the sense of throne).

6. In the seventeenth century the Spaniard Don Garcia Silva Figueroa was the first European to publish an attribution of the ruins to the Persepolis of classical authors, but some probable allusions to Persepolis are contained in accounts of fourteenth-century travelers (the Franciscan friar Odoric of Pordenone and the emissary of Venice, Josaphat Barbaro). See Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1991: 3–5.

7. Wiesehöfer (1996: 300-302) offers a useful bibliographic commentary.

8. Le Strange and Nicholson 1921: 126–27. The exact name of the author of the *Farsnameh* is as yet unknown, but in the introduction Le Strange argued that the book, dedicated to Sultan Qiyass-eddin Muhammad (498–511 A.H./1104–17), was probably composed sometime during the first decade of the sixth century A.H., equivalent to the twelfth century C.E.

9. Mostafavi's rendering in 1978 contains some typographical errors that had crept into the edition of the text he was using for his work. I have corrected these errors here, based upon the original text in the 1996 Sadeqi edition (see Hamadani 590 A.H./1194).

10. For more details on his diplomatic role and explorations in Persia, see Wright 1977: 6–7, 15, 17, 151–52; Gabriel 1952: chap. 19.

11. The subterranean drainage system was later explored in the course of excavations carried out by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago in the 1930s (Schmidt 1953: 210).

12. Later, Ouseley decorated the staircase in his London house with some of the reliefs from Persepolis. Eventually they were presented to the British Museum, with the exception of two pieces. Curtis (1998: 50) writes on the fate of these two fragments and how one of them ended up in the Miho Museum in Japan. Adle (2000: 238 n. 10) provides further details on the sale of these fragments at Sotheby's in London.

13. Thanks to the pioneering excavations carried out by Herzfeld in the early 1930s, Friedrich Krefter, the architect of the mission, was able to distinguish and record traces of paint on one of the reliefs in the Palace of Xerxes (Herzfeld 1941; Krefter 1989). More investigations of color on the reliefs were conducted in depth much later by the Italian restoration team (Tilia 1978).

14. I am indebted to Dr. Shahryar Adle for putting at my disposition his vast knowledge of the history of photography in Iran. It was he who first drew my attention to the existence of L. Pesce's photographs and Nassereddin Shah's projects for photographing the ruins of Persepolis.

15. Colonel Luigi Pesce entered into the service of the Qajars in the late 1840s on a mission to train Iranian soldiers. Heinrich Brugsch of the royal Prussian legation met him in Tehran in the early 1860s and described him as "a friendly Italian officer in the service of the Shah." Brugsch borrowed a few photographs from Pesce in order to make gravures for his travel book (Brugsch 1862: viii). For Pesce's life and career, see Zoka 1376/1997: 19; Adle in press.

16. The introduction in the album is in Persian, published in Zoka 1376/1997: 22. It seems that Pesce, interested in photography, sent two other albums of photographs documenting the monuments of Iran—one to Count Cavour in Rome, the other to Wilhelm I, emperor of Prussia (Zoka 1376/1997: 22).

17. Pesce's photographs are conserved in the Golestan Palace in Tehran.

18. Aqā Reza was trained by the Frenchman Francis Carlhian, who came to Iran at the end of 1858. He remained in Iran for the rest of his life, teaching at the Dār-ol-Fonun (the School of Polytechnic in Tehran) (Adle 2000: 231).

19. For an account of the prince's style of rulership, see Nāvvab-Sāfā 1366/1988: 48–75.

20. The inscription was carved on one of the windows of the main hall of the Palace of Darius. For the text, see Sāmi 1348/1969: 258.

21. It was Friedrich Stolze, the German archaeologist visiting Persepolis a few months later, who reported on the number of workers (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1991: 29).

22. This is noted in *Vaqâye-e Ettefâqiyeh* and cited in Nāvvab-Sāfā 1366/1988: 132. See also Adle 2000: 233.

23. An impressive collection of photographs of Iranian sites was produced by Sevruguin, an Armenian photographer who resided in Tehran, on commission from Friedrich Sarre for Herzfeld and Sarre's *Iranische Felsrelief*, published in 1910 (Bohrer 1999).

24. It was Lord Savile and Cecil Smith who had obtained the necessary royal permission from Mozaffereddin Shah. These two defrayed the travel costs of the expedition, and Weld-Blundell undertook at his own expense the work of superintending the project (Simpson 2002).

25. Chemical analyses of the "Egyptian blue" remnants from Persepolis were published in Schmidt 1957: 133–35. A systematic survey of color in Persepolis appears in Tilia 1998 but with acknowledgment that more comprehensive chemical analysis still needs to be done.

26. According to Mostafavi, Reza Khan made the trip to wel-

come Ahmad Shah on his arrival home from Europe (Mostafavi 1355/1976: 3).

27. Colleen Hennessey (1992: fig. 2) has published a rare photograph of one of those visits.

28. Herzfeld Papers, notebook 84 [Persien II, 1923–24], series 2, 30.

29. Herzfeld had long had a serious scholarly interest in Pasargadae (Herzfeld 1908). For his publication of the archaeological work there in 1928, see Herzfeld 1929b and 1941, with later commentaries in Stronach 1978.

30. The original text in French has been published in *Documents on Archaeology* 1380/2001: 474–75.

31. Much information and bibliography on the Pope-Herzfeld relationship appears in the articles collected in Gunter and Hauser forthcoming.

32. For a general account of Herzfeld's work at Persepolis, see now Dusinberre forthcoming.

33. This was a response to the Iranian ambassador, who had apparently transferred complaints made by Pope and the French government as well. Letter dated 11 Bahman 1309 H.S./31 January 1931, archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, published in Karimlou 1381/2001: 158.

34. The stairway was later transferred from its original place to the Iran Bastan Museum in Tehran.

35. Because the east stairway façade of the Apadana had been long buried, its reliefs were virtually pristine in contrast to the much damaged and pilfered reliefs of the north stairway façade. The comparisons are readily appreciated in the plates of Schmidt 1953.

36. Herzfeld briefly reported on the results of his soundings at Istakhr in Herzfeld 1941: 276.

37. For a selection of 2,087 of the Elamite texts, see Hallock 1969. Much has been written since then working with the texts as historical documents (e.g., Briant 1996 and Wiesehöfer 1996 passim, both with bibliographies). See Garrison and Root 2001: 23–32 (for a discussion of the complexities of Herzfeld's discovery of the archive) and the book more generally (for full publication of volume 1 of the seals applied to the tablets that had been presented by Hallock in 1969).

38. See Charles Breasted's illustrated article in the *National Geographic* (Breasted 1933: 384). The newspaper *Ettela'at* also gave a detailed account of the visit (Afsar and Mousavi 1355/1976: 90–93).

39. These fragments are now in Stockholm (Ådahl 1978). 247

40. For additional material on Herzfeld's resignation, see Mousavi 1382/2003: 40.

41. For his biography, see Haines 1965; *National Encyclopaedia of American Biography* 1969: 51:671–72.

42. For the DPh text, see Cameron 1959 and Lecoq 1997: 104–5, 256–58. For various interpretations, see Lukonin and Dandamaev 1989: 353–54; Briant 1996: 568–70.

43. For the discovery of the reliefs, see Schmidt 1957: 162–69. The Tilias' findings are presented in Tilia 1972: 175–208.

44. During the German occupation of France, Godard and his wife, Yedda, were members of the French Resistance backed by General De Gaulle. In the service of the Resistance, Godard was appointed the Délégué Général de la France Libre to Iran. The Iran Bastan Museum Library preserves to this day issues of the *Revue de France Libre*, published by the Godards in Tehran during World War II.

45. In 1926, the Antiquities Office had only one archaeological mission. By contrast, the GOA was expansive in its mandate, and in 1964 the number of archaeological missions ran to fourteen. By 1971, this effort had grown to fifty-one missions working under its auspices and supervision. These offices were then regrouped after the Islamic Revolution under the Cultural Heritage Organization of Iran. For a detailed background and the various names of the organization, see Malek-Shahmirzadi 1369/1990: 408–11.

46. For a short biography of A. Sāmi, see Mousavi 1990.

47. Sāmi's work at Persepolis was also summarized in a condensed English version (Sāmi 1955).

48. Hākemi is well known for his excavations at Kaluraz, in Guilan, and at the important site of Shahdad. His early study of the topography at Persepolis is a less-known but important contribution (Hākemi 1349/1970). This article is summarized in Mousavi 1992.

49. Sāmi does not give any further information, but Schmidt (1957: 48, fig. 14) published Herzfeld's plan of this edifice. The whole structure was to be carefully investigated and mapped during Tadjvidi's excavations in the 1970s.

50. For a discussion of different aspects of this building, see Mousavi 1999: 150.

51. For a photograph of the canopy, see Mostafavi 1978: 120, picture 52.

52. I am indebted to Dr. Heiko Krefter, son of the late Friedrich Krefter, who kindly provided me with some invaluable photographs of his father's, some of which I publish in the present article.

53. Schmidt had tried in vain to establish a chronology for the whole region on the basis of ceramic sequences (Balcer 1991: 170), while Tadjvidi's program would essentially be concentrated on the Achaemenid period.

54. A few years ago, when I was in charge of the preparation of the World Heritage file for the site of Naqsh-e Rostam, I realized that the site was included in the theortical buffer zone of Persepolis, which is too large. This hypothetical zone is supposed to cover several sites in the region of Persepolis, including Naqsh-e Rostam, Naqsh-e Rajab,and the vast site of Istakhr. Consequently, the whole area was conceived as a single monument.

55. That is the structure excavated by Herzfeld and Sāmi.

56. The report prepared by the excavator and sent to Tehran was never published. I thank Dr. Ali Shapur Shahbazi for giving me the information on his excavation.

57. In fact, the best restorers of stone monuments in Iran today are those who trained at Persepolis; equally the best excavation foremen still come from Persepolis.

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Book Reviews

The Lie Became Great: The Forgery of Ancient Near Eastern Cultures. By Oscar White Muscarella. Studies in the Art and Archaeology of Antiquity, Volume 1. 540 pp. Groningen: Styx Publications, 2000. $100.00 hardcover.

FORGERIES TAKE MANY FORMS, and, once one starts to look for them, they are not hard to find. New creations are passed off as old; genuine antiquities can be "enhanced" by modern additions; and false provenances become attached to looted artifacts. For decades Oscar White Muscarella, a senior research fellow at the Metropolitan Museum, has tracked such frauds, which corrupt the historical and art-historical record and contribute to the destruction of irreplaceable cultural resources. In this important book, whose implications reach far beyond ancient Near Eastern studies, he aims not so much to expose individual items falsely ascribed to diverse civilizations but rather, as his title indicates, to demonstrate the scope and scale of damage wrought by the ready acceptance of unexcavated objects and fabricated attributions and their misuse by those who would (re)construct ancient cultures.

The literature on forgery is vast, but I know of no other book like this. Most treatments of the topic can be placed into one of three broad categories: (1) the philosophical, which probe definitions and values (e.g., "if a forgery is so close to the original as to fool experts, what is the difference?" or "why, when exposed, should a previously prized object be relegated to the basement?"); (2) the anecdotal or biographical, which usually recount piquant narratives, the protagonists of which, whether the young Michelangelo or Zhang Daqian, tend to emerge as culture heroes; and (3) the procedural, in which technical, stylistic, iconographic, scientific, and other clues are painstakingly pursued and presented in order to ascertain the true nature of particular objects. (These categories, of course, can be—and often are—combined.)[1]

Although these approaches are all adopted here, the thrust of this book is moral and ethical. Muscarella presents a passionate, frequently entertaining, regularly sarcastic, and often disturbing indictment not of forgers, nor even looters, but rather of those who underwrite their activities. He opens with a blistering attack on "The Forgery Culture"—a "clandestine order" of smugglers, dealers, auction house employees, collectors, donors, curators, museum officials and trustees, scholars, and scientists who practice "bazaar archaeology," trading in, authenticating, and publishing objects that have not been properly excavated from known archaeological sites. The uncritical acceptance of such "artifacts," whether modern fakes or plundered antiquities (often all too politely called "illicitly recovered" or even "rescued") is, according to Muscarella, the "soft underbelly" of archaeology. Objects purloined from ancient sites, perforce destroyed to obtain them, offer tenuous ground for the reconstruction of past cultures, and reliance on the provenances supplied by dealers, whose business it is to know and provide what buyers want, can lead to faulty conclusions regarding social, religious, artistic, and economic contacts between ancient peoples as readily as misplaced confidence in outright forgeries.[2]

Muscarella emphasizes methodology. He argues throughout that unprovenanced material *must* be treated separately, and differently, from excavated artifacts—that "archaeologists and art historians are not free to credit the bazaar as a source of historical knowledge." He rejects as risible the notion that plundered tomb assemblages remain unified as they make their way through the art market and upbraids those who unquestioningly employ unique, unprovenanced items to rewrite ancient history or redefine religious practice. Numerous examples are provided of diverse sites (Luristan and Ziwiye being the most popular) and cultures being cited by dealers, curators, and scholars as the source of individual artifacts. "Which crystal ball should we believe?" he asks pointedly. Those seeking to reconcile conflicting accounts and anomalous features often must resort to intellectual somersaults (the "provincial artist" who combines elements of a number of traditions is a habitual favorite), which Muscarella repeatedly derides. In fact, he draws attention to entire categories of "finds" (often unique, precious, or highly decorated artifacts so desirable to collectors) that have few, or even no, excavated parallels: 90 percent of metal vessels published as coming from northwestern Iran or Marlik, for example, were acquired from dealers and

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have no archaeological provenance. Not one incised bronze belt has been excavated in Luristan; nor any decorated quivers in western Iran; nor any Achaemenian plate with a figural motif in the central medallion. Such items, Muscarella reports, "have surfaced in the bazaar, and all indicate that they are modern creations made to be sold."

Median art is even more problematic. Muscarella argues that "no western Iranian artifact or iconography can at present be identified with surety to have been made by Medes." Unexcavated examples, he suggests, are either Achaemenian in date or modern forgeries, the latter being the unsuccessful products of forgers who knew nothing about Median art but aimed to produce Achaemenian works—and failed. They have, Muscarella writes, nonetheless been rescued by scholars who

> ingeniously interpreted the works to be evidence of earlier artistic activity.... The aberrations in style and execution, and ambience, between the object (the forgery) and Achaemenian art were noted, but invariably interpreted by an intuitive leap to be a characteristic of what we should expect in pre-Achaemenian art; and thus this art historical insight allows one to make a great discovery.

Thus successful forgeries not only beget more forgeries but also engender new and necessarily erroneous interpretations of ancient cultures. Muscarella laments the "lack of scholarly reflection and inadequate education" of those who "create fiction" by publishing or exhibiting unprovenanced objects as genuine or from a specific site, when no reliable source recorded their emergence from the earth. "If this weren't serious," he remarks at one point, "one could have a good laugh." Frequently mocking the work of others—his notes are even more caustic than his text—Muscarella urges readers who might be put off by his contentious tone to "listen to the story, not the story teller." His thirty-page "Introduction and Polemic" provides anecdotal accounts of the suppression of information, collusion, conflict of interest, and creation of false knowledge that regularly occurs when what he archly calls "provenience-impaired" artifacts enter the marketplace and, eventually, come to be employed indiscriminately alongside—or even

instead of—excavated material as evidence for ancient practices and beliefs. But his harshest words are reserved for scholar/dealers, such as A. U. Pope and R. Girshman, who willfully manipulated the archaeological record for personal profit. Despite—or perhaps because of—his obvious biases, and because he exposes the usually hidden close relationship between scholarship and commerce that facilitates the success of the forgers and looters, this introduction, at least, should be required reading for students and professionals in art history, archaeology, museum studies, cultural management, and related disciplines.

A relentless 170-page annotated catalogue of well over a thousand dubious, unexcavated items follows. Some 340 of these "artifacts" in gold, silver, bronze, stone, and terracotta ascribed to virtually all of the ancient civilizations, Neolithic to medieval, of Iran, Mesopotamia, Anatolia, North Syria, and the Levant are illustrated (along with images of 20 unequivocally genuine comparanda) on 300 pages of drawings and photographs of uneven quality. Bibliography for each piece is provided when available—many are (were?) in the hands of unnamed dealers or collectors. Muscarella does also occasionally offer detailed analyses of individual pieces, explaining why they should be excluded from the ranks of genuine antiquities or why they should be "kept in abeyance." He readily admits his uncertainties, suggests that some pieces are genuine but have been re- or overworked, and occasionally reverses his own earlier assessments. In many cases, however, he dismisses objects with just a word or phrase: "It is clearly modern to anyone who looks"; "mechanically made"; "very badly executed"; "a poor copy"; " a truly modern work"; "terrible"; "a horror." Thus, he often seems to rely on gut feelings as much as those whom he mocks for asserting the authenticity of a piece merely because "It speaks to me."

Still, regardless of the accuracy of these individual assessments, there is no denying the extent of the problem. Although the reader comes to suspect that the author has searched high and low for all possible fakes, no mater how unconvincing, many of the pieces he presents have found buyers and have made their way into exhibition (as well as sales) catalogues and into scholarly publications. And Muscarella asserts that he presents merely the tip of the iceberg. Yet, ironically, because his catalogue is subdivided

by geography, culture, and medium, and a useful concordance of museums and collections closes the volume, the author provides a ready reference not only for scholars and students wishing to investigate a particular item or class of objects but also for the dealers and collectors whose practices he so vociferously protests, supplying them with a convenient catalogue of fakes and lists of features to guard against—and he might even equip the enterprising forger with guidance toward improvement.

What is the way forward for the rest of us? Muscarella rightly urges skepticism in the face of all unexcavated material and advocates greater application of scientific analyses (although faith in such tests is often naive). Despite the years of effort he has spent tracking them down, Muscarella would seem to be content to consign all of his fakes to the trash heap of history. But this is to overlook their potential usefulness. To be sure, forgeries contaminate the historical record and provide false foundations for investigations of ancient cultures, but recent scholarship has emphasized how, once recognized, they also shed valuable light on the dynamic reciprocity between past and present, offering fertile ground for exploration of how the past is constantly reshaped to serve the needs of the present.[3] "Historicism," writes Muscarella, "has not been a relevant concern to me in developing my conclusions," but for him historicism seems to consist only of considerations that might excuse deficiencies of earlier scholarship. The production and consumption of fakes have been stimulated by diverse motives—desires for professional and social advancement, as well as for financial gain—but, given Muscarella's detailed knowledge of the history of the traffic in ancient Near Eastern artifacts, he might also have profitably examined what the forgeries he has so painstakingly collected reveal about the reception and construction of ancient Near Eastern cultures *in modern times*. In his lengthy and heavily illustrated treatment of alleged neolithic terracottas from Hacilar, for example, he might have considered how desires for a peaceful, egalitarian, matriarchal past have encouraged forgers to create so many corpulent nude female figurines. As tangible evidence of contemporary desires projected onto the past, forgeries provide valuable historiographical material and an important reminder of the ever-evolv-

ing nature of historical interpretation. By gathering and analyzing so many items, attributed to so many different civilizations, and by exposing the crooked paths by which they have come to be employed in our historical reconstructions, Muscarella has revealed just how problematic our view of the past is, and thus he has performed a signal service. □

NOTES

1. Mark Jones, ed., *Fake? The Art of Deception*, exh. cat. (London: British Museum, 1990) is an excellent introduction to the topic, while Sandor Radnoti, *The Fake: Forgery and Its Place in Art* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999) provides a convenient, if heavily theorized, overview. Many topoi of the literature on forgery continue to be found in recent biographical treatments, e.g., Douglas Preston, "Woody's Dream," *The New Yorker*, 15 November 1999, 87–89; and Peter Landesman, "A 20th-Century Master Scam," *New York Times Magazine*, 18 July 1999, 31ff. For a provocative and entertaining combination of the philosophical and the anecdotal in the case of an accused forger, see Lawrence Wechsler, *Boggs: A Comedy of Value* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

2. For the links among the forgery, looting, and collecting of Aegean Bronze Age material, with broader implications, see D. W. J. Gill and C. Chippindale, "Material and Intellectual Consequences of Esteem for Cycladic Figures," *American Journal of Archaeology* 97 (1993): 601–59; and Kenneth Lapatin, *Mysteries of the Snake Goddess: Art, Desire, and the Forging of History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2002).

3. In addition to the works cited above, see especially the essays collected in Mark Jones, ed., *Why Fakes Matter: Essays on Problems of Authenticity* (London: British Museum, 1992).

KENNETH LAPATIN

A Bushel of Pearls: Painting for Sale in Eighteenth-Century Yangchou. By Ginger Cheng-chi Hsü. 314 + xiii pp. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001. $49.50 hardcover.

I N DYNASTIC CHINA, in theory, the well-educated man practiced painting as a means of refining his sensibilities and cultivating his moral character. Gentlemen likened painting to poetry as a way of expressing private thoughts and sending messages of congratulations and sympathy to like-minded

friends. For a gentleman-scholar to use this inherently personal art for financial gain was considered crass. This ideal persisted for centuries, and while it was repeatedly compromised, it was also frequently reinforced by stories of high-minded men taking umbrage at the suggestion that their paintings might be bought.

In the informative and highly readable *A Bushel of Pearls*, Ginger Hsü analyzes the phenomenon of educated men breaking with the literati code and openly justifying the sale of their paintings. The setting was Yangzhou, the flourishing cultural and economic hub of eastern China during the eighteenth century. Hsü's thesis is that the commodification of painting was not solely driven by the enormous wealth in Yangzhou, nor was it the result of scholar-gentlemen behaving eccentrically; rather it resulted from a lively process of negotiation between artists and patrons. Building on the cultural-economic studies of Ho Ping-ti, James Cahill, Craig Clunas, and others, Hsü delineates the activities of the art market and the role of Yangzhou salt merchants of varying degrees of sophistication. Examining the social, political, and historical forces that influenced choices, she illustrates her thesis by focusing on four men who, in the face of centuries of taboo, marketed their paintings.

The four artists' backgrounds reveal a variety of negotiated positions. Fang Shishu (1692–1751) was from a prominent Anhui family that had made a fortune in the salt trade. Interested in painting from childhood, Fang dutifully pursued a degree to represent the clan in the imperial bureaucracy. Having earned an entry-level degree and preparing for more examinations, he was forced to take over the family business when his father and brother died. He quickly lost the family fortune (a disaster that he attributed to fate) and turned to art for a living. Fang moved easily among commercial, official, and cultural circles in Yangzhou. He documented his patrons' gardens and their literati gatherings and provided them with landscapes in the styles of the Orthodox literati masters. Since his patrons were his friends and equals, they were careful not to demand art works but merely to request, and they let him finish at his own leisure; payments were ritualized as hospitality and gifts.

A sharp contrast is provided by Huang Shen (1687–1765), who as an adolescent began painting

portraits to help support his impoverished Ninghua family. He studied poetry and the classics to better himself. When he arrived in Yangzhou in the mid-1720s, he painted figures in meticulous detail. A breakthrough came when Huang discarded that style for a loose calligraphic manner associated with scholars. His monochrome figures in tremulous brushwork could then be linked to the higher status of the conceptual works (*xie yi*) of the literati while also displaying an individualistic style that was appealing to the Yangzhou market. Huang directly negotiated prices for his paintings, unconventional behavior that, Hsü speculates, was permitted by his craftsman status. In one memorable exchange, Huang induced a salt merchant to pay for a painting by purchasing for him a comely lass from a bean curd shop.

Zheng Xie (1693–1765) was the only one of the four painters to have had an official career. He was a village teacher and a wanderer until he concluded that a classical education was essential for financial security. At age forty-four, he belatedly passed the metropolitan examination and eventually served as a low-level official in Shandong province for nearly a decade. Upon leaving office he joined friends in Yangzhou and supported himself through painting and calligraphy. Zheng was independent enough to meet the demands of collectors with candor and humor: he posted a list that specified prices for each size of work and that asked for payment in cash.

Two lines of inquiry are suggested by Hsü's discussion of Zheng's career in Shandong. Hsü describes the many occasions on which Zheng Xie painted orchids for friends and acquaintances, a motif with which he closely associated himself. In a note she cites a study on Zheng Xie's dismissal from office (p. 158 n. 97). In the chapter on Jin Nong, she asserts directly that Zheng was indeed forced out (p. 178). If he left officialdom under a cloud, that may influence how we read his favorite flower since orchids were associated with Qu Yuan, the archetype of all maligned officials and unappreciated talent. Secondly, Zheng's quest to forge his own calligraphic style merits further study. Zheng's calligraphy is often explained as a personal synthesis of Northern Wei stele models. This should be expanded to include the late sixth-century Buddhist sutras inscribed on mountains in southern Shandong province. Within

easy travel of Zheng Xie's posts in Fanxian and Weixian, the huge inscriptions predate the canonization of regular script and combine in one work—as did Zheng Xie— elements of seal, clerical, regular, and running script. In Zheng Xie's *Orchids, Bamboo, and Fungi on a Cliff* (Hsü's fig. 5.2), the placement of a long inscription on a rock readily compares with cliff writing. But the more important issue is: To what extent was Zheng's calligraphy a response to the Yangzhou market, always interested in new, eye-catching interpretations of antiquity? Was it a personal formulation based on early models or also a solution to the practical issue of finding a saleable style? If so, is there any difference between the pre-1753 works done as an official and the post-1753 works that he did in Yangzhou?

Jin Nong (1687–1763), the fourth of the artists studied, is a delightful enigma. A fine poet, Jin Nong was a wordsmith who never took the examinations. Instead he dealt in antiquities, sourced choice objects for collectors, and actively marketed his artistic productions from inkstones to lanterns, even asking friends to find buyers for him. When Jin Nong gave up life as an itinerant dealer in his mid-sixties, he was equally resourceful as a painter and calligrapher. Unable to sell sufficient art in Hangzhou, Jin Nong moved to Yangzhou. He became so successful that he had ghost painters help him fill commissions. A prolific artist even without ghost painters, he developed a wide range of subjects and, with literati panache, incorporated long inscriptions into his paintings.

Hsü's book presents a vivid picture of the Yangzhou art world and the jockeying of both buyers and sellers. Her argument of mutual interaction holds on many levels, but the evidence often suggests that the wealthy patrons and merchants had the upper hand. The staggering wealth accrued to the Yangzhou salt merchants (some, she reports, had an annual income of an estimated five million taels of silver) and their willingness to spend to acquire a patina of culture made Yangzhou a magnet for artists from all over China. Significantly, none of the four painters profiled in the book was from a Yangzhou family. Hsü also points out that the salt merchant culture valued painting themes with both a certain standing within the scholarly tradition and symbolic accessibility. Landscape paintings were not in demand.

More popular were flowers, birds, and figures; there was an expansion of subject matter (some might say a dumbing down) to meet the market: an increase in accessible, colorful imagery, in popular narrative stories, in symbols of wealth and auspiciousness.

The increasingly blurred distinction between amateur-literati and professional is central to this study. One hopes Hsü will further explore this persistent tension by examining it in the context of those regarded as in the literati mainstream rather than as eccentrics or professionals. She cites Dong Qichang as most clearly articulating the amateur/professional ideal, and Dong clearly positioned himself as an "amateur," yet he also marketed his paintings to pay off debts. Was there a qualitative or stylistic difference between the paintings that went up for sale and those that Dong kept for himself? Can even this exemplar of tradition and arbiter of taste be seen as responding in his artistic practice to patrons' taste?

Bushel of Pearls is illustrated with 48 black-and-white plates and one color (only a hint of the pictorial riches). A bibliography and index make the book a useful resource. Since no Chinese texts are provided, it would have been helpful if the author had given Chinese titles of the translated poems and essays. The notes provide only a book title and a single number (a page? a chapter?), making it difficult to find the original text without the same out-of-print edition that is cited. These slight defects, however, do not detract from what is a fine contribution to our understanding of the economic and social currents behind this innovative school of Chinese painting. □

ALFREDA MURCK

Shitao: Painting and Modernity in Early Qing China. By Jonathan Hay. RES Monographs in Anthropology and Aesthetics. 412 pp., 22 color plates, 322 b/w, 3 maps. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. $95.00 hardcover.

T HIS AMBITIOUS, MANY-FACETED ac-count is a long-awaited study of one of China's most challenging painters as the last

half of the seventeenth century spilled over into the first decade of the next. One must welcome any such effort.

In his preface the author rejects the notion of an "arid dream of art history without artists' lives—artists replaced by agency," especially for an artist he considers the most completely "individualist" of his time, one whose uniqueness he links to the term *qishi* ("original scholar-elite"). Yet, for all its breadth, the book's claimed focus is on the last decade of Shitao's life (1697–1707), during which most of his surviving works were painted. The later focus, however, by no means prevents the author from weaving earlier accomplishments into his narrative, for which he kindly furnishes a chronological appendix. Even so, the focus on Shitao's last decade gives the whole an urban bias that may not accurately describe his early life, with its isolation and travel, its absorption in mountain, river, and temple.

The argument of each of ten chapters challenges any ordinary summary. I retreat here to titles, with only a hint of contents: (1) "Shitao, Yangzhou and Modernity" sets the scene. (2) "The Conspicuous Consumption of Time" takes up "social space" and "a discussion of leisure." (3) "The Common Claim on Dynastic Narrative" examines how in landscapes "political memory [history?] was increasingly contested" by the individual. (4) "Zhu Ruoji's Destinies" shows how Shitao's given name was "articulated through successive strategic narratives of his own destiny." (5) "The Acknowledgement of Origins," in contrast to the previous chapter, moves the "narrative of destiny" (again history?) to a time late in the artist's life. (6) "The Artist Entrepreneur" deals with "economic identity" and a "painting business." (7) "Paintings as Commodities" discusses the commercial categories of Shitao's products, especially those defined as "decorative" and "commemorative." (8) "The Painter's Craft" addresses the "self-conscious discourse of professionalism" and further frames Shitao's "engagement in commerce." (9) "Painting as Praxis" allows praxis (practice?) to take an active stance, with painting transforming Shitao into a religious teacher, including his famous theoretical treatise. (10) "The Private Horizon" appears to return to the beginnings in "social space," where now Shitao reveals "a socially fractured self" when faced by the early modern experience: "consumerism, with its manipulation of consumer desire; the insecurity of urban life; the threat of isolation" (pp. 284, 285).

I need hardly point out that Professor Hay is plowing the field of postmodern approaches to the visual arts, which for those not converted often stretches clarity in both word and idea. His study is openly "kaleidoscopic," an adjective he applies to Shitao as well. This lack of focus leads to "extremes" that defy balancing text with image and often include theoretical sections that need no illustrations at all. Further, because discussions of works are locked into an ideological ten-chapter frame, he asks the reader's indulgence in accepting the need for "flipping back and forth for illustrations [which is] guaranteed to try the reader's patience" (p. xx).

Exactly. This is not an easy read. The initial anticipation called up by the wealth of color plates, black-and-white figures, and maps is considerably blunted by searching to find in groves of verbal ideas where words can be joined to them. In some ways this is all the more frustrating since the writer's intellectual powers and scholarly devotion, the "free thinking" praised in the book's dedication to his teachers (backed by 34 fine-print double-column pages of footnotes), can only evoke scholarly admiration.

What then to add? It is perhaps odd that, for an artist who claimed the significance of "no method" and a reviewer who has never quite understood an intellectual eagerness to pursue "methodology," it is methodology that is at fault.

In *Consilience* (Knopf, 1998) the eminent scientist Edward O. Wilson attempts to rise above the numerous barriers that so often wall off the precious kingdoms of intellectual disciplines. While by no means rejecting new approaches, he admits defeat when confronted with postmodernism. His summation is crisp: "Reality, they propose, is a state constructed in the mind, not perceived by it." A few pages later, rather whimsically: "Their adherents fret upon the field of play, sometimes brilliantly, usually not, jargon prone and elusive" (pp. 40, 43). While this is the opinion of a natural scientist, cannot those of us in the arts, especially the concrete, nonverbal visual arts, embrace its significance? The visual arts can claim a special closeness to the physical sciences—an undeniable tangible physical presence. Because of this, it is through history, as opposed to "narrative," that the

visual arts can also claim a special place. Whereas words are about things—and as such offer exceptional flexibility—the visual arts, if well preserved, are the thing itself, direct witness to the time of creation. With Shitao, as the book title proclaims, *Painting* must be a main concern. It cannot be sidestepped with an apology. *Modernity,* undefined by art's creativity, carries the limitation of its "social condition," no matter whether extended to "a phenomenon of consciousness" or disguised with "reflexivity" (p. xvii).

Indeed, the more one gets drawn into the intricacies of Jonathan Hay's arguments, the more one misses the open clarity of Shitao's art. Let me suggest one or two examples. The fifth leaf of a tiny inch-size 12-leaf album, *Returning Home* (1695), now in New York's Metropolitan Museum, is a single gem of painting skill (p. 155). It shows a figure on a simple open skiff. The subject is distantly framed by three dark ink mountains at the very top and the light ink touches of leaning water reeds at the bottom. Indeed the space is rather turned upside down. In their blackness the far mountains—a triune receding free ink form that recalls the ancient character for mountain—suggest a strong forward presence, while the lightly brushed reeds in the foreground, if not distance, at least sketch an ephemeral foundation. The whole painting floats, as does the firmly defined central image of boat and hunched boatman (Shitao himself, as the author affirms). But the boat is consciously tipped, and the leaning boatman is not firmly seated as he leans clutching the steering oar, hat strings flying, stirring lines of passing water, propelled in this wide space down and out for who knows what end beyond what we can see. There is even the artist's own written confirmation of movement. In a tiny note after his facing inscription he writes that he has substituted for the word "stop" (*ting*) the word "pass on" (*guo*).

Instead of affirming the delight of such an open visual statement, the author must find a hidden agenda. This is not to fault interest in knowing that the "friend" for whom it was painted at this uncertain time in Shitao's life (1695) may have been the salt merchant Zheng Zhaoxin or more likely a writer, Xian Zhu. But can the painted certainties somehow be deconstructed as a lonely plea for much-needed patronage? And can it be correct to add the curious observation that the figure, represented in exact, self-absorbed, forward-rushing profile, "bows and salutes the viewer"?

Painted a few years later, and now also in the Metropolitan Museum, is the well-known recollection of an outing, *Drunk in the Autumn Woods* (p. 50), whose importance is signaled by its fourteen mentions throughout the book. The patron, a Mr. Songgao, requested the painting of an event in which Shitao and three friends, not including the patron, had participated. The artist approached the task with enthusiasm, completing it in three days. After an unusually objective description, the author's ideas take over.

The environment is readily metaphorical. Baocheng, the place outside Yangzhou, is the same name used for the first Ming emperor's inner tomb precinct outside Nanjing. And the season of red leaves, the "thousands of crimson and vermilion dots" specified by the patron, cannot simply signify autumn, since one of the characters for "red" (*zhu*) also carried the name of the Ming royal house. A tiny, centrally placed, staff-holding figure is rightly cited for its importance. One might also exploit the fact that his face is touched with a red wash (political?, wine? autumnal?). The author proposes that he may be Shitao making his way toward a forward wine shop. Yet the lower body is not there. He and his companion rise incomplete out of undefined paper or mist. Notably, this is exactly what happens to the static standing figure in Shitao's grand *Mount Lu* in Japan's Sumitomo Collection, a painting of the same time but discussed much later (pp. 268–70). Furthermore, both paintings represent the entire landscape as floating on a similar undefined foundation of mist. This painterly component in both cases seals the connection between man and his landscape, which can be used here to support Professor Hay's enthusiastic: "Painting's cosmology was never so clearly centered on the autonomous individual body" (p. 52). But can it be true as well that "Shitao's staff substitutes for the painter's brush"?

Not content with such observations, the author does not allow us to escape contextual foundations of what is termed a "social space." The artist is claimed to have directed more than a dozen fellow literati in a staged scene "emphasizing its character as spectacle," a kind of public exposure of private men getting drunk. This shift is traced back to earlier Suzhou, when it was discovered that "private culture" was "eminently marketable." The author

then drives home the scholar's open ignominy by al-
luding (p. 39) to another painting, *Repotting Chry-
santhemums,* a hanging scroll in Beijing, which "of-
fers up to the voyeuristic eye the spectacle of literati
solitude." In sum, whether alone or in company:
"Literati self-interest intersects with civic identity to
create the paradigmatic staging of urban literati life
as spectacle" (p. 54). We are urged to see as realiza-
tions of this staging "a large portion" of Shitao's paint-
ings, "including almost all of them with implied or
explicit Yangzhou settings."

Could those who might believe that art is contrac-
tion rather than expansion be far off the mark in think-
ing that in *Drunk in the Autumn Woods* we are look-
ing at a vital human experience, the joys of release from
the strictures of urban confinement, even the contrast-
ing "madness" of wine's release, the giddy setting, a
feeling of lying on one's back composing poems as red
leaves, asked for by the patron, fire the ephemeral de-
light of an autumn day in the mountains?

Pages later in the text (although again from the
same period in Shitao's life), consider a small single
flower, *Day Lily,* now in a private collection (p. 291).
The author calls it a "narrative sketch" in which "we
see commercial cultivation (in Nanjing) giving way
to interareal trade and open sale on the Yangzhou
market, then to personalized purchase (very early in
the season) for presentation to Shitao and finally to
the act of painting inspired by a private response to
the flower's ephemeral beauty." Having reached
"beauty," why avoid it? The double-lined stem dis-
appears into the lower depths of the paper. As with
the two landscapes, the flower floats on its format.
The blossom has an easy, fresh openness with vital
curved-back petals and the dancing rich black of sta-
mens and anther, carpel and stigma. Above is the ris-
ing promise of further life in a single upward-swell-
ing, about-to-open bud. Is it not, too, an enduring
moment of self-revelation?

Yet this kind of life force cannot be admitted as
genuine for Shitao since it must be screened through
the complex world of commercial modernity. As the
book comes to a close, the author claims to have dis-
covered what Shitao failed to see:

Shitao's private horizon of desire was an urban
one, bound up with the circle of production and

consumption. . . . The fact that he was a product
of that world all the way to the most private re-
cesses of his social being was literally unthink-
able, for to acknowledge it would have destroyed
the basis of his negotiation of identity. (p. 302)

When did the artist become "a product"? Artists are
certainly not unaware of surroundings. They also
have to figure out how to live. Yet artists within their
given life span offer a special gift. They create. In that
creativity they not only see the world differently from
others; they have the skill to realize that difference in
tangible form. The artist gives experience a special
definition, a truth, if you will, unrecognized by oth-
ers and in doing so shapes not only a specific time
but—for the great ones—time beyond that time. This
is so because they touch the human condition, a con-
dition for which time is not a barrier.

Hay's study of Shitao closes with a few pages
entitled "Death's Limit." Largely through verbal
sources, many written on paintings, the author por-
trays failed isolation in a final summation: "Not soli-
tary survival in the mythic light of destiny . . . but the
urban survivor, response to an isolation that persisted
into the liminality of dying." To the end the world's
"narrative" overwhelms artistic presence. Yes,
Shitao's writings are filled with the problem of old
age, the lament for physical failure, the departure of
old friends, ill health, nostalgia for lost times. But this
is simply the nature of old age, not exclusively "the
melodramatic poetics of urban community." The
author is bound to see Shitao's damaged self. To do
otherwise would contradict his elaborate thesis.

Look again, however, at the creative variety of the
last paintings reproduced here: sometimes heavy ink,
sometimes sketched brevities, or again an attention to
carefully ordered forms. The Metropolitan Museum's
Landscape Painted on the Double Ninth (1705) bears
a double inscription filled with age's lament, frustra-
tion set against the background of a day for physically
climbing heights. But Shitao's painting is far from an
unqualified lament. As with *Drunk in the Autumn
Woods,* the scene floats, but the landscape is now calm
and strong. It is so because Shitao is recreating the
Song—the direct deep view, carefully misted distances,
the stability of mountains that in shape and texture
reestablish the Dong/Zhu tradition. The tiny central

rain-embraced figure, in Song scale and appearance, is unmistakably the fiber-coated rustic of age-old tradition evoking the true man (*zhen*), a special closeness to nature's cosmic power—and here of course honor to Shitao's welcome younger visitor.

Plum Blossoms of the next year (1706), in Beijing's Palace Museum, is different. Here is repeated the tumbling wildness he had seen with more joyous linear clarity over twenty years earlier in Princeton Museum's *Searching for Plum Blossoms* (1685). Now, in contrast, the reproduction suggests the presence, perhaps too obviously, of a dark-ink rage. (The "modernity" is Dylan Thomas: "Do not go gentle into that good night"). But, as constantly in the Chinese view of this brave flower, tender new blossoms are there, now reinforced by the black surety of the ever-enduring bamboo.

Then in the last year, 1707, comes *Reminiscences of Jinling,* the album now in Washington's Sackler Gallery. As old age always does, the images here linger over the past, but they are far from defeat: the ancient pine, the ginko that will not die. Yes, the tiny figure is alone, but he holds his noble staff. Alone is not the equivalent of loneliness. He steers his awkward donkey-horse magically upward on a rising cloud. He sits or stands motionless on the mountaintop. In a hanging scroll of the same year, now in Tianjing, he reaches the dramatic overhanging heights of his old love, Mt. Huang, now joined to the sages on *The Terrace of the Yellow Emperor*. Finally in this last year, he paints *Flowers*. Is not such an album an enduring statement about life, beauty, death, and life?

This is a book of intense, devoted complexity. Much can only be hinted in a brief review. Puzzling phrases are legion and appear to nurture theoretical delight. Yet the social historian must find here the richest mine, for it is the "social process" that comes first. As difficult ideas are woven "brilliantly" through a complex "field of play," readers who stumble may still be rewarded with important, hitherto unrecognized moments. But the tilt is one in which the artist suffers. Art as illustration is not enough. Too many ideas float unseen. A history, as opposed to "narrative," focused on the fifty definable years of Shitao, the painter, has yet to reach center stage. □

RICHARD EDWARDS

The Great Mosque of Damascus: Studies on the Makiugs of an ʿUmayyad Visual Culture. By Finbarr Barry Flood. 330 pp., 90 figs., 2 color plates. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2001. $130 hardcover.

THE BOOK UNDER REVIEW focuses primarily on a single building, the Congregational Mosque of Damascus, and its reconstruction—more probably its original construction—during the reign of the ʿUmayyad caliph al-Walīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 706/5–715 C.E.). It is known among Islamicists that this ambiguity surrounding the initial foundation of the Damascus mosque results from the textual sources' frequent uncertainties, conflicting reports, and at times lacunae surrounding architecture and its patronage in general. Perhaps what this monograph on the building contributes most vividly, not only to Islamic studies but also to methodologies in other "art histories," is an example of our unwavering reliance on, and yet inevitable struggle with, the use of texts and inscriptions to elucidate buildings, their larger functions, and their reasons for being.

The absence of a prominent congregational mosque in Damascus after the city's "conquest" in the mid-600s—a *muṣallā* within the compound of St. John's Cathedral serving the purpose instead—and its foundation only during the early eighth century are the points of departure for the book. Clearly, the available texts and inscriptions, both contemporaneous and later, do not incisively (if at all) treat this important absence. The book, then, is dedicated to providing a plausible explanation not so much for the lack of an impressive congregational mosque in Damascus until the early eighth century, but rather for its construction at that particular time. The author implies that the building's erection was a product of and subsequently relevant to the life of the ʿUmayyad dynasty, as well as the consolidation of a widespread Islamic *umma*.

In chapter 1 the author outlines his premise that

The sheer intensity of [al-Walīd's] architectural activity—which is unparallelled during the reign of any other ʿUmayyad caliph— indicates both an acute awareness of the semiotic power of architecture and a concern with the development of a

visual language appropriate both to the religious needs of the Muslim community and the political aspirations of the Umayyad dynasty. (p. 10)

It is further proposed that al-Walīd's "development of a visual language" was effected through the "subversive appropriation" mainly of Byzantine precedents (p. 13), though other elements also contributed to its coalescence. Essentially agreeing with Grabar's ideas in *The Formation of Islamic Art* (2nd rev. ed.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), the author further invokes translation as a metaphor for charting the infusion of new meanings into established morphemes. Architecture resulting from this reinvention of meanings is conceptualized as a "three-dimensional 'text' designed to convey meaning to both target and source cultures" (p. 11). This conceptualization of historical architecture as a legible "text" is methodologically fundamental, for it underpins the "readings" of the Damascus mosque put forth throughout the book.

Chapters 2 and 3 provide examples of the translation of older morphemes into elements that ultimately came to constitute the ʿUmayyad visual language. With uncommon focus as well as breadth, chapter 2 analyzes the connotative history of the pearl as an element in the iconographic programs of Byzantine/Christian buildings, concluding that, both by itself and in association with motifs evoking light such as pendant lamps, it was a powerful eschatological reference. The case was similar with the *karma*, or vine motif (chapter 3), which is thought to have graced not just the *qibla* wall of al-Walīd's mosque but other interior walls of its prayer hall as well. The particular deployment of the pearl motif is read as strong evidence for the *actual* contribution of Byzantine-trained craftspeople to the mosque's decorative program rather than as a mere topos of the textual narrativizations of the building's history. These two chapters, in their detailed treatment of specific motifs and their resonances within both "the target and source cultures," are deep fonts of information. Moreover, they demonstrate the author's thoroughness in elucidating the history and subsequent use of these motifs.

Chapters 4 and 5 work out the hypothesis of a large, time-keeping automaton—an "extravagant piece of public art" (p. 135)—above the southwestern entrance into al-Walīd's mosque, known later as the Bāb al-Saʿa and presently as the Bāb al-Ziyāda. Chapter 4 sifts through the confusing textual reports composed well after the eighth century, convincingly proposing that al-Walīd's automaton be distinguished from the later clock above the eastern Bāb Jayrūn, commissioned by the Mamluk ruler Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zangī during the mid-twelfth century. The chapter cites numerous textual sources to demonstrate the importance of time-keeping automata at many medieval Islamic courts, concluding that "[b]y providing spectacular time-keeping devices, the monarch was in effect determining time for his subjects" (p. 135). Chapter 5 builds on this hypothesis, proposing that al-Walīd's complex, consisting of the mosque (including the automaton), his palace (al-Khaḍra), and the colonnaded court between the two, was in direct dialogue with a similar sixth-century complex in Constantinople from the time of Justinian. Important data about the overlapping commercial and religious purposes of these complexes are emphasized, along with the royal and noble patronage of complexes in other cities, which also furthered both spiritual and commercial concerns.

Finally, chapters 6 and 7 tie together the various threads of argument throughout the book, signaling that the initial hypothesis of the creation of an "ʿUmayyad visual language" is borne out by the evidence. Not only the Damascus mosque, but also the Mosque of the Prophet at Madīna, the Mosque of ʿAmr in Fusṭāṭ, the Great Mosque of Ṣanaʿa, and several others were all renovated or rebuilt, either under the direct patronage of al-Walīd (as was the case for the first two) or by the provincial ʿUmayyad governors. These architectural undertakings collectively "reflect an attempt to disseminate a coherent architectural style" (p. 188). Translation is once again invoked as a means to understand the "subversive appropriation" of pre-Islamic formal vocabularies for the creation of a distinct ʿUmayyad as well as Islamic architectural and visual style. Elements of this visual language were explicitly referenced in subsequent foundations such as the Great Mosque of Córdoba, particularly in the additions by al-Ḥakam II during the late tenth century. An appendix provides a compendium of the inscriptions of the Damascus mosque no longer in situ. With this finishing touch, the erudition

and thoughtfulness of the monograph can be considered complete.

The conceptualization of a building as a "three-dimensional 'text'"—particularly one such as the ʿUmayyad mosque of Damascus, with its "subversively appropriated" precedents—seems to facilitate the "reading," that is, the discernment and analysis of discrete elements (chapters 2 and 3). Yet some aspects of the building are analyzed without reference to their historical moorings. For example, chapter 2 (pp. 27ff.) calls upon Judeo-Christian eschatological texts to underscore the meanings "read into" the mosaics' pearl motifs: "[I]t is the architectural connection which is decisive, for it was precisely to illustrate textual descriptions of such architecture that the hanging pearls in Byzantine mosaics served" (p. 30). It is further proposed that "[t]he artists . . . evidently adopted the motif precisely because of the possibilities which it offered for making abbreviated reference to improbable heavenly architecture in this way" (p. 31). In the Damascus mosque, these motifs were appropriated to refer to Damascus itself as "heaven on earth." While the author is unquestionably very well versed in the texts, it remains to be seen whether these texts actually mediated between the motifs and the artisans who created them, as well as other viewers. The material relation—if there was one—between the artisans and the texts is not explored. Thereby, though the mosaics and the texts are juxtaposed, they remain ethereally unconnected, devoid of the weight of historicity.

In addition to the unexplored connections between texts and artisans, there seems to be a missing link between built form and viewer as well (pp. 172ff.). The author posits compelling dialogues between the "urban topographies" of Damascus and Constantinople (essentially the complexes of Justinian and al-Walid; see p. 174). But the questions of *who* might have made these connections, and when, are not set forth or addressed. There is some delineation of the parameters of reception toward the end of chapter 5, which treats such issues as the lore encompassing both cities, its primarily literary transmission, and the time period when these accounts were most prominent. If the chapter were reorganized so that these limits to, and possible mechanisms of, the reception of buildings and cities were acknowl-

edged at the beginning, at least the skepticism of "who saw what" could be partially obviated. By not acknowledging these limits, the author seems to privilege a contemporary perspective on Damascus and its mosque, consisting of *our* ability to connect—often in an unhistoricized way— text with building, city with city, view with mosque, when nonmodern viewers might not have done the same.

Perhaps the most salutary reflection engendered by the work comes in chapters 5 and 6, which apply the notion of "architectural conservatism" (pp. 151, 153, 166, and passim) to explain the absence of both a congregational mosque and other imposing administrative structures in Damascus until the reign of al-Walid: "Despite its status as the administrative centre of ʿUmayyad Syria and the political centre of the caliphate from the reign of Muʿawiya onwards, there is little evidence for an attempt to alter the urban fabric of Damascus before the early eighth century" (p. 184). This characterization goes hand-in-hand with the supposed lacunae in the texts, which, as we saw, did not adequately treat these absences. Nevertheless, assuming the inextricability of dynastic legitimation and patronage, the book attributes a conscious will to forge and disseminate an "ʿUmayyad visual style" to the caliph al-Walid.

What emerges from these considerations as the most salient issue, at least to this reader, is the perhaps overly strict association among the establishment of a dynastic lineage, architectural patronage, and urban change on a grand scale. From the surviving evidence, both material as well as textual, it might be suggested that these phenomena were not historically intertwined, that the foundation of the Umayyad dynasty did not necessarily *have* to lead to large-scale architectural activity. It is worth entertaining the idea that we are too accustomed to our own preconceived, contemporary notions to allow the rulers and writers of nonmodern eras to have different concerns. It could be said that another noteworthy contribution of this monograph, then, is the humbling and beneficial reminder that our erudition and theoretical frameworks may not always resonate with the historical processes we are trying to understand. □

ALKA PATEL

Glass of the Sultans. By Stefano Carboni and David Whitehouse, with contributions by Robert H. Brill and William Gudenrath. 330 + x pp., many color illustrations. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001. $65.00 hardcover.

A N EXHIBITION OF 157 unique and rare glass vessels from different Islamic periods, *Glass of the Sultans* was shown in the Corning Museum of Glass in Corning, N.Y. (24 May–3 September 2001), the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (2 October 2001–13 January 2002), and the Benaki Museum, Athens (20 February–15 May 2002). For the first time Islamic glass was thus the sole subject of a major international art exhibition. Despite unprecedented terrorist attacks, the exhibition proved successful at its various venues, demonstrating to the wider public the unparalleled artistic qualities of the art of Islamic glass.

This splendidly produced catalogue is the result of a joint effort by the authors and nineteen museums that lent outstanding glass objects in their care to this event. Indeed, it is the main merit of this exhibition that it was possible to assemble such an astonishing number of supremely important glass vessels from so many collections. Many of the objects are unique and have never (cat. nos. 35, 56, 121) or only seldom (cat. nos. 36, 105, 115, 124, 125, 129, 136, 142, 153, 156) been shown to the wider public. While the undoubted highlights of the exhibition appear in the sections on cut, engraved, and painted glass, it was a good idea to include glass made after the fourteenth century and to conclude with a section showing the impact of Islamic glass on Europe.

Although the color prints are of superb quality, the usual transparency of glass means that it can only be fully understood when actually seen. While the exhibition was thus a rare visual experience, allowing comparison of the different sizes, glass qualities, techniques of manufacture and decoration, the catalogue nevertheless serves as splendid documentation of an outstanding venture into a very special medium.

The authors' explicit intention is to give "glass production in the Islamic world its proper place in art history" (p. 7) as well as to "make its own contribution to the renewed interest in the history of glass from the Islamic world" (p. 13). The first aim is fully

accomplished due to the large number of outstanding objects assembled. Only the future can tell what kind of stimulating effect the exhibition and its catalogue will have.

The first part of the catalogue gives well-balanced general overviews on glass production and archaeological excavations. Incorporating fragmentary material from excavations only seemingly puts the assembled, often intact glass vessels on a firm basis. Carboni rightly points to an almost total lack of vital information, as inscriptions giving precise dates are usually missing. Furthermore, because glass was shipped for long distances as commercial cargo either in the form of vessels or as cullet, a precise attribution is nearly impossible. Only in rare instances are more precise datings possible due to the datable sealing of a shrine such as the Famen Temple crypt in Shaanxi province in China in 874 A.D. or a sunken cargo ship such as the Serce Limani wreck of 1025 A.D. exhibited in Bodrum, Turkey (pp. 20–22). Further datable finds such as these, as well as future excavations, will teach us more about Islamic glass production.

The dating of two bowls in a molded design from the Takht-i Sulaiman excavations (p. 23, figs. 11–12) should be corrected, as they were found in a tenth-century context according to the excavator (R. Schnyder in R. Naumann, D. Huff, and R. Schnyder, "Takht-i Sulaiman. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen 1965–1973," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1975.1:189–91, fig. 92). Indeed the glass production in the pre-Ilkhanid period at this site seems to have been more important than that produced later. Details are still missing, however, as an excavation report on the glass finds from that site has not yet appeared.

Extremely useful are chapters on the chemistry and technology of Islamic glass by Brill and a survey of glassworking and glass-decorating techniques by Gudenrath. Both are essential to understanding the history of Islamic glassmaking, and both are fascinating to read. Vivid accounts of factories and furnaces in Syria, Afghanistan, and India convey what early glassworks might have been like. Gudenrath describes the techniques used to make some objects in the catalogue, and his accounts of gilding and enameling, especially the making of the Corning candlestick (cat. no. 134) and Cavour vase (cat. no.

129), document the difficult techniques mastered by the glassworkers. The numerous photographs on nine pages (figs. 20–91) demonstrating different stages of production are very helpful for understanding the different techniques of vessel manufacture.

A chapter on the growth of interest in Islamic glass in the West is important for understanding how Islamic glass affected Europe. It also explains why the authors decided to incorporate glass vessels made by European glass artists in a final section. While some of these glasses are imitations, others that were inspired by Islamic art testify to the deep impact Islamic glass had on European artists. Thus a tumbler (cat. no. 157) belongs to the Arab glassware series by Lobmeyr, which was designed by Gustav Schmoranz, who also wrote the first book on Islamic gilt and enameled glass. The tumbler was manufactured by Lobmeyr in the Bohemian town of Kamenický Šenov (Fachschule Steinschönau no. 351) in 1899, and the inscription should read, "Erhole deine Seele durch mich / Relax thy spirit through me" (I thank Annette Hagedorn for the information on this tumbler).

The second part of the catalogue consists of a concise essay introducing each technique; the catalogue entries, sometimes rather more like essays, for each object; and the color reproductions. In arranging the different objects, the authors were guided by the difficulty of linking glass production to dynasties. They thus chose a division into techniques to form understandable groups. While this is the most common and firmest way of presenting this kind of material, such an arrangement makes it difficult to understand which objects were made in which periods and at which places.

One of the merits of the catalogue is that its authors make clear what in their opinion is actually known about Islamic glassmaking and what questions still require further research. Both authors give the reader an idea of the complexity of the issues in their entries. As the various discussions show, the questions of dating and provenance prove to be particular obstacles, and Whitehouse's well-balanced entries on the famous opaque turquoise blue bowl from San Marco (cat. no. 83) or the famous Corning ewer (cat. no. 90) show how small the secure knowledge on the subject actually is. One can therefore fully understand

the decision not to include such a group as the Hedwig beakers (pp. 160–61).

Yet it is evident from the catalogue entries that Carboni and Whitehouse differ on certain points. Thus Whitehouse's entries are more cautious in attributing objects to specific regions than are Carboni's. Sometimes only a general region, such as western Asia, is given, often followed by "probably Iran." It seems inconsistent to give vessels an Iranian provenance based on a vendor's statement (cat. no. 28) or because of glass color (cat. no. 25).

Carboni's entries more often give the probable country of origin, providing more secure ground. It is, however, difficult to follow the line of reasoning with two objects of a nearly identical color and belonging to a group of apparently Egyptian origin: a bowl (cat. no. 48) is attributed to Egypt, while a handled cup (cat. no. 49) is ascribed to "Egypt, Syria or Iraq." The same is true for a cup with impressed decoration (cat. no. 46), which again carries the provenance "Egypt, Syria or Iraq." Fragments of this kind of vessel shape and decoration are also known from Iran, Armenia, central Asia, and China, and it is still unknown whether such glass was made only in one or more centers within one region and exported from there or whether glass houses in all regions made this type of glass. Carboni posits an Iranian origin for a zoomorphic rhyton (cat. no. 36), which, based on glass color, weathering, and methods of manipulation, can be closely connected to glass vessels from Syria datable to the seventh–eighth centuries and thus may have been actually made there.

Even outstanding objects in the group of enameled glass that have no inscriptions, and hence can be compared to illustrated manuscripts that have lost their text, cannot be placed in a precise context nor be given an accurate chronology (p. 203). Thus even the extraordinary bottle with Christian scenes known only for a short period (cat. no. 121) leaves numerous questions open as to its original context and meaning.

This catalogue will remain an excellent firsthand account of glass from the Islamic world for years to come. It serves as a much-needed synopsis in a field that has hitherto attracted less attention than other media. □

JENS KRÖGER

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Beauty and Islam: Aesthetics in Islamic Art and Architecture. By Valérie Gonzalez. 134 pp., 16 pp. of plates. New York: I. B. Tauris Publishers, in association with the Institute of Ismaili Studies, London, 2001. £25 hardcover.

*B*EAUTY AND ISLAM: *Aesthetics in Islamic Art and Architecture* opens a new venue for the intense debate concerning the nature of meaning inherent in the aesthetic vocabulary of the objects, edifices, and ornament usually included under the rubric of Islamic art.[1] Valérie Gonzalez's study seeks to shift the discourse surrounding this debate by turning, in addition to the body of medieval Islamic texts drawn on by recent scholars, to major Western theorists of aesthetics (Bachelard, Derrida, Goodman, Husserl, Wittgenstein). In effect, she seeks to multiply the lenses through which viewers, both Western and non-Western (and all, implicitly, postmodern), might approach Islamic art. This task is undertaken in part through provocative comparisons of some of the most reified objects of Islamic art (particularly the Alhambra's parietal ornament) with works that have attained a similar status in the modern Western canon (Edward Ruschka's *City* [1968]; Mark Rothko's *No. 46, Black, Ochre, Red over Red* [1957]). If—as the author appears to suggest—one of the book's principal objectives is to stimulate discussion in the field, its goal will certainly be met.

The study includes brief analyses of a variety of objects: ninth- and tenth-century Samanid ceramics produced in and around Nishapur; a metal vessel from twelfth-century Herat; a series of manuscript illuminations ranging from Ṭabarī's history to a thirteenth-century *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī to a fifteenth-century copy of Niẓāmī's *Khusraw and Shīrīn* and a fifteenth-century *Shahnama*, both from Tabrīz. But Gonzalez's most important arguments are made in dialogue with the Alhambra's ornamental program, and I therefore focus on those sections of the study. Indeed, in addition to being recognized among the growing body of writings dealing with aesthetics and Islam, *Beauty and Islam* should also be counted among the literature concerned particularly with Granada's Alhambra. It is the discourse surrounding this particular monument, however, that most directly compromises Gonzalez's arguments. In my opinion the Alhambra is not yet ready to sustain such an interpretation as that offered

by Gonzalez, for the simple reason that—despite recent contributions by Ruggles (2000), Ruiz Souza (2001), and especially Puerta (1990; 1997)[2]—it has not yet been fully examined in the context of the culture that created it. Rather, the Naṣrī palace has for centuries been wrapped in the sumptuous garments of a Romanticism that, by insisting on its uniqueness, has severely hampered the scholarship it has inspired.

The issue of meaning in the corpus of nonfigural ornament most often associated with an Islamic context has become central for historians of the art and visual culture of Islam. This focus perhaps began when Oleg Grabar proposed in *The Mediation of Ornament* (1992) that Islamic ornament *mediates* between viewer and viewed, intensifying the significance of the object adorned. It also, and most importantly in Grabar's model, accords pleasure to the viewer. More importantly still, the process stops with the pleasure: Islamic ornament does not, for Grabar, necessarily entail associations between specific motifs and specific referents. His conception of exactly what Islamic ornament "does" is universalizing, and some have taken issue with its implicit claims of relevance to *all* Islamic art. Prior to the publication of *Beauty and Islam*, indeed, *Meditation* was followed by two crucial studies, Gülrü Necipoğlu's *Topkapi Scroll* (1995) and Yasser Tabbaa's *Transformation of Islamic Art during the Sunni Revival* (2001). Both works, along with my recent study, seek to expand Grabar's interpretive model to include the relevance of cultural context in explaining the visual culture of a specific region. Also among these works is J. M. Puerta's *Los códigos de utopía de la Alhambra de Granada* (1990), which argues for the primacy of the Alhambra's program of inscriptions in the palace's overall system of signification. Gonzalez's arguments contravene Puerta's privileging of the content of the palace's inscription program.

In *Beauty and Islam*, Gonzalez rejects the contextually specific approach advocated by these more recent studies and makes universalizing claims similar to Grabar's. Like Grabar, Gonzalez clearly informs her readers in her introduction (pp. 1–4) that her approach will be phenomenological and ahistorical. She takes issue, however, with Grabar's privileging of the pleasurable function of (all) Islamic ornament, which for her, particularly in its manifestations as geometry and inscription, does much more than provide pleasure. Indeed, Gonzalez argues (and I agree) that in certain

cases these ornamental devices offer gateways to higher forms of cognition.

This latter premise is fundamental to Gonzalez's interpretation of the Alhambra. Arguing for the primacy of the geometric over all other elements in the Alhambra's ornamental program, Gonzalez suggests that geometry is both principal medium (of both production and perception) and principal subject matter for the palace's entire system of aesthetic signification. It is here that we should address the specifics of Gonzalez's interpretive model. Her study deals with "the particular discipline known as 'aesthetic phenomenology'" (p. 1) insofar as it means "to understand how the mode of access to art, the mode of access to what the work of art contains in terms of art, is a phenomenological mode." This tool, notes Gonzalez, has not before been applied to the analysis of Islamic art, despite its full integration "into contemporary analytical works on art and art theory." Gonzalez feels that, despite the problems inherent to borrowing from a theoretical field constructed without Islamic art precisely in mind, the lens offered by twentieth-century aesthetic phenomenology will be productive for viewing Islamic art. Whatever one thinks of this interpretive strategy, the arguments offered for its undertaking are valid and the points well taken.

A second concept, not specifically explained in methodological terms, seems more difficult to justify, and any possible justification would have to come from the realm of inquiry that Gonzalez has rejected in the first pages of her study: that of the Alhambra's context—not merely literary but philosophical, intellectual, political, religious, and social. In a word, Gonzalez (especially in chapters 3 and 4, which focus on the Alhambra) posits geometry (or, more accurately, geometr*ies*) as both the object of study and the key to unlocking the meaning of that object of study.

Having laid the foundations for a culturally agreed centrality of the phenomenon of perception (explored in chapter 2 through a close reading of the Solomonic Parable in the Qurʾān, arguably one of the study's most provocative contributions), Gonzalez proceeds to trace this centrality into the heart of the Alhambra's program of signification, with implicit resonances for all Islamic art. In chapter 3, through an examination of the Alhambra's Comares hall, Gonzalez explicates another central concept of her model: that of the inherently separate aesthetic and cognitive sys-

tems offered to viewers by a program of inscriptions, on the one hand, and by, on the other, a non-iconic system of elements in which, according to Gonzalez, the geometric again receives clear pride of place. Chapter 4 elaborates Gonzalez's conception of distinct but interacting "geometries," which govern both the Alhambra's system of signification and communication and a viewer's interaction with it. Chapter 5 revisits a much-discussed topic, that of the signification potential of inscriptions within the context of Islamic art.

Chapter 1, however—which owes an enormous debt to Puerta (1997)—feels in many ways foreign to the principal arguments offered by the study. Seconding Puerta's elaborate argument for an Islamic discourse on beauty, Gonzalez selects four "philosophers" as the basis for her discussion of this discourse: Ibn Ḥazm of Córdoba, who typifies a literalist or *zāhirī* approach; Ibn Sīnā, representing a Neoplatonist view; Ibn Ru<u>sh</u>d, exemplifying the "rationalist" school based in Aristotle; and finally, Ibn al-Hay<u>th</u>am, also classified as a "rationalist," whom Gonzalez terms a "true phenomenologist long before the term came into use" (p. 7). She observes that the thought of these four men, which is taken as exemplary of larger trends, is inherently "medieval" in character, in that it does not assume the separateness of the (aesthetic) object of study. It is "a philosophy of sensory experience" (as opposed to the science of aesthetics in the sense used by nineteenth- and twentieth-century students of the discipline), which includes aesthetic objects and knowledge "within the wider areas of various orders of questions, the ontological, the religious and ethical, and their derivatives" (p. 7). This observation, in turn, implicitly justifies turning to the works of modern philosophers of aesthetics, given that medieval Muslim thinkers provide no tools with which to approach the object of study *qua* independent object. My primary misgiving about the model offered in this chapter is that not one of the treatises or "philosophers" discussed is in any way demonstrably linked to the chronological and geographical context of the Alhambra. Ibn al-Hay<u>th</u>am's thought seems by far the most resonant with Gonzalez's phenomenological approach, yet it is precisely this thinker whose relation to a fourteenth-century Andalusī context requires the most explanation. None, however, is offered. Moreover, the four aesthetic models espoused by Gonzalez's "four philosophers" are

radically different, and it is not logical to suppose that all four would have been represented at the Naṣrī court at any one moment. Who, in other words, were the thinkers relevant to the Alhambra?

Medieval Arab thinkers, however—except the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ (p. 75), whose direct relevance to fourteenth-century Granada is neither posited nor questioned—are left far behind in chapters 3 and 4, where Gonzalez discusses the Comares hall and the "geometries" of the Alhambra in terms of "abstraction, kinetics and metaphor." Here Gonzalez discusses Necipoğlu's study, mentioned above, but opines that the actual phenomenon of a viewer's interaction with geometrical ornamental language remains inadequately understood. She identifies (in line—problematically, I think—with earlier interpretations) the Alhambra as a "'conservatory' of Islamic geometrical practice" and proposes to tackle the issue of the phenomenology of geometric art based on its ornamental program.

Gonzalez uses her theory concerning the Alhambra's geometry as perceptual "subject matter" (chapter 3) to interrogate the quasi-iconographic interpretation traditionally accepted for the Palacio de Comares (which Gonzalez implicitly criticizes as Orientalist in its application of "Western" iconographic tools to an Islamic object of study). Many scholars have used the Comares hall's program of inscriptions and references to stars and other celestial bodies found in its *artesonado* ceiling as the basis for proposing what amounts to a cosmological iconography for the space. Also important is Gonzalez's insistent distinction between the aesthetic meaning systems of inscriptions and other visual motifs employed, as she states, in completely separate, although at times intersecting, aesthetic and communicative tasks.

In order to sustain her privileging of the geometrical, Gonzalez is forced, somewhat contradictorily, to relegate other elements of the palace's program ("stylized vegetation, flowers, calligraphic elements and arabesques," p. 73) to the realm of the "purely ornamental." Support for this privileging is sought not from Naṣrī theoreticians but rather from Ludwig Wittgenstein's definition of the symbol/sign: "To a definite logical combination of signs corresponds a definite logical combination of their meanings" (p. 46; *Tractatus Logico-philosophicus*, 4-466). Gonzalez uses this definition to reveal what the aesthetic/meaning systems of the

Comares hall do *not* do and to refute the idea that these components function as "visual symbols." Here she might have been better served by investigating discussions of metaphor and symbol available in a variety of treatises by medieval Islamic students of language, such as al-Qāḍī al-Jurjānī, Ibn al-Rashīq, Ibn al-ʿArif, Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī, and Al-Qarṭajannī. Al-Qarṭajannī, for instance, is probably the closest to the Alhambra in chronological and geographical terms among those studied by Puerta, although others would certainly be relevant as well. The principle of multivalence inherent in the Arabic language's concept of the metaphor, in fact, would have adequately allowed for the participation of both inscriptions (in terms of both content and their aesthetic potential *as* inscriptions) and other elements of the program and would not, as Wittgenstein has done, have placed Gonzalez in the uncomfortable position of having to make an either/or choice. Also worth questioning is Gonzalez's out-of-hand dismissal of the relevance of Ṣūfī thought to an interpretive model for the Alhambra. She is adamant about its exclusion from hers, and yet *taṣawwuf* was quite possibly *the* prevailing devotional practice throughout the Naṣrī sultanate; the issue certainly merits further discussion.

Investigations into other contexts of Andalusī culture (e.g., Puerta 1997; Robinson 2002: pt. 1, chaps. 4 and 5) certainly suggest that geometry was among the subjects in which those who understood *handasa* excelled,[3] and similar principles and specialists were probably at work in the Alhambra's cultural sphere. But without proof of some sort one hesitates to posit the direct relevance of either the *rasāʾil* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ or any other texts in which geometry is discussed to an interpretation of the Granadan palace.

The visual apparatus that Gonzalez has chosen to support her model seems, at first glance, accurately to document the primacy of the geometrical in the Alhambra's program. Particularly striking is a suggested comparison between a detail of one of the Alhambra's *azulejos*, in which a geometrical star pattern is highlighted (pl. VII), and Frank Stella's *Getty Tomb* (1959; pl. VIII). Both images offer a starkly reduced composition in which lines and angles—in short, geometrical forms—constitute the primary language of communication. The spell is broken, however, when one realizes the vast difference in size between the two images, as well as the significant discrepancies in their contexts of presentation. One

work was designed to be hung on a wall, studied as art, and viewed in the context of other works of art in a gallery or museum. The other forms part of a much larger and organic whole belonging to a culture whose definition of "art," particularly in visual terms, is very much up for discussion. The *azulejo* is located on the lower third of a wall in a room in which activities took place and in which it formed part, but hardly the most significant part, of a program of ornament. Indeed, with the exception of the baths, the Alhambra's tiles were probably almost never positioned at a viewer's eye level, so it is difficult to argue that they would have been a focus of exclusive contemplation. Likewise, plate V does display the prominence in the Comares hall of geometrical elements, particularly in the band of stars that runs just beneath the window level, but it is misleading to state that other areas of the wall ornament privilege or are governed by geometry. While the elements may be laid out according to basic laws of ordered disposition and symmetry, it is difficult to sustain the premise that their subject matter is geometrical. Rather, similarities to architectural motifs and to textiles strike me as salient.

Privileging the geometric as the sole portal of access to the palace's program of meaning, and as its primary bearer of meaning, ultimately requires some sort of contextually grounded proof. An admitted stickler for context, I found myself wondering whether, in about 1363, geometricians and mathematicians were among those who studied and taught in the Granadan *madrasa* or in other sites of intellectual exchange. Indeed, the question (see George Saliba's review of Necipoğlu, *JAOS* 1999) of whether or not the presence and activities of mathematicians resulted directly in the Alhambra's geometrical complexities will probably remain unresolved until a thorough contextual study of the Alhambra during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries has been completed.

Along these lines, I must take further issue with two of Gonzalez's arguments, both rooted in the premise of ahistoricity permitted by her initial disclaimer. The first concerns the place in the Alhambra's system of signification of the notoriously ambiguous ceiling paintings that adorn the *iwān*-like spaces perpendicular to the Palacio de Comares. One painting depicts a group of obviously Muslim gentlemen who are often agreed to represent members of the Naṣrī dynasty; the other contains the famously

enigmatic white palace occupied by ladies and preceded by a gardenlike space in which blonde damsels lead lions on chains, Muslim and Christian warriors fight (or perhaps joust), and a Wild Man is engaged in a pursuit as inscrutable as it doubtless is unsavory. Gonzalez dismisses these paintings as "foreign" to the essentially "Islamic" visual discourse of the palace. Such claims smack of an essentialist, indeed Orientalist, agenda and are perhaps the most glaring instance of the sometimes dubious results of the choices that Gonzalez's interpretation urges us to make: "The result is that they appear as features that were added, grafted onto an independently conceived structure, without being integral to it. *If they were to disappear from the building, the work of art would not lose an atom of its meaning and its aesthetic balance would not be changed*" (p. 47; italics mine). We are, in effect, asked to ignore entire components of the palace's aesthetic and visual program in favor of the author's preconceived model, which privileges the geometric and the aniconic. An historical interpretation would lead one to question the presumed "essential" differences between "Christian" and "Muslim" systems of aesthetics (constructed not by fourteenth-century culture but by nineteenth- and twentieth-century art historians), particularly against the backdrop of the mid-fourteenth-century Naṣrī court.

The second argument I question is central to chapter 5, which opens by linking (p. 94) inscriptions ("typical Islamic art forms") directly to "the overall aesthetic question of the meaning of artistic creation in Islam." Gonzalez first takes issue with Grabar's definition of the inscription, particularly in a religious context, as potentially "iconographic" (i.e., in her interpretation, as a mere "picture-substitute"; p. 95). Then, somewhat contradictorily, she appears to equate the aesthetic value and signification systems of a group of tenth-century Samanid ceramics with both the Alhambra's program of inscriptions and the text appearing alongside fifteenth-century manuscript illustrations. In so doing, she both argues a potential for the words or inscriptions to elicit, as in the case of geometry, "higher forms of cognition" while at the same time appearing to deny, as in the case of her arguments concerning the Comares hall's signification system[s], the central importance of those inscriptions' content—the meaning of their words. I find the implicit equation of the

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three groups of objects unconvincing. Moreover, while a twentieth-century phenomenologist's reading of the Alhambra would certainly assign secondary importance to the content of the inscriptions, from a historical vantage point the content of the verses is quite difficult to ignore, as is the probability of their effect on a viewer's experience of the ornamental program within which they are embedded. The nonliteral, associative system of signification proposed by Gonzalez is almost certainly *also* at work in these inscriptions, but only a viewer unaccustomed to reading Arabic, or one not immersed in the poetic culture that was so clearly part of the Alhambra's experience for contemporaries, would agree that their content is secondary.

Finally, some technical aspects of the work at times interfere with the reader's ability to digest arguments as complex as those made by Gonzalez. First, Arabic terms are inconsistently transliterated throughout. While, for the most part, these instances do not seriously compromise comprehension, they are distracting, and any future edition of the work should address them. Second, and more importantly, the English syntax is unnecessarily complex (at times, even tortured) and often seriously obscures the complicated arguments being made. A thorough job of copyediting would have made for a more reader-friendly presentation of those arguments.

Despite the reservations articulated here, however, Gonzalez poses important questions that might be productively pondered by all of us who study and teach the art and visual culture of Islam. Particular among these is this: In order for Islamic art to retain its hard-won place in art history and larger humanities curricula (its "relevance"), should we relinquish our objects of study into the hands of modern "theorists"? If so, at what point may we legitimately reclaim them? I am strongly convinced that context must be considered, for if it is neglected, if the ruminations of those who "wrote on the walls" of the Naṣrī palace are deemed "not enough" of an explanation, the viewer who is marginalized (in favor of twentieth-century theorists) is the very one for whose delectation the palace was constructed. This imbalance, however, is not the fault of Gonzalez's study; indeed, it is surprising, given the amount of literature it has generated, that the Alhambra's relation to its cultural context[s] is not better understood. In other words,

it is not medieval Islamic "philosophy" that is "not enough"; rather, it is our understanding of its particularities at the Naṣrī court that is insufficient. Perhaps future investigations akin to Gonzalez's would do well to consider both the Naṣrī poet's or philosopher's *and* the phenomenologist's points of view. Indeed, I suspect that the two would reach similar conclusions, and were a *majlis* possible at which Wittgenstein, Goodman, Pedro el Cruel, Muḥammad V, Ibn Zamrak, and Ibn al-Khatīb could all enjoy a glass of wine together, a scintillating time would be had by all. □

NOTES

1. I would like to thank the members of my Spring 2002 seminar on *mudejarismo*—Brendan Branley, Damon Montclare, Elizabeth Olton, Richard Perce, and Jessica Streit—for their stimulating discussion of Gonzalez's study. Many of the observations offered here reflect their contribution to class discussions.

2. Works mentioned in this discussion are: Oleg Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992); Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Topkapi Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture: Topkapi Palace Museum Library MS H. 1956*, with an essay on the geometry of the muqarnas by Mohammad al-Asad (Santa Monica, Cal.: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1995); José Miguel Puerta Vílchez, *Los códigos de utopía de la Alhambra de Granada* (Granada: Diputación Provincial de Granada, 1990); id., *Historia del pensamiento estético árabe: Al-Andalus y la estética árabe clásica* (Madrid: Akal, 1997); Cynthia Robinson, *In Praise of Song: The Making of Courtly Culture in al-Andalus and Provence, 1065–1135 A.D.* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, "El Palacio de los Leones de la Alhambra: ¿Madrasa, Zāwiya y Tumba de Muḥammad V? Estudio para un debate," *Al-Qantara* 22 (2001): 77–111; D. Fairchild Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision in the Palaces of Islamic Spain* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000); Yasser Tabbaa, *The Transformation of Islamic Art during the Sunni Revival* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001). Also relevant is Irene A. Bierman, *Writing Signs: The Fatimid Public Text* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

3. See especially ʿAbd Allah ibn Muḥammad al-Baṭalyawsī, *al-Ḥadāʾiq fī al-maṭālib al ʿāliya al-falsafīyah al-ʿawīsah* (Dimashq, Sūrīyah: Dār al-Fikr, 1988), which is demonstrably related to the Aljafería's program of ornament and which is emphatic in privileging visual experience of geometry (in addition, however, to other elements of the program) as a contemplative tool.

CYNTHIA ROBINSON

ARS ORIENTALIS

ARS ORIENTALIS

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ORIENTALIS

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Editors' Preface

The current volume of *Ars Orientalis* represents a new phase in the longstanding collaboration between the University of Michigan's Department of the History of Art and the Freer Gallery of Art. In summer 2003, the journal's editorial and subscription offices moved from Ann Arbor to Washington, D.C. Julian Raby, who had assumed the directorship of the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, in spring 2002, provided office space for the journal's headquarters and asked Ann C. Gunter, curator of ancient Near Eastern art, to oversee editing, production, and distribution. Margaret Cool Root, professor of ancient Near Eastern art at the University of Michigan and curator at the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, agreed to serve as co-editor and departmental liaison with the Freer Gallery of Art.

The editorial board in Ann Arbor and the editorial committee in Washington would like to express their deepest appreciation to Margaret Lourie, who served for 13 years (1990–2003) as managing editor of the journal. Her steadfast efforts and longstanding tenure ensured that the journal maintained its high standards of publishing important scholarship, thanks in no small measure to the many scholars with whom she corresponded as authors and reviewers. She has generously made available her knowledge and advice to those at the Freer Gallery of Art charged with carrying on her legacy of excellence, and they are much indebted to her for making the transition as smooth as possible.

Ars Orientalis celebrates its fiftieth anniversary in 2004. We plan to devote special coverage to the journal's history in volume 34 (2004), a thematic issue devoted to the study of Indian Ocean societies ("Communities and Commodities: Western India and the Indian Ocean, Eleventh–Fifteenth Centuries") now scheduled to appear early in 2005. With volume 35 (2005), the journal expects to resume its normal publication schedule and appear in October of each year. We appreciate the patience of subscribers and authors alike during this period of transition.

Over the past year, staff members at the Freer Gallery of Art have assisted in myriad ways to set up new editorial and financial procedures and to reestablish contact with subscribers. The journal's readers and potential authors can now follow the publication schedule, contents, and submission guidelines at the new web page located at http://www. asia.si.edu/visitor/arsorientalis.htm.

New payment options for subscribers have been introduced, and contact reestablished with many subscribers. Carol Beehler has redesigned the journal, and manuscript editor Ann Hofstra Grogg has created style guides for authors and editors. As of September 2004, the journal also has a new managing editor. DeeDee Clendenning, who previously served as managing editor of a literary journal, has turned her experience and skills to the smooth operation of *Ars Orientalis*.

Ann Gunter would like to thank Jacqueline Bullock and Howard Kaplan for assistance with the web page, Patricia Adams and Sharron Greene for guidance on financial matters, Edward Boyd for designing a new subscriber database, and Angela Jerardi for essential tasks too numerous to list. The current volume would not have been possible without crucial information and advice on diverse matters sinological from Stephen Allee, Joseph Chang, David Hogge, Ingrid Larsen, Jan Stuart, and Weina Tray. Julian Raby, director, and James T. Ulak, deputy director, have supported the transition to Washington and a new phase of our collaborative efforts at every stage.

Ann C. Gunter
Margaret Cool Root
Co-editors, *Ars Orientalis*

Written Ornament — Ornamental Writing

Birdscript of the Early Han Dynasty and the Art of Enchanting

ABSTRACT

Among the discoveries made in the tomb of Liu Sheng (before 154–113/112 B.C.) at Mancheng, Hebei, were two bronze vessels whose main decoration consists of ornately designed text. Verbal signs here are simultaneously ornamental signs; calligraphy is written text and decorative texture alike. This study recognizes the two vessels as particularly relevant to the larger discourse on ornament in early China. It examines the aesthetic qualities of the vessels, decodes the text, and discusses the objects within their ritual context. It also positions Han birdscript within early calligraphic traditions and finally discusses the provenance of the vessels. As possessions of Liu Sheng, the jars are interpreted as efficacious tools of worship and as historic artworks that offered the prince a means for aristocratic self-representation, religious devotion, and personal delight. Originally, however, the vessels appear to have been designed as a reactionary political statement of an earlier Han noble, expressing his assertion of newly gained ruling power.

Among the sensational discoveries made in 1968 in the tomb of Liu Sheng 劉勝, King Jing of Zhongshan 中山靖王 (before 154–113/112 B.C.) at Mancheng, Hebei, were two bronze vessels whose main decoration consists of ornately designed text (figs. 1, 2).[1] The characters on these unique jars — written in a style termed "birdscript," *niaozhuan* 鳥篆, or "bird-and-insect writing," *niaochongshu* 鳥蟲書 — are difficult to read. Not only is their basic sealscript structure obscured by added curves, curls, hooks, and bird and fish images, as well as by missing strokes, but the text is also written around the vessel body, so that it can never be seen fully; particularly in the initial stages of the deciphering process, it is not clear where the text begins. Modern epigraphists, who feel challenged to read this decoration as a written text, therefore resort to drawing the characters on a piece of paper and working from there (figs. 3, 4).[2] Yet an educated member of the Western Han elite who was intimately familiar with sealscript may well have thought that deciphering the text directly from the vessel was a most entertaining and absorbing aesthetic experience. In the deciphering process such a "reader" could enjoy simultaneously the rarity and craftsmanship of the gold and silver inlay, the witty invention and the organic elegance of the characters, and eventually the rhyme and content of the text. And for an occasional respite from interacting with the writing, the narrow registers in between the text, with auspicious animals frolicking about, would offer entertaining distraction.[3]

Ritual vessel, *hu* (vessel A, 1:5015) from the tomb of Liu Sheng, early Western Han, first half of the second century B.C., bronze with gold and silver inlay, h. 44.2 cm, diam. 28.5 cm. Hebei Provincial Museum, Shijiazhuang.
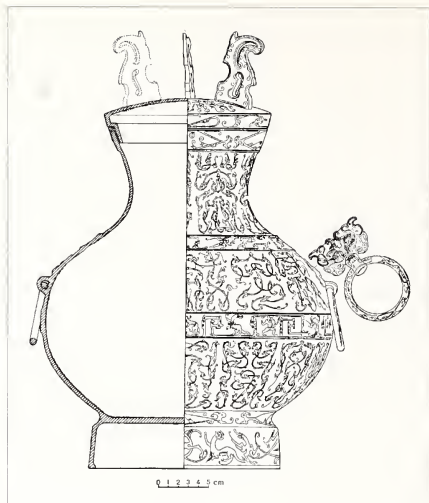
1 and 1a Ritual vessel, *hu* (vessel A, 1:5015) from the tomb of Liu Sheng, early Western Han, first half of the second century B.C., bronze with gold and silver inlay, h. 44.2 cm, diam. 28.5 cm. Hebei Provincial Museum, Shijiazhuang. Drawing after Institute of Archaeology CASS and Hebei CPAM, ed., *Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao* (Excavation report of the Han tomb at Mancheng), (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1980), 44.

In the ideal case, therefore, reading this particular text can provide multiple types of aesthetic experiences — visual, haptic (while turning the vessel), and audial (once the written text is read aloud) — aside from being intellectually stimulating and fostering a sense of extreme privilege.

That Liu Sheng himself may indeed have been able to enjoy the art on these vessels is amply suggested in the historical record, where he is characterized as a self-professed lover of the sensuous pleasures. His contemporary Sima Qian 司馬遷 (ca. 145–85 B.C.) recorded him as stating that "a true king should pass his days listening to music and delighting himself with gorgeous sights and sounds" instead of doing the work of clerks and officials.[4] And the *Hanshu* (History of the [Former] Han) describes his presence in 138 B.C. at a reception given by his half-brother, the recently enthroned emperor Wu 漢武帝 (156–87 B.C.; r. 141–87 B.C.), during which a musical performance moved him to weep silent tears and then to explain his emotional reaction in a finely phrased poetic speech.[5] Although ultimately both Sima Qian and Ban Gu characterized Liu Sheng as a morally abject, irresponsible aristocrat who indulged in the superficiality of sensual pleasures, there is no need today to judge Liu Sheng's aesthetic sensibility based on the moral frame-

work and political struggle of these early historians. Nowadays we call a person like Liu Sheng cultivated, a connoisseur and aesthete, regardless of his political accomplishments or failures.

If we credit Liu Sheng with the ability to appreciate the two vessels as sophisticated aesthetic constructs, we should ask how precisely the art inherent in their design might have functioned. So far, the vessels have inspired two rather independently operating strands of scholarship. Art-historical research has limited itself to brief entries in exhibition catalogues,[6] while more substantial epigraphic research has concentrated on deciphering the inscriptions.[7] The following case study draws on both areas of scholarship in order to discuss the purpose and origin of these vessels as well as the original role and appreciation of the unusual writing that decorates them.[8] The writing here does not function purely as calligraphy, but is an integral part of the object. Verbal signs are simultaneously ornamental signs; calligraphy is written text and decorative texture alike. These vessels can therefore also be seen as particularly relevant to the larger discourse on how to understand ornament in early China, how to tap the communicative potential of ornament, and how to define its purpose in a specific aristocratic context. Because the main ornament here is writing,
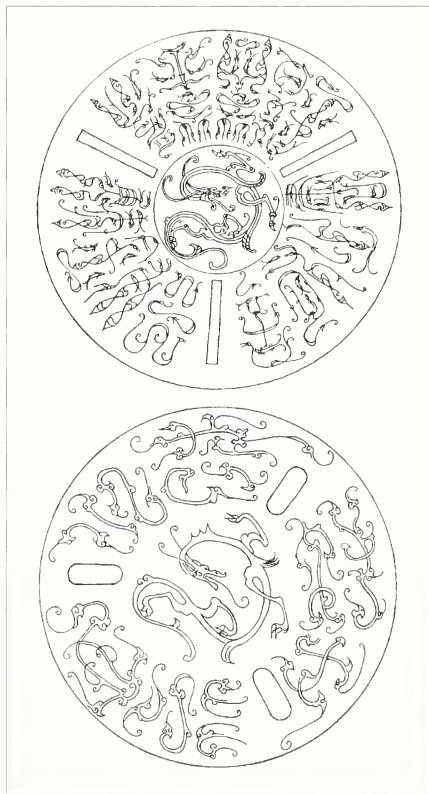
2 Drawing of ritual vessel *hu* (vessel B, 1:5018) from the tomb of Liu Sheng, early Western Han, first half of the second century B.C., bronze with gold and silver inlay, h. 40 cm, diam. 28 cm. After Institute of Archaeology CASS and Hebei CPAM, ed., *Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao* (Excavation report of the Han tomb at Mancheng), (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1980), 47, cf. color pl. 6.

lid of vessel A (1:5015) has long, cloudlike legs and appears to have twelve characters inscribed radially, while the lid of vessel B (1:5018) has ring feet and only three characters written concentrically (see fig. 3). The characters on the two lids also differ stylistically. Those on lid A are thin and spindly, inlaid mainly in gold, and embellished with clearly recognizable fish and bird images. Those on lid B are written in double lines, one inlaid with gold, the other with silver, in the same style as the characters on the vessel bodies. There are no images of entire animals either on this lid or on

its primary symbolism is verbalized and can literally be read. Pictorial ornament, in contrast, relates symbolic meaning through a set of visual codes, which are rarely verbalized and which are understood in different ways, depending on the cultural and social framework of cognition. As historians we mainly decode pictorial symbolism by means of iconography — a method which relies on textual sources that are in most cases physically disconnected from images. Because iconographically significant textual sources from the second century B.C. and earlier are extremely rare, the symbolic content and most further interpretation of early Chinese imagery remain largely obscure. The Mancheng vessels, however, not only provide us with a verbally encoded form of ornament; they also offer an exceptionally rich archaeological and biographical context. Hence they promise unusually rich insights into the motivation for and the reception of early Han ornament.

DECODING THE TEXT

The inscribed text is almost identical on the bodies of both vessels, but it differs entirely on the lids. The

3 Drawing of the inscriptions on the lids of vessels A and B. After Zhang Zhenlin, "Zhongshan Jing Wang niaozhuan hu ming zhi yundu" (Rhyme and pronunciation of the birdscript inscription on the vessels of Prince Jing of Zhongshan), *Gu wenzi yanjiu* 1 (1979).

the vessel bodies, only embellishing hooks and scrolls that occasionally allude to a bird's head but otherwise are nonrepresentational. While the differences between the lids cannot be satisfactorily explained, they suggest not only that different people may have designed lid A and lid B, but also that lid A may originally have belonged to a now-lost vessel with matching design, and that there may once have been several more vessels of this kind.[9]

This section will first examine the inscriptions on the two lids and then those on the vessel bodies. There is only limited agreement on the transcription and translation of these ornamental inscriptions, and the reading of the characters on the lids is especially controversial. Among the eight studies I consulted, four suggest different transcriptions of the text on lid A, and six different translations:

(1) 爲荃蓋, 錯書之, 有言三, 甫金鲧
"This invertable lid was made with inlaid writing in three-word phrases and adorned with golden fish."[10]
(2) 有言三, 甫金鲧, 爲荃蓋, 錯書之
"There are three-character phrases, decorated with gold fish, for the splendid lid, inlaid as writing."[11] Or: "There are three verses, arranged golden fish, to make a grand container for Golden Root Medicinal Wine with inlaid writing."[12]
(3) 爲荃蓋, 錯書之, 有言三, 酺金賚
"To make a *jin*-type lid, writing was inlaid, there are three words. For drinking, [the emperor] bestowed gold."[13]
(4) 鋪鲧爲荃蓋, 錯書之, 有言三
"Fish were arranged for this precious lid. Writing was inlaid. There are three sentences."[14]

Although there are plenty of scholarly differences on how to transcribe and translate several of the characters on this lid, all interpreters recognize the inscription as being self-referential and describing essentially what one already knows by the time the text is deciphered — namely, that the lid is inlaid with golden writing which is decorated with little fish images and that the inscription should be understood as three-word phrases. Among the more unusual interpreta-

tions is that of Zhou Esheng (proposition 4), who alone reconstructs an eleven-character inscription. All other authors argue for twelve characters, understanding the passage 有言三 as describing "three-word phrases" and assuming that each of the three segments between the legs of the lid should contain four characters to preserve symmetry.[15] Another original, albeit far-fetched interpretation is provided by Zhou Cecong (proposition 2), who understands the cryptic expression *jin gai* 荃蓋 as a reference to the intended content of the entire vessel, explaining that *jin* indicates skullcap (*scutellaria baicalensis Georgi*), a medicinal plant whose aromatic root is used to treat inflammatory-related disorders, and that *gai* should be understood as referring not to the lid but to the entire vessel.

In his reading of lid B, Zhou Cecong expands his theory that the vessels were commissioned by Liu Sheng to hold medicinal wine, and he proposes that vessel B was supposed to contain "lizard wine." But the idea of a content label on a lid is not convincing, especially when the words are barely readable. Content labels are useful on a container but not on a lid. Of the three characters on lid B, only *gai* 蓋, which is generally understood as meaning "lid," can be read without problems; on the reading of the other two characters, opinions are widely divided. But again, there is a consensus that the wording has to be taken as a laudatory description of the lid or the vessel itself, and that the modifying word before *gai* 蓋 specifies the kind of lid. The proposed transcriptions for the words on lid B are as follows:

(1) 緂□蓋　"Beautifully decorated . . . lid."[16]
(2) 緂鑵蓋　"Beautifully decorated lid for a
　　　　　　guan jar."[17]
(3) 塑蓋大利　"Lid modeled for great profit."[18]
(4) 緂蜥蓋　"Finely decorated lizard [wine] vessel."[19]

As for the vessel bodies, epigraphists are now in agreement on the transliteration of all but two or three graphs; the very first and still influential reading by Xiao Yun of 1972 has been corrected and should be considered outdated.[20] Both vessels carry the same poetic text, which consists of eight tetrasyllabic verses that form four stanzas (see fig. 4). Every second verse
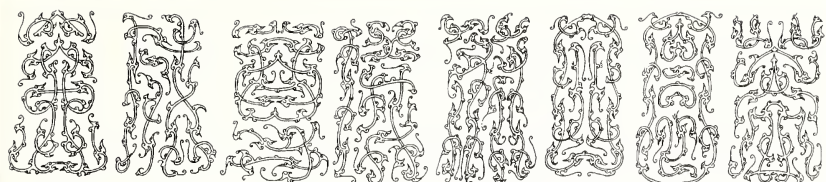
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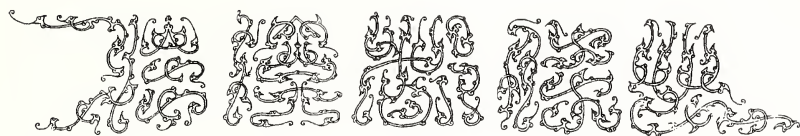
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延 膚 血 閨 充 味 口

餘 有 年 萬 病 去 壽

4 Drawing and transcription of the inscription on vessel A. Read from right to left (drawings after Institute of Archaeology CASS and Hebei CPAM, ed., *Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao* (Excavation report of the Han tomb at Mancheng), (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1980), 7–10.

rhymes. Vessel B is missing the last verse (i.e., the last four characters), perhaps because it is 1.5 centimeters smaller in circumference. To cover the vessel surface neatly, the 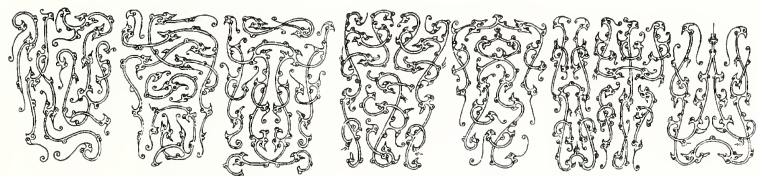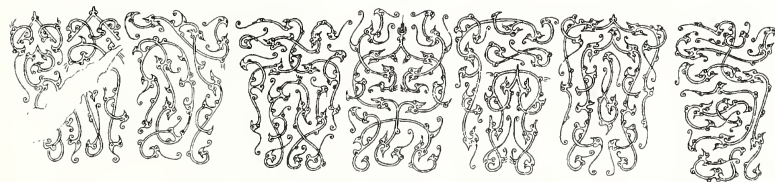characters in the lowest register on vessel B are stretched into a much wider, looser, and more abbreviated style than those on vessel A (fig. 5). Below is the transcription and translation I would suggest.

Vessel A

圖四符	"Encircled by four invocations,[21]
犧尊成壺	What excellent vessel,[22] what perfect vase.[23]
盛兄盛味	May your liquid abound in aroma
於心佳都	And please us to our heart's content,[24]
捲於口味	Flood the palate full with flavor,[25]
充閨血膚	Imbue with moistness blood and skin.[26]
延壽去病	Prolong life, dispel disease
萬年　餘	For ten thousand years and more."

If translated in this manner, the text on the vessel bodies, as on the lids, starts out self-referentially, praising the artful design and craftsmanship of the vessels, then celebrates the sensory qualities of the contents, and finally explains what the benefits of consuming these contents should be — the blessings of health and longevity. The precise nature of these contents, is, however, left undisclosed.[27]

This written decoration is a verbal and visual celebration of exquisiteness, which presents us with an exceptional form of synesthesia. Once the ornamental graphs have successfully been translated into words we are, as on the lids, told explicitly what we have already gathered from a quick look — namely, that the vessels impress the viewer with an abundant display of art, skill, and costly materials. We also recognize that what may seem to be an artful play with redundancy in fact serves to intensify the art inherent in both the poetic text and the ornamental design. Like the calligraphy, the poem reveals a remarkable emphasis on sensory experience. Aroma, flavor, and moistness are paralleled with bodily sensors, the heart, the palate, the skin — as if the aesthetic experience of deciphering the precious characters ought to culminate in the stimulation of the gustatory senses. To say it in more profane terms, appreciating the art entices one
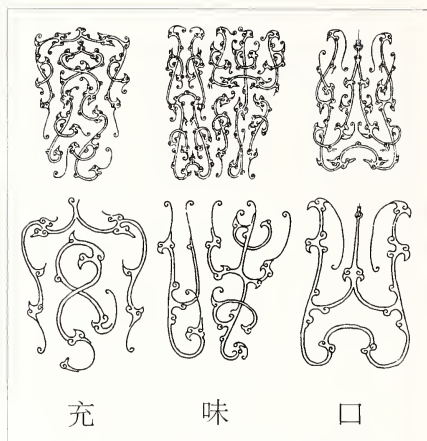
5 Comparison of the same words written in the lowest register of vessels A and B.

to drink and thus to procure the blessings of health and longevity. One wonders if the quality of the drink could actually have lived up to the quality of these containers. Or was it not precisely the synesthetically overwhelming exuberance of the containers that made their contents so special?

THE RITUAL CONTEXT

Were these two bronze *hu* what we generally call ritual vessels, implying a use in sacrificial ceremonies? Or were they simply elegant treasures that expressed Liu Sheng's idea of what a "true king" ought to be surrounded with — art that "delights him with gorgeous sights and sounds"?[28] Both possibilities have found scholarly proponents. Some commentators have felt that the invocation of sensuous delight encoded in the written ornament mainly served to enhance Liu Sheng's reveling in wine;[29] others have understood the vessels as appropriate for ritual use.[30] A close reading of the inscriptions, artful design, and funerary context of the vessels supports the second position.

The explicit request for good health and longevity links the surface poems of the vessels with a long

tradition of prayers to heaven and the ancestral spirits. Countless ritual vessels and bells of the Zhou period are inscribed with prayers that ask for such blessings, although the wording of those earlier invocations of the spirits is somewhat different from that of the Mancheng vessels.[31] In particular, the Mancheng inscription makes no claim to the preservation or virtue of a family lineage, as it does not include a dedicatory statement with the name of the beneficiary of the blessings. Instead, text and vessel praise the refined quality of each other and thus play on the relationship between ornament and container. In its self-referentiality, celebratory style, and emphasis on sensory experience, the Mancheng prayer is reminiscent of some of the liturgical hymns of the Qin and especially the early Han dynasty[32] as well as of a number of songs about sacrificial feasts in the *Shijing* 詩經 (Book of Songs).[33] These ritual texts provide copious references to the sensory enjoyment of fine foods, fragrant wine, beautiful songs, and refined vessels as essential components of sacrifices or the feasts that accompanied them. The irresistibility of the gorgeous offerings was meant to entice the spirits to come and indulge and, in appreciation, assure the worshipers of their support and grant them the desired blessings.[34] For many believers stimulating sensory delight was clearly a means to communicate with the numinous.

While the ceremonial hymns mentioned above concentrate on transmitting such sensory delight to the metaphysical universe, other writings explain the importance of a holistic aesthetic experience for the living performers of a ritual. This view is best known through the writing of Xunzi 荀子 (ca. 310–ca. 220 B.C.), which was still promoted as a standard for the imperial court by Han Wudi's time. Sima Qian's monograph on imperial rites in the *Shiji* (Records of the Historian), for instance, largely paraphrases and quotes Xunzi's views on ritual.[35] Featured prominently in this *ru* 儒 discourse on ritual is the idea that the ornate material environment is essential for a successful ritual and ought to nurture or satisfy (*yang* 養) the senses of those who perform the regal rites. Fine food and drink are listed as necessary to nurture the mouth, fragrances and scents to nurture the nose,

music to nurture the ear, rooms and furniture to nurture the needs of the body, and "engraving and inlay, patterns and designs" to nurture the eye.[36] According to Xunzi, ritual in its broadest sense was (among other things) clearly meant to be an aesthetic experience.

It is easy to imagine that an aesthete such as Liu Sheng would employ artfully designed utensils for the performance of sacrificial rites and in this manner subscribe to the idea of nurturing the senses and aesthetic sensibilities of both the spirits and himself as the ritual performer. Communication with the spirits would thus have been mediated through the art inherent in the design of the ritual utensils. In Liu Sheng's tomb, of course, the utensils are provided for Liu's own spirit, to nurture his desires and material needs, which apparently were believed by many to be largely identical in life and in death. Liu Sheng's tomb indeed has been recognized as one of China's most prominent material sources of evidence for the belief that the living and the spirits have very similar desires and ambitions. Archaeologists have recovered in it a plethora of material necessities for the king's life, from horses, chariots, and arms to furniture, food and drink, medical utensils, cosmetics, and sexual implements.

The two *hu* were found in the central room of the rear chambers of the tomb, behind the large reception hall, where they had been placed next to the coffin with two other sumptuous *hu* vessels (figs. 6, 7) on or right next to what used to be a low table (fig. 8).[37] Also on the table were a spoon, a lacquer dish, three pots, *fu* 釜, a white jade seal without inscription, a belt hook, and a sword.[38] On a second, smaller table directly in front of the first stood a lacquer vessel, *zun* 尊, a simple bronze tripod, *ding* 鼎, a lacquer dish and cup, and two animal-shaped ornaments. Near these tables were various types of lamps, swords and other arms, quarrels, coins, toiletries, and a stone figure of an attendant. Near the entrance two more stone attendants waited with lacquer dishes. This space conforms to what is known as a *qin* 寢, a retiring room at the back of a ceremonial hall, *miao* 廟, in aristocratic palaces and ancestral temples of the late Zhou and Qin dynasties.[39] The furnishings of Liu Sheng's eternal retiring room convey an atmosphere of privacy,

luxury, and authority and create an environment to withdraw to, eat and drink, be waited upon, do administrative work, and always find a weapon within easy reach. The setup of the *hu* vessels is formal, yet the formality is that of private enjoyment rather than public ceremonial. Liu Sheng's descendants had set up an eternal offering for their deceased ancestor that catered to his personal predilections and tastes and at the same time represented his royal status.
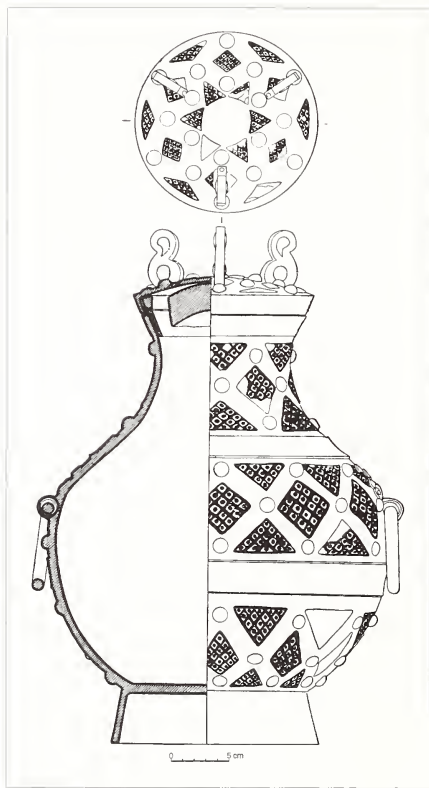
6 Drawing of a *hu* vessel (1:5019) from the tomb of Liu Sheng, gilt and silvered bronze with glass inlay, h. 45 cm, diam. 28.9 cm. Institute of Archaeology CASS and Hebei CPAM, ed., *Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao,* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1980), 39.
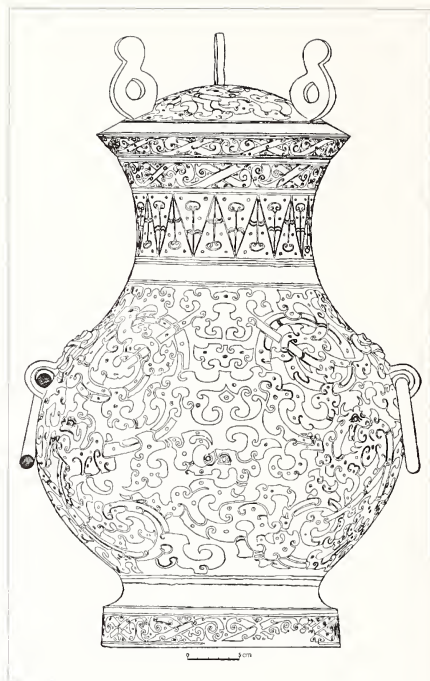
7 Drawing of a *hu* vessel with dragon-scroll design (1:5014) from the tomb of Liu Sheng, gilt and silvered bronze, h. 59.5 cm, diam. 37 cm. Institute of Archaeology CASS and Hebei CPAM, ed., *Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao,* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1980), 40.

THE CALLIGRAPHY

The stylization of the ornamental writing on the Mancheng vessels, especially the addition of bird and fish images to the characters on lid A and the many coils alluding to bird heads and plumes, has led scholars to call this writing "birdscript." The term is first used in Eastern Han textual sources, but it is not entirely clear what exactly the script referred to in those texts looked like. Xu Shen 許慎 (A.D. ca. 55–ca. 149) mentions in the epilogue of his *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (Elucidations of the Signs and Explications of the Graphs) (A.D. 100) that the "eight classes of writing in Qin" also included "insect writing," *chongshu* 蟲
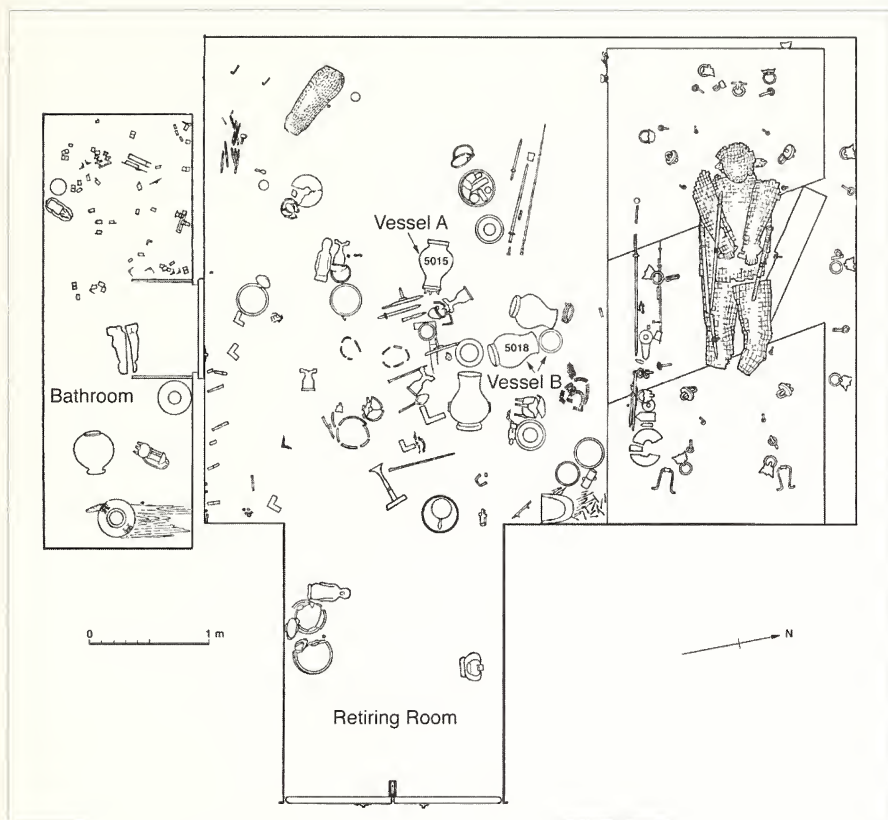
8 Plan of the rear chambers of Liu Sheng's tomb. For the fully annotated map, see Institute of Archaeology CASS and Hebei CPAM, ed., *Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao*, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1980), 31.

書.[40] According to the *Shuowen jiezi* and the *Hanshu*, *chongshu* was still tested in the imperial academy during the early Han dynasty as one of the "six types of writing," and later, in the Wang Meng Interregnum (A.D. 9–25), this writing also became known as "bird-and-insect writing" or "bird writing," *niaochongshu* 鳥蟲書.[41] The reason for the new emphasis on birds in the term is unclear.[42] Xu Shen further reported that during Wang Meng's time bird-and-insect writing was used mainly for authentication banners and pennants, *fanxin* 幡信, i.e., for formal objects (usually made

of cloth and hung from spears and the like) used for proving legitimacy and identity.[43] Yan Shigu 顏師古 (581–645) commented that insect writing was so called because it resembled worm and bird forms and therefore was used for writing on authentication banners.[44] The *Hanshu*, on the other hand, implies that several official writing styles were used for *fanxin*—a note that finds confirmation in the archaeological discovery of funerary banners and an authentication pennant in Gansu in the 1950s and in 1973 respectively (fig. 9), which apparently were written in a clearly dis-
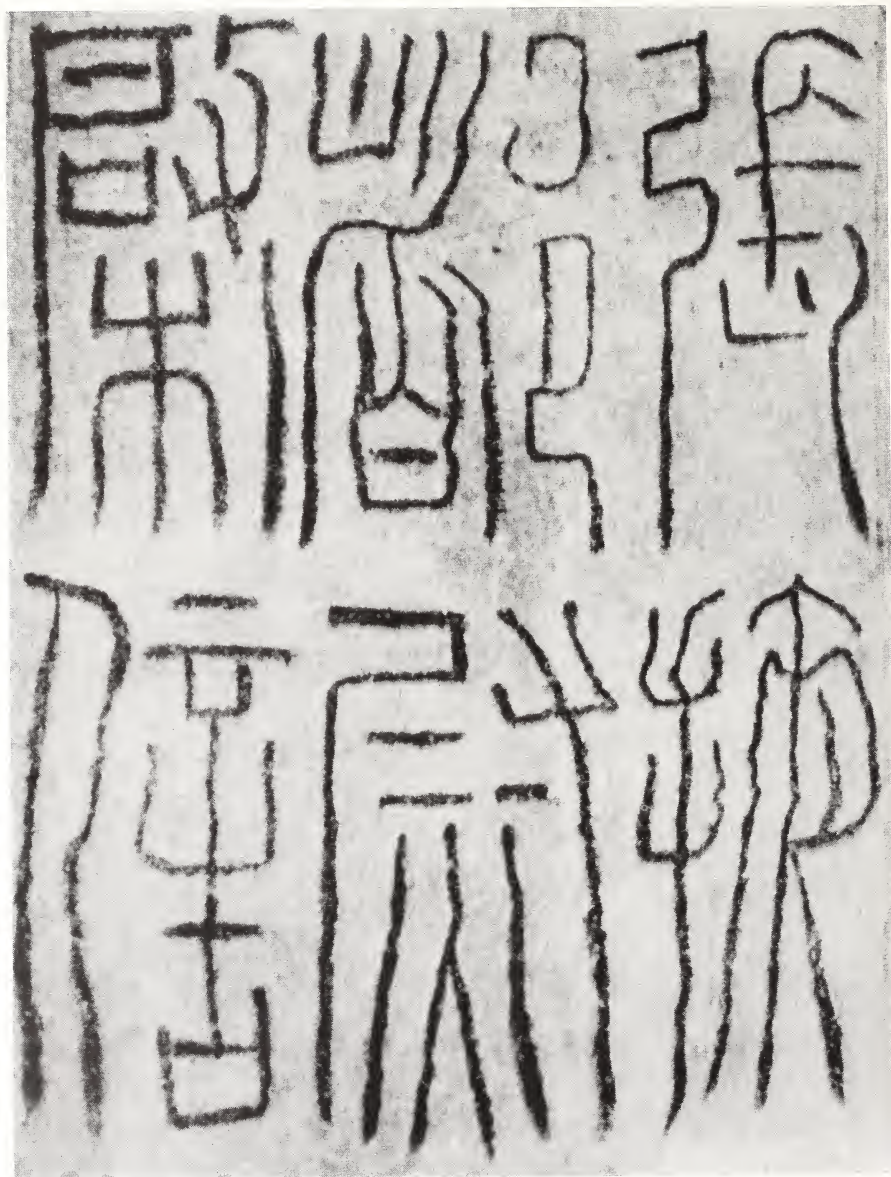
9 Detail, authentication pennant excavated in 1973 at Jianshui Jinguan, Gansu, late Western Han, first century B.C. h. 21 cm, w. 16 cm. Zhangye Cultural Center, Zhangye County, Gansu.

cernible form of regular sealscript, *xiaozhuan* 小篆.[45] Finally, the sources record that under emperor Lingdi 靈帝 (r. A.D. 168–189) an elegant and technically demanding sealscript style called *niaochongshu* was favored at the court.[46] Yet how closely the birdscript of the late Eastern Han dynasty was related to the writing on the Mancheng vessels remains unclear. In sum, the early literary sources can be interpreted as describing a type of writing that was practiced during the Qin and Han dynasties, that may have called to mind animate forms of life, more specifically worms or feathered creatures, and that was often used on objects for authentication.

While archaeologically recovered authentication banners are too rare and controversial to illuminate actual styles of Han period birdscript, seals—another group of authentication objects—provide richer evidence. Based on a corpus of more than one hundred extant examples (most of them without archaeological provenance and preserved in private collections), historians of calligraphy have confidently identified one of the Han seal-writing styles as birdscript.[47] They traditionally define this style in relation to a wavy form of *zhuanshu*, which is considered to be the *mouzhuan* 繆篆, the "winding sealscript" mentioned in the *Hanshu* and other early sources as one of the six writing styles of the early Han period. Seal inscriptions in which the winding distortion of the characters has become extreme or that include bird and fish motifs are considered to correspond to the *niaochongshu* (fig. 10).[48] The difference between the *mouzhuan* and *niaochongshu* is thus today determined by the degree to which the basic *xiaozhuan* style has been altered. Among the few archaeologically recovered examples with birdscript are a white jade and a white agate seal of Cao Zhuan 曹嬛, the consort of a royal nobleman of Changsha around 140 B.C. (fig. 11).[49] In its distortion of the *xiaozhuan* character structure and the tendency to add swellings and occasional hooks, the writing on these seals is very similar to that on the Mancheng vessels.[50]

Although a detailed chronology of the seals with *mouzhuan* and *niaochongshu* inscriptions is still lacking, the development of their extravagant writing

10 Imprints of Han-period seals in two stylistic variations of birdscript. Transcriptions follow Ma Guoquan, "Niaochongshu lungao" (A discussion of birdscript), *Gu wenzi yanjiu* 10 (1983).

styles appears to have spanned the entire Han period. Most of the earliest pieces are large and made of jade rather than bronze.[51] The size and material of these early seals clearly imply that their owners stood above the sumptuary regulations that otherwise applied to seals during the Han period.[52] The same aristocratic privilege is expressed by the exceptional skill that was invested in cutting the carefully designed winding characters into the hard jade. The imaginative, unconventional qualities of the *mouzhuan* and *niaochongshu* seals reflect their private use. Many of these seals explicitly state that they are private seals, *siyin* 私印, not suited for official business. The design of these seals must have catered to the individual tastes of their owners, not only through the shapes of the entire seal, which could on occasion be rather playful,[53] but also through the choice of writing style.

Closely related to some of the wavy, scrolling writing on seals and also to the script on the Mancheng vessels is the molded inscription on a rare eaves tile, *wadang* 瓦當 (fig. 12).[54] During the Western and early Eastern Han periods eaves tiles were decorated not only with geometric ornament but also with either the name of their buildings or with auspicious phrases written in a great variety of styles based on the *xiaozhuan*.[55] With these blessings the imperial family and members of the aristocracy, who reserved for themselves the privilege to use them on eaves tiles, asked for dynastic permanence, peace, happiness, and longevity. The inscription of the tile illustrated expresses the wish "to eternally receive good fortune," *yong shou jia fu* 永受嘉福.
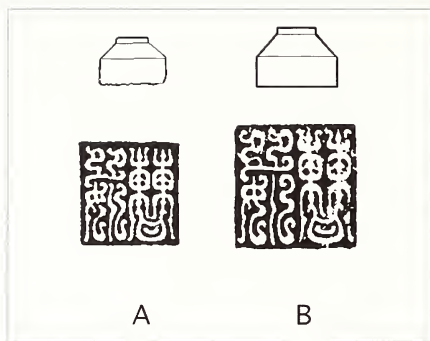
11 Drawing of Cao Zhuan's jade seal (A) and agate seal (B), excavated in 1974 in Changsha, Hunan. Imprints actual size. After "Changsha Xianjiahu Xi Han Cao Zhuan mu," *Wenwu,* 1979, 3:1–16. 3:10.

12 Eaves tile with ornamental script, *yong shou jia fu,* early Western Han, second century B.C., clay, d. 15.4 cm. Kubosō Memorial Museum of Art, Izumi.

The writing style on this tile, like that on the *hu* vessels and the private seals of Cao Zhuan and others, abandons the conventional and sacrifices readability in favor of visual effect. It thwarts basic premises about the revelatory nature of writing and instead celebrates the language of ornamental design popular during the first half of the second century B.C.[56] Martin J. Powers has eloquently characterized that language as a form of "visual elusiveness," "an uncanny display of calculated confusion, a confusion that reinforces the impression of endless profusion." The art of such a design language lay in its "ability to surprise and tease";[57] its aim was to delight and dazzle, its message that of privilege, luxury, and elegance. The Mancheng birdscript and related examples on tiles and seals have successfully altered written words into an ornamental pattern, *wenzhang* 文章, which elevated the design to the exuberant standard that was considered appropriate for ritual use at the early Han courts.[58]

Some authors have also recognized a magic component in the encryption of ornamental script, which may be especially fitting when the text asks for blessings such as good fortune, wealth, and longevity.[59] But since such blessings were also written in other *zhuanshu* styles, connotations of magic would seem to reside either in the word itself or in the *zhuanshu*

style as a whole. Since the Six Dynasties period Daoist charms and amulets consisting of invented composite characters called *fu* 符 promoted the idea that the spirits, for the most part demons that cause harm and disease, could be commanded through such esoteric writing (fig. 13).[60] Interestingly, the character on the Mancheng vessels that most likely refers to the inscription itself can also be read as *fu*,[61] suggesting that early Han birdscript may indeed have played a role as a predecessor of later Daoist amulets. However, the difference between the earlier ornamental writing and the later talismanic characters is one of aesthetics and social class. While the earlier writing is artistic, the later *fu* are not; while early birdscript is elitist, later amulets are esoteric. The vessel inscriptions, the names on the private seals, or the invocations on the roof tiles were not written to ban demons but to please spirits and courtiers such as the king of Zhongshan — in life and in death.[62] Implications of magic in such elegant writing would run counter to early Han beliefs in ancestral worship and aesthetic enjoyment. With the disappearance of excessively lavish ritual display in the early Eastern Han period, which also coincided with the abandoning of ornate
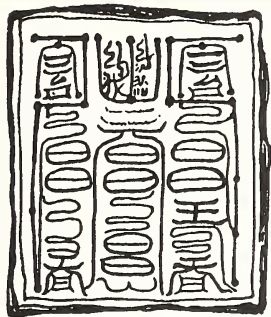
13 *Fu* amulet for curing disease. From the Six Dynasties text *Zhengyi fawen xiuzhen zhiyao* (Essentials of the Practice of Perfection), *Zhengtong daozang* (Daoist Canon) (1445; repr., Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1926), vol. 1003 (CT 1270).

invocations on eaves tiles, the old, cryptic aristocratic writing may have been perceived as magical by people who were not initiated into the aesthetics of the aristocratic world. As a design principle, visual confusion certainly has the potential to express qualities of magic. Ernst Gombrich, for example, recognized it as an essential component in designs that evoke what he called "protective animation." Yet he warned that without explicit explanations we would not know whether such animate imagery was meant to be funny and delightful or frightening.[63] This article has argued that in the case of the Mancheng vessels, it was the delightful art that was supposed to do the magic.

LINKS TO THE SOUTH

At least since the 1930s Chinese epigraphists have been applying the term "birdscript" to the gold-inlaid writing on bronze weapons, bells, and sacrificial vessels produced between the mid-sixth and early fourth centuries B.C. in the southern states of Chu 楚, Yue 越, Wu 吳, Cai 蔡, Song 宋, Qi 齊, and Xu 徐 (fig. 14). This Zhou period ornamental writing came in a great variety of styles that, to a certain extent, must be recognized as an early reflection of individual artistic inventiveness. On the other hand, the increase in archaeological data now allows scholars to match different styles with specific regions and periods.[64]

In comparison to the writing on the Mancheng vessels, these earlier writing styles differ noticeably, most obviously in their proportions. While the Mancheng graphs are well balanced and relatively wide, Zhou characters are narrow and mostly elongated, and their center of gravity often shifts arbitrarily from character to character. Such structural differences are undoubtedly due to the different *zhuanshu* styles on which the ornamental scripts were based. During the Eastern Zhou these were the numerous local script variations, but during the early Han period it was the *xiaozhuan*—the generally accepted display style since the Qin writing reforms.[65] There are also differences in the manner in which the normative characters were altered into ornamental forms. In Zhou birdscript the actual character in many cases remains clearly legible within long garnishing strokes that often transform into birds or dragons (see fig. 14). In other cases the characters are elongated and wavy. Additions of fish or scrolls do not appear in the Zhou period.[66]

Because ornamental writing of the northern Zhou states favored neither extreme waviness nor zoomorphic transformations in their characters, the design language of Zhou period birdscript is easily recognized as a southern idiom. But is this southern idiom also present in the ornamental script we find in the Han period? After all, Cao Jinyan's exhaustive 1996 study reveals a long and marked break in the tradition of birdscript between the Eastern Zhou and the early Han period. About two hundred years stretch between the Mancheng vessels and the latest known inscribed examples from the Zhanguo period, the swords of the Yue King Buguang 越王不光 (r. 411–376 B.C.).[67] Are
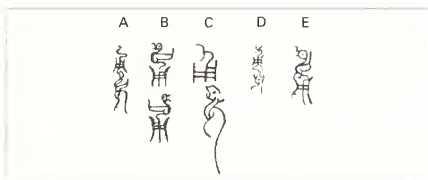
14 Examples of the character *yong* 用 in birdscript of the Eastern Zhou period as inscribed on bronze weapons of Yue (A, B), Wu (C), Chu (D), and Cai (E). After Ma Guoquan, "Niaochongshu lungao" (A discussion of birdscript), *Gu wenzi yanjiu* 10 (1983):149–52.

we then to understand early Han ornamental writing as a conscious revival of an old southern tradition? And if so, was such a revival predominantly practiced in the southern parts of China, or was it instead part of the general fashion for Chu culture fostered at a great many of the early Han courts? And how, then, should we interpret Xu Shen's remarks, that insect writing, *chongshu*, was one of the official writing styles already at the Qin court?[68]

Chinese scholarship on the history of birdscript has so far been unable to produce material evidence from the Qin period to substantiate Xu Shen's record.[69] The material record instead points to a sudden reemergence of a slumbering tradition in the first half of the second century B.C., with the Mancheng vessels as its most splendid point of reference. Unfortunately, archaeological data for the development of early Han ornamental writing are very scarce and still await systematic analysis. Nevertheless, there are at least two indications that during the early Han period birdscript was indeed closely connected with southern China and the old region of Chu. First, an initial survey of early birdscript seals discovered in controlled excavations clusters these finds to the Hunan region.[70] Second, a stylistic analysis of the Mancheng vessels clearly reveals that their ornamental language is that of the south. The elegant linear flow of the Mancheng characters, which pauses at the nodes where flaming scrollwork is added, and the sharp, beaklike tips that revolve out of the scrolls and occasionally continue into a long, thin coil can all be matched most closely with bronze and lacquer designs found in southern tombs. These southern sites include the third-century B.C. Chu tomb 406 at Wulipai, Changsha;[71] tomb 135 at Yangjiashan, Jiangling, Hubei (fig. 15), considered to date to the Qin period;[72] tomb 168 at Fenghuangshan, Jiangling, Hubei, dated to 167 B.C.;[73] tomb 1 at Shazitang, Changsha, dated to 157 B.C.;[74] the tomb of Cao Zhuan in Changsha of ca. 140 B.C.;[75] and the tomb of the marquis of Ruyin 汝阴 in Shuanggudui, Fuyang County, Anhui, dated to 165 B.C. (fig. 16).[76] The design language on several lacquer objects from this last tomb most closely compares to that of the Mancheng vessel. Most of those particular lacquer pieces have

15 Drawing of a painted lacquer dish from tomb 135 at Yangjiashan, Jiangling, Hubei, Qin, late third century B.C., diam. 28.8 cm. After Hubeisheng Jingzhou diqu bowuguan, "Jiangling Yangjiashan 135 hao Qin mu fajue jianbao," *Wenwu*, 1993, 8:8.

inscriptions, which date them to the 170s and early 160s B.C. and explain that they were locally produced in Anhui for the marquis of Ruyin.

Such comparisons unequivocally establish a link between the Mancheng vessel ornament and southern design traditions of the early second century B.C.[77] They do not, however, securely explain the provenance of the vessels. Some scholars have suggested that the *hu* were manufactured in the southern parts of the Han empire. Wang Zhongshu summarizes this theory as follows:

> Because the bird-pattern seal characters were popular in the South during the Spring and Autumn–Warring States periods, it was likely that [the vessels] were in the collection of the prince of Wu or that of the prince of Chu. They were perhaps given to Liu Sheng after being confiscated from their previous owners as a consequence of the latter's participation in the rebellion of the seven feudatories.[78]
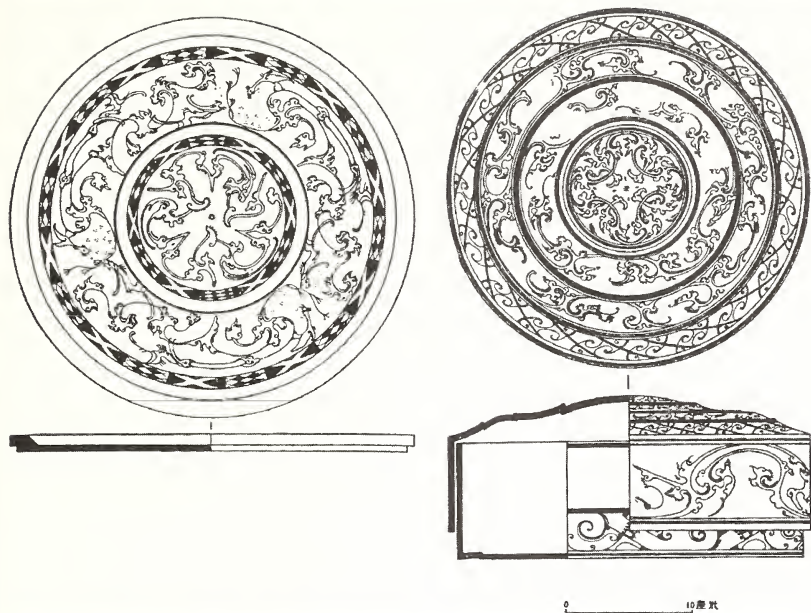
16 Drawings of lacquer designs from tomb 1 at Shuanggudui, Fuyang, Anhui, 165 B.C., Western Han (ca. 180–170 B.C.). After "Fuyang Shuanggudui Xi Han Ruyin hou mu fajue baogao," *Wenwu*, 1978, 8:27–29.

The transfer of precious utensils among the royal nobility was certainly common during the early Western Han period, and several of the most impressive Mancheng finds attest to this practice in their inscriptions. The two other splendid *hu* vessels from Liu Sheng's eternal retiring chamber, for example, both have inscriptions that indicate previous owners. The glass-inlaid vessel (see) was once used in the imperial palace in the capital at Chang'an, while the vessel with the dragon scrolls (see fig. 7) once belonged to the household of a king of Chu.[79] Yet, while Wang Zhongshu is certainly correct in dating all four vessels to the first half of the second century B.C. rather than closer to Liu Sheng's death in 113 or 112 B.C., there is little evidence for a significant tradition of gold-and-silver-inlaid metalwork in Hunan.[80] The great majority of such work can be associated with bronze workshops in the Central Plains and in Hebei, the Zhongshan region itself.[81] Among late fourth-century ritual vessels of Zhongshan one even finds prototypes whose entire surface is covered with elegantly designed script.[82] Furthermore, murals such as the ones in the tomb at Shiyuan 柿園 at Mount Mangdang 芒碭山 demonstrate that southern-style design was produced locally for the early Han aristocracy in the Henan region.[83] In sum, the Mancheng birdscript vessels' overt design references to the south may reflect a southern manufacture, but it is equally possible that the vessels were manufactured at a northern court workshop in collaboration with a southern designer.

Jessica Rawson has already demonstrated that southern design idioms held a great appeal for early Han aristocrats throughout their new empire,[84] and Gopal Sukhu recently illuminated the political and intellectual background that explains the Han nobility's embrace of the cultural heritage of the south.[85] Sukhu has also shown how profoundly ideologically the promotion of Chu culture could have been interpreted under Han rule. During the early parts of the second century references to a southern heritage could easily be read in political terms that related them to the overthrow of the Qin dynasty and the establishment of a new Han aristocratic culture. In regard to the Mancheng vessels, which celebrate the southern visuality in the design of ritual paraphernalia precisely during these early decades of Han rule, the ideological charge could hardly have escaped even a semieducated courtier. Here a southern design idiom is used to alter the normative script forms that had been imposed only decades earlier by the despised Qin. Some lines from Qin Shihuang's 秦始皇 (r. 221–210 B.C.) ceremonial stele erected in 219 B.C. on Mount Langye 瑯琊 in Shandong make clear what ideological potential underlay his standardization policies in the first place: The August Thearch "unifies the minds and integrates the wills. Vessels and implements have their identical measures. One uniformly writes the refined characters."[86] The stele from Mount Langye survives in fragments and allows for a glimpse of the elegant *xiaozhuan* style that the First Emperor had set forth as a standard for ritual display and transcendental communication (fig. 17).[87] The contrast to the writing style on the Mancheng vessels could not have been more dramatic! Yet both inscriptions address the spirits, both emphasize artistic design, and both follow a very similar poetic structure. Until future archaeological data reveal that birdscript (as we know

17 Rubbing of fragments from the stele inscription of Mount Langye, Qin, 219 B.C.

it from Han-period evidence) was practiced at the Qin court, we may interpret the ornamental writing on the Mancheng vessels as a reactionary statement of an early Han noble to assert political power.

Whether Liu Sheng would have recognized this same ideological message once he obtained the vessels is unclear. His personal interpretation of the vessels would certainly have been motivated by their provenance. Generally speaking, however, luxurious vessels decorated in a southern style possessed by the 110s B.C. all the prerequisites to be controversial centerpieces of political rivalries at the court of emperor Wu, which focused on the appropriate performance of imperial rites and the necessity of lavish display. To quite an extent these rivalries were dominated by two groups: reformist intellectuals of the *ru* tradition on the one hand, who emphasized the worldly benefits of rites and advocated moderation in ritual display, and the masters of methods, *fangshi* 方士 on the other, who often promoted southern, shamanistic approaches to ritual and who were favored by Emperor Wu when it came to issues of efficacious spirit worship and direct interaction with the transcendental powers.[88] Liu Sheng's siding with the emperor's beliefs is clear from the evidence in his tomb.[89] Over time, *ru* scholars succeeded in curtailing luxurious ritual display. By the beginning of the Eastern Han, extravagant vessels like the ones found in Liu Sheng's tomb were no longer produced and doubtlessly would have been considered tasteless. For Liu Sheng, however, the vessels had still served as efficacious tools of worship and historic artworks for self-representation and personal delight. ❖

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NOTES

Preliminary versions of this article were presented at the International Convention of Asia Scholars in Berlin in 2001 and the New England East Asian Art History Seminar at Harvard University in 2002. I received valuable feedback at both these events and am particularly grateful to Jessica Rawson and Eugene Wang for their comments. This paper is dedicated to the memory of my mother.

1. The vessels are catalogued as vessel A (1:5015) and vessel B (1:5018) in Institute of Archaeology CASS and Hebei CPAM, ed., *Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao* 滿城漢墓發掘報告 (Excavation report of the Han tomb at Mancheng) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1980), 43–48.

2. Ma Guoquan mentions that when the vessels were exhibited in the Wuying Hall of the Palace Museum in Beijing in 1972, a drawing of the inlaid text in red and black was displayed as well. According to Ma, this is the drawing one finds reproduced in most publications. See Ma Guoquan 馬國權, "Niaochongshu lungao" 鳥蟲書論稿 (A discussion of birdscript), *Gu wenzi yanjiu* 古文字研究 10 (1983): 153.

3. Vessel A has ornamental bands with a meandering landscape featuring various reptiles and monkeylike creatures that walk on two legs. Vessel B has bands with long dragons that wind their way around the vessel.

4. Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the historian) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 59.2099; cf. Ban Gu 班固 (32–92), comp., *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the [Former] Han) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 53.2425f. Translation after Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty*, trans. Burton Watson (Hong Kong and New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 1:395:

   [Liu] Sheng was a man who loved wine and was very fond of women so that, with all his offspring and their families, his household numbered over one hundred and twenty persons. He often criticized his elder brother, the King of Zhao, saying "Although my brother is a king he spends all his time doing the work of his own clerks and officials. A true king should pass his days listening to music and delighting himself with gorgeous sights and sounds." To his brother the king of Zhao retorted in no uncertain terms: "The King of Zhongshan fritters away his days in debauchery instead of assisting the Son of Heaven to bring order to the common people. How can someone like that be called a bastion of the throne?"

5. *Hanshu*, 53.2422. Cf. Michael Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods, 221 B.C.–A.D. 24* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2000), 354.

6. E.g., William Watson, *The Genius of China: An Exhibition of Archaeological Finds of the People's Republic of China* (London: Times Newspapers, 1973), no. 167; Jenny So, in *The Great Bronze Age of China: An Exhibition from the People's Republic of China*, ed. Wen Fong (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 331; Shing Müller, in *China, eine Wiege der Weltkultur: 5000 Jahre Erfindungen und Entdeckungen*, ed. Arne Eggebrecht (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1994), no. 114; Ma Zishu, ed., *National Treasures: Gems of China's Cultural Relics* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Museum of Art, 1997), 166; Jessica Rawson, in *The Golden Age of Chinese Archaeology: Celebrated Discoveries from the People's Republic of China*, ed. Xiaoneng Yang (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 5, 398–400.

7. Xiao Yun 蕭蘊, "Mancheng Han mu chutu de cuo jinyin niaochongshu tonghu" 滿城漢墓出土的錯金銀鳥蟲書銅壺 (The bronze vessels with inlaid gold and silver birdscript from the Han tomb at Mancheng), *Wenwu* 文物, 1972, 5:49–52; Zhang Zhenglang 張政烺, "Mancheng Han mu chutu cuo jin yin niaochongshu tonghu jia shiwen" 滿城漢墓出土錯金銀鳥蟲書銅壺甲釋文 (Transcription of the bronze *hu* vessel A with bird-and-insect writing inlaid in gold and silver from the Han tomb in Mancheng), *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中華文史論叢, 1979, 3:1–6; Zhang Zhenlin 張振林, "Zhongshan Jing Wang niaozhuan hu ming zhi yundu" 中山靖王鳥篆壺銘之韻讀 (Rhyme and pronunciation of the birdscript inscription on the vessels of Prince Jing of Zhongshan), *Gu wenzi yanjiu* 古文字研究 1 (1979): 157–73; Zhang Zhenlin 張振林, Zhou Esheng 周萼生, and He Xuejin 何學今, "Guanyu Mancheng Han mu tonghu niaozhuan shiwen de taolun (san bian)" 關於滿城漢墓銅壺鳥篆釋文的討論(三編) (Three discussions of the translation of the birdscript on the bronze vessels from the Han tomb at Mancheng), *Kaogu* 考古, 1979, 4:356–59; Zhou Cecong 周策縱, "Yi dui zui gu de yaojiu hu zhi faxian" 周策縱 一對最古的藥酒壺之發現 (The discovery of one of the oldest pairs of medicinal wine vessels), *Gu wenzi yanjiu* 古文字研究 10 (1983): 418–38; Ma Guoquan, "Niaochongshu lungao," 139–76.

8. For an insightful positioning of courtly writing styles such as "birdscript" in relation to Cai Yong's 蔡邕 (133–192) theories on writing, see Michael Nylan, "Calligraphy: The Sacred Text and Test of Culture," in *Character and Context in Chinese Calligraphy*, ed. Art Museum, Princeton University (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 49–57.

9. In the archaeological record the two vessels from Mancheng are, to my knowledge, unique. But a very similar *hu*, which appeared on the Hong Kong art market a decade ago, is now owned by the Shanghai Museum. See *Zhongguo wenwu jinghua* 中國文物精華 (Gems of China's cultural relics) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1993), no. 89. Compared to the Mancheng vessels, the Shanghai example is, however, of such inferior quality as to raise doubts about its authenticity. Similarly disconcerting is the fact that the Shanghai vessel has only twenty-nine characters written on it, an odd number, which does not allow for a poetic structure of the text.

10. Xiao Yun, "Mancheng Han mu," 49; Ma Guoquan, "Niaochongshu lungao," 161. Zhang Zhenlin understands the last character as a different kind of fish called *fu*, a type of barbel. He argues that the choice of that word might have implied some kind of precious gift. See Zhang Zhenlin, in "Guanyu Mancheng Han mu tonghu," 356; Zhang Zhenlin, "Zhongshan Jing Wang niaozhuan hu," 159.

11. He Xuejin, in "Guanyu Mancheng Han mu tonghu," 359; Institute of Archaeology et al., *Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao*, 43 (no translation is offered here).

12. Zhou Cecong, "Yi dui zui gu de yaojiu hu zhi faxian," 418–27, 436.

13. Fan Xianyong in *Zhonghua wenshi luncong*, 1980, 3, quoted after Zhou Cecong, "Yi dui zui gu de yaojiu hu zhi faxian," 419.

14. Zhou Esheng, in "Guanyu Mancheng Han mu tonghu," 358.

15. A visual examination of the inscription shows that there are clear separations between the individual characters, which appear to occupy a field with straight borderlines. In two of the three segments we can readily recognize four characters, but in the third one, there are only two clear separating spaces, which would indicate only three characters. No dividing space is allotted between the *fu* 甫 and *jin* 金 characters. Instead, a cranelike bird with a long, outstretched neck and protruding tail links

the two parts. What is usually read in four characters as *san fu jin lai* 三甫金鋉 could therefore also be read as *san pu lai* 三鋪鋉. In the latter case, the text should be read beginning with the character *pu* 鋪, as Zhou Esheng proposes. On the body of the vessel, however, there are similar instances in which a character is not neatly placed in an imagined frame, so ultimately I, too, would support a symmetrical twelve-character reading.

16. Xiao Yun, "Mancheng Han mu," 52; Institute of Archaeology et al., *Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao*, 43.

17. Zhang Zhenlin, "Zhongshan Jing Wang niaozhuan hu," 159. Ma reads *gan* 趕 instead of *guan* 鑵: Ma Guoquan, "Niaochongshu lungao," 154.

18. Zhou Esheng in "Guanyu Mancheng Han mu tonghu," 358, takes *su* 塑 as referring to the modeling in clay during the manufacturing process and recognizes four characters altogether. He does not offer a translation.

19. Zhou Cecong, "Yi dui zui gu de yaojiu hu zhi faxian," 431–35.

20. Xiao Yun, "Mancheng Han mu," 49–52. Xiao's article has been translated into English. See Albert E. Dien, Jeffrey K. Riegel, and Nancy T. Price, eds., *Chinese Archaeological Abstracts*, vol. 3, *Eastern Zhou to Han* (Los Angeles: Institute of Archaeology, University of California, 1985), 1087–89.

21. Most authors understand this first verse as a description of the vessel, such as "The lid is round and there are four [decorated] registers/bands," meaning the neck, shoulder, belly, and foot (Xiao Yun, "Mancheng Han mu," 51; Zhou Esheng in "Guanyu Mancheng Han mu tonghu," 358), or "Four layers [carry] the round lid" (He Xuejin, in "Guanyu Mancheng Han mu tonghu," 359), or "The lid is all round and ornament surrounds . . ." (Zhang Zhenlin, "Zhongshan Jing Wang niaozhuan hu," 166). Yet the statement that the lid is round seems simply too banal to waste space and labor on two precious characters, especially since the inscriptions on the lid already refer to it in much more complex language. So *gai* 蓋 should here be translated not as "lid" but either as a causative particle ("Because four invocations encircle you") or as "to honor," "to venerate."

The traditional translations are also not consistent with the actual appearance of the decoration, because there are in fact not four decorated registers on these *hu* vessels; one can distinguish either three registers decorated with writing, or three narrow bands and the footring decorated with

animals. If transcribed as *fu* 符 (following Zhang Zhenlin and Ma Guoquan), the last character of this line may be understood as referring directly to the written decoration rather than to the registers of decoration. Xu Shen mentions in the postscript of his *Shuowen jiezi* the carving of inscriptions on tallies and credentials, *kefu* 刻符 as one of the eight writing styles of Qin. See Xu Shen 許慎, *Shuowen jiezi zhu* 說文解字注, commented by Duan Yucai 段玉裁 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981), 758. More specifically, *fu* may be understood as an engraved, auspicious saying, an invocation. By the Western Han period the character *fu* could certainly imply the idea of auspiciousness, *furui* 符瑞. See Luo Zhufeng 羅竹風, ed., *Hanyu da cidian (suoyin ben)* 漢語大詞典 (索引本) (The Great Lexicon of the Chinese Language) (Shanghai: Hanyu da cidian chubanshe, 1997), 5202. Since four *fu* are specified, I believe the reference is to the four stanzas of which the inscription is composed. Each of these can be read as a separate invocation of a blessing.

22. Probably the most important remaining uncertainty in the vessel inscriptions regards the reading of the character before the word *zun* 尊 in the neck register. No fewer than six different transcriptions have been suggested. Problematic is the radical of this character, which can be understood as anything from a simple vertical stroke to a vertical stroke with three small strokes across. Xiao Yun reads the character as *xi* 羲 and infers that it should be understood together with the following character as *xizun*, which would describe an archaic vessel type. Zhou Cecong modifies Xiao's interpretation and proposes reading the radical as *shou* 手 and transcribing the character as *xi* 犧, which would be a variant of 羲. He convincingly supports his reading with numerous early quotations about *xizun* 犧緣, a term that in late Zhou and early Han literature described various types of exquisite *zun* vessels. The sources he discusses suggest that the common denominator of such a *xizun* was its superlative, unusual, and exceptionally accomplished decoration and shape, often said to have been made of ivory or bull's horn. Zhou Cecong, "Yi dui zui gu de yaojiu hu zhi faxian," 423–25.

In one article, Zhang Zhenlin ("Guanyu Mancheng Han mu tonghu," 356) suggested reading the character as *mie* 蔑 with a water radical; in another ("Zhongshan Jing Wang niaozhuan hu," 159f.) he reads 陬. This latter reading is also followed by Ma Guoquan ("Niaochongshu lungao," 153). Both authors

understand this character in the sense of 儀, meaning "of fine appearance," translating the line as "what a fine cup, what a great vessel." He Xuejin ("Guanyu Mancheng Han mu tonghu," 358) and the editors of the official 1980 excavation report (*Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao*, 43) read the character as 儀 too, although He notes that the radical is clearly different from the unmistakable *ren* 人 radical seen a few characters later in the word *jia* 佳. He's translation is, however, rather different from that of Zhang and Ma. He understands 儀 as a noun meaning "ritual" or "propriety," reading 儫 instead verbally as "to appreciate, to value," and *cheng* 成, like the other authors, as an adjective meaning "fine," "good," "perfect." According to his interpretation the line would mean "fine *hu* to be honored in ceremony," clearly implying that this is a vessel designed to be used in some kind of ritual context.

23. Although the vessels are today categorized as *hu* 壺, in this inscription the term must have had a more generic meaning than just referring to vessels of this specific shape. Other vessels of the same type found at Mancheng carry inscriptions that explicitly label them as *zhong* 鍾. See Institute of Archaeology et al., *Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao*, 38–48.

24. Literally: "[May you] contain cool liquid, which abounds in aroma, and is delicate and beautiful to our heart." The word *xiong* 兄, which is usually interpreted as *kuang* 況, is glossed by many early commentators as "cool water" (Zhou Cecong "Yi dui zui gu de yaojiu hu zhi faxian," 427f.).

25. The reading of *yan* 掗 follows Zhou Cecong, "Yi dui zui gu de yaojiu hu zhi faxian," 428.

26. The character read here as *chong* 充 may also be transcribed as *jiao* 交. In the abbreviated style on vessel B, the second reading is suggested.

27. Note that the word "wine" is not mentioned in the inscription. The interpretation of the crucial word *xiong* 兄 as "cool water" (see note 24 above) and the presence of fish on the lid may perhaps point to scented water rather than alcohol—to some form of liquid in any case, rather than dates or other types of fruit that were sometimes also stored in *hu* jars at the time.

28. See note 4 above.

29. During the Cultural Revolution, Xiao Yun, for example, wrote that the "vocabulary and contents of the inscription are extremely shallow and filled only with a desire for material enjoyment." Xiao Yun, "Mancheng Han mu," 52. For a more tempered view of the vessels as evidence for the frivolous

lifestyle of Liu Sheng, see Jenny So, in Wen
Fong, *Great Bronze Age of China*, 331.

30. See He Xuejin, in "Guanyu Mancheng Han
mu tonghu," 358; Jessica Rawson, in Yang,
Golden Age of Chinese Archaeology, 400.

31. Constance A. Cook, "Auspicious Metals and
Southern Spirits: An Analysis of the Chu
Bronze Inscriptions" (Ph.D. diss., University
of California, Berkeley), 162–211.

32. Martin Kern, *Die Hymnen der chinesischen
Staatsopfer* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag,
1997), 132, 138, 187–88; Martin Kern, *The
Stele Inscriptions of Ch'in Shih-huang:
Text and Ritual in Early Chinese Imperial
Representation* (New Haven: American
Oriental Society, 2000), 142.

33. Bernhard Karlgren, *The Book of Odes:
Chinese Text, Transcription and Translation*
(Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern
Antiquities, 1950), no. 246 "Xing wei," no. 247
"Ji zui," no. 248 "Fu yi," pp. 202–5.

34. Kern, *Die Hymnen der chinesischen
Staatsopfer*, 15, 150; Cook, "Auspicious Metals
and Southern Spirits," 195, 207.

35. *Shiji*, 23:1157–74; Edouard Chavannes, trans.
and ed., *Les Mémoires historiques de Se-ma
Ts'ien* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), 3:200–229.

36. *Shiji*, 23.1158, 1161. The *Xunzi* passage is
somewhat more explicit when it comes
to the description of ornament: "Carved
and polished [jade], incised and inlaid
[metal], and [fabrics] embroidered with
the white and black axe emblem, the azure
and black notched-stripe, the azure and
crimson stripe, the white and crimson
blazon, are what nurture the eye." Cf. John
Knoblock, *Xunzi: A Translation and Study
of the Complete Works* (Stanford: Stanford
University Press, 1988–94), 3:55.

37. Institute of Archaeology et al., *Mancheng
Han mu fajue baogao*, 31.

38. The blades of two long and two short spears,
as well as two halberds, were also found
there, but these were originally standing in
the southeast corner and apparently fell on
top of the table even before their wooden
shafts had decayed.

39. On the *qin*, see Wu Hung, "From Temple to
Tomb: Ancient Chinese Art and Religion in
Transition," *Early China* 13 (1988): 95. Wu
quotes an informative description of such
rooms by Cai Yong 蔡邕 (133–192):

> An ancient ancestral temple consisted of
> a ceremonial hall in front and a retiring
> hall in the rear, after the manner in which
> a ruler had a court in front and a retiring
> chamber in the rear. The ancestral tablet
> was set in the ceremonial hall and was
> worshiped during the seasonal sacrifices.

> The retiring hall contained royal gowns,
> caps, armrests, and staffs, like the para-
> phernalia of the living king, which were
> used when presenting offerings. The Qin
> first removed the retiring hall [from the
> temple] to occupy a position flanking the
> tomb.

40. Cao Jinyan 曹錦炎, *Niaochongshu tongkao*
(A comprehensive examination of bird-
script) 鳥蟲書通考 (Shanghai: Shanghai
shuhua chubanshe, 1999), 1f. On Xu Shen's
epilogue see Marc Winter, ". . . und Cang Jie
erfand die Schrift": Ein Handbuch für den
Gebrauch des Shuo Wen Jie Zi* (Bern: Peter
Lang, 1997), 557–80.

41. Ma Guoquan has proposed to understand
the term *chong* not only in its narrow sense
referring to worms and insects, but in its
broader meaning, which during the Han
could encompass any specified category of
animate creature, including humans. He
would therefore translate the term *niao-
chongshu* as "bird writing." Ma Guoquan,
"Niaochongshu lungao," 141; Cao Jinyan,
Niaochongshu tongkao, 2.

42. It is widely debated whether insect writing
and bird writing were two different styles, or
whether the term *niaochong* simply referred
to "feathered creature" and designated one
and the same style with a more specific term.
See Ma Guoquan, "Niaochongshu lungao,"
142.

43. On this type of object, see Li Xueqin 李學
勤, "Tan 'Zhangye duwei qixin'" 談張掖都
尉棨信, *Wenwu*, 1978, 1:42–43, translated
into English by Jeffrey K. Riegel, "A Word on
the 'Pennant Credential of the Controller of
Zhangye,'" *Chinese Archaeological Abstracts*,
vol. 3, ed. Albert Dien et al. (Los Angeles:
Institute of Archaeology, University of
California, 1985), 1206–9.

44. Cao Jinyan, *Niaochongshu tongkao*, 1f., 5f.

45. Hua Rende 華人德, *Zhongguo shufa shi
– liang Han juan* 中國書法史,兩漢卷
(History of Chinese Caligraphy–Han
Dynasty) (Nanjing: Jiangsu jiaoyu chu-
banshe, 1999), 68–69; Ma Guoquan,
"Niaochongshu lungao," 169–70. There is
still controversy over whether the writing
on the *qixin* pennant from Gansu is an
example of late Western Han *chongshu*. Cao
Jinyan has little doubt that it is, while Hua
Rende—and I would concur—considers it
to be a regular form of *xiaozhuan*. See Cao
Jinyan, *Niaochongshu tongkao*, 3; Hua Rende,
Zhongguo shufa shi, 69.

46. Nylan, "Calligraphy: The Sacred Text and
Test of Culture," 49; Hua Rende, *Zhongguo
shufa shi*, 22.

47. Within the entire corpus of surviving seals
from the Han period, these seals still form a
very small group.

48. Willibald Veit, *Siegel und Siegelschrift der
Chou-, Ch'in- und Han-Dynastie* (Stuttgart:
Franz Steiner Verlag, 1985), 38; Han Tianheng
韓天衡, *Qin Han niaochongzhuan yin xuan*
秦漢鳥蟲篆印選 (A Selection of Qin and
Han period birdscript seals) (Shanghai:
Shanghai shudian, 1987), 1–8; for an abbre-
viated form of this study, see Han Tianheng,
"Qin Han niaochongzhuan yin xian," in
Zhongguo shufa jianshang da cidian, ed.
Liu Zhengcheng (Beijing: Dadi chubanshe,
1989), 1512–13; Ma Guoquan, "Niaochongshu
lungao," 162–68; Hua Rende, *Zhongguo shufa
shi*, 93–94.

49. "Changsha Xianjiahu Xi Han Cao Zhuang
mu" 長沙咸家湖西漢曹娛墓, *Wenwu*, 1979,
3:1–16.

50. For an explanation of the characters on
these seals, see Ma Guoquan, "Niaochongshu
lungao," 168. Cao Zhuan's tomb also
included lacquer objects, whose painted
designs closely resemble the Mancheng ves-
sels in style, see *Wenwu*, 1979, 3:13, 15.

51. Veit's study showed that *mouzhuan* was used
initially for jade seals and was "transferred
to bronze seals only relatively late, prob-
ably around the middle of the Western Han
dynasty." Veit, *Siegel und Siegelschrift*, 197.

52. Veit, *Siegel und Siegelschrift*, 197.

53. In the collection of Mr. Sonoda in Kyoto is a
seal in the shape of a coiling dragon, which
can be worn as a bracelet. The same collec-
tion, however, also includes another private
seal with a similarly extravagant handle, but
with a very angular inscription in regular
sealscript. Veit, *Siegel und Siegelschrift*, table
CXCIII:1, table CXCIV:6.

54. *Daisanji Kubosō korekushon: Eguchi Jirō
korekushon* (The Third Kubosou Collection:
Eguchi Jirō Collection) (Izumi: Kubosō
Kinen Bijutsukan, 2001), fig. 359. An identi-
cal tile was excavated in 1953 in Xianyang,
Shaanxi, see Shi Shuqing 史樹青, ed.,
*Zhongguo wenwu jinghua daquan, jinyin
yu shi juan* 中國文物精華大全, 金銀玉
石卷 (The Compendium of China's fine
cultural relics, volume on gold, silver, jade,
stone) (Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan,
1994), 355. For a rubbing of possibly the
same tile, see Veit, *Siegel und Siegelschrift*,
table LXVII:3; Veit's reference to an earlier
Chinese publication of that rubbing includes
an error and cannot be verified. For a rub-
bing of a tile once in the collection of the
antiquary and connoisseur Wu Dacheng
吳大澂 (1835–1902), see Ma Guoquan,

"Niaochongshu lungao," 171; Hua Rende, *Zhongguo shufa shi*, 116.

55. Wang Zhongshu, *Han Civilization* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982), 148–50; Hua Rende, *Zhongguo shufa shi*, 111–18. Most of the tiles decorated with *xiaozhuan*, *mouzhuan*, and *niaochongshu* characters date to the mid- and late Western Han period. During the Eastern Han, eaves tiles with auspicious wishes become rarer and tiles more frequently use the *lishu* style. By the end of the Han and later, the old tiles had apparently already become desirable collectibles of calligraphy enthusiasts. See Hua Rende, *Zhongguo shufa shi*, 117.

56. Han Tianheng, "Qin Han niaochongzhuan yin xian," 2, has argued that the birdscript style used on seals was a means to beautify ordinary writing, the designer taking recourse to the ornamental tradition of its time.

57. Martin J. Powers, *Art and Political Expression in Early China* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991), 80.

58. On ritual splendor under Emperor Wu, the ensuing reaction of ritual classicists, and a most insightful discussion of the changing meaning of the term *wenzhang* from "correct and appropriate ornament" to "mere ornament" in the course of the late Western and early Eastern Han period, see Martin Kern, "Ritual, Text, and the Formation of the Canon: Historical Transitions of *wen* in Early China," *T'oung Pao* 87.1–3 (2001): 43–91, esp. 66f. Kern also demonstrates that the term *wen* only takes on the meaning of text and writing in the course of the debates on ritual reform, beginning in the later part of the Western Han period. The tempting speculation of a conscious play in the early Han birdscript with a possible double meaning of *wen* as "refined ornament" and "refined written text" can therefore be excluded.

59. E.g., Tseng Yuho, *A History of Chinese Calligraphy* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1993), 41, 80–82; see also Lothar Ledderhose, *Die Siegelschrift (Chuan-shu) in der Ch'ing-Zeit* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1970), 43–44.

60. On such *fu* talismans, see Monika Drexler, *Daoistische Schriftmagie: Interpretationen zu den Schriftamuletten "Fu" im Daozang* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1994). See also Michel Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 123–93, esp. 140–43.

61. See note 21 above.

62. Hua Rende suggests that Western Han officials well versed in the eight writing styles

must have provided the designs for the tile inscriptions, as the archaeologically excavated examples apparently all belonged to imperial monuments. Hua Rende, *Zhongguo shufa shi*, 115. My thanks to Bai Qianshen for directing my attention to this passage.

63. Ernst H. Gombrich, *The Sense of Order: A Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1979), 262–63.

64. For fine recent scholarship on Zhou-period birdscript, consult Cao Jinyan, *Niaochongshu tongkao*. See also Cong Wenjun 叢文俊, "Niao feng long chong shu hekao" 鳥鳳龍蟲書合考 (An examination of bird, phoenix, dragon, and insect scripts) *Shufa yanjiu* 書法研究, 1996, 3:40–80; Ma Guoquan, "Niaochongshu lungao," 139–76.

65. On the Qin script reforms, see Derk Bodde, "The State and Empire of Ch'in" in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 1, *The Ch'in and Han Empires*, ed. Denis Twitchett and Michael Loewe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 56–58.

66. Ma Guoquan, "Niaochongshu lungao," 142.

67. Cao Jinyan, *Niaochongshu tongkao*, 5, 88–99.

68. See note 40 above.

69. The birdscript tile excavated in Xianyang is occasionally considered to be of Qin date, but no compelling evidence has been cited for such a dating. See Shi Shuqing, ed., *Zhongguo wenwu jinghua daquan, jinyin yu shi juan*, 355.

70. Wu Zhefu et al., *Five Thousand Years of Chinese Art: Chinese Seals — Zhonghua wuqian nian wenwu jikan. Xiyin pian* (Taipei: Zhonghua wuqian nian wenwu jikan bian ji wei yuanhui, 1985), 48, 62, 66, 67. The two seals discovered in 1974 in the tomb of Cao Zhuan in Changsha were the first archaeologically excavated examples of birdscript seals that could be clearly dated (see fig. 11). See Veit, *Siegel und Siegelschrift*, 194.

71. *Changsha fajue baogao* (Excavation reports from Changsha) 長沙發掘報告 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1957), 57f., pl. 107, color pls. 1, 2.

72. Hubeisheng Jingzhou diqu bowuguan, "Jiangling Yangjiashan 135 hao Qin mu fajue jianbao" (Excavation report of Qin tomb no. 135 at Jiangling Yangjiashan) 江陵揚家山135號秦墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu*, 1993, 8:1–11.

73. Margarete Prüch, *Die Lacke der Westlichen Han-Zeit* (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 1997), 287. Compare here especially the diagonal ornaments with animals, in Institute of Archaeology et al., *Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao*, 45, figs. 27.2, 27.5.

74. *Wenwu*, 1963, 2:13–24, pls. 2, 3; Prüch, *Die Lacke der Westlichen Han-Zeit*, Figs. 9, 10.

75. See note 49 above.

76. "Fuyang Shuanggudui Xi Han Ruyinhou mu fajue baogao" (Excavation report of the tomb of the Western Han marquis of Ruyin in Fuyang Shanggudui) 阜陽雙古堆西漢汝陰候墓發掘報告, *Wenwu*, 1978, 8:12–31.

77. For additional comparative examples of animal ornament in southern contexts, see Jenny So in Fong, *Great Bronze Age of China*, 331.

78. Wang Zhongshu, *Han Civilization*, 101.

79. Institute of Archaeology et al., *Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao*, 41ff.; Wang Zhongshu, *Han Civilization*, 101.

80. For late fourth-century Chu bronze vessels with inlay, presumably produced in the Chu capital, see the examples found in Chu tomb 2 at Wangshan, Jiangling, Hubei (*Wenwu*, 1966, 5:33–55), and in Baoshan, Jingmen, Hubei (Yang, *Golden Age of Chinese Archaeology*, no. 115).

81. Jenny So, *Eastern Zhou Ritual Bronzes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections* (New York: Arthur M. Sackler Foundation, 1995), 3:56–79.

82. See So, *Eastern Zhou Ritual Bronzes*, 61; *Gems of China's Cultural Relics, 1992* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1992), no. 110.

83. The Shiyuan tomb belonged to a still unidentified member of the early Han aristocracy. See Yan Genqi, ed. 嚴根齊, *Mangyang shan Xi Han Liangwang mudi* 芒碭山西漢梁王墓地 (The tomb of King Liang of the Western Han at Hangyang Shan) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001), fig. 49, color pls. I, II.

84. Jessica Rawson, "Chu Influences on the Development of Han Bronze Vessels," *Arts Asiatiques* 44 (1989): esp. 84–86.

85. Gopal Sukhu, "Monkeys, Shamans, Emperors, and Poets: The *Chuci* and Images of Chu during the Han Dynasty," in *Defining Chu: Image and Reality in Ancient China*, ed. Constance A. Cook and John S. Major (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 145–63.

86. Kern, *Stele Inscriptions of Ch'in Shih-huang*, 27.

87. Ledderose, *Die Siegelschrift (Chuan-shu) in der Ch'ing-Zeit*, 27–28.

88. Sukhu, "Monkeys, Shamans, Emperors, and Poets," 152–57; Kern, "Ritual, Text, and the Formation of the Canon," 66–68.

89. One may even read the unflattering debate with the king of Zhao, which Sima Qian chose to record in Liu Sheng's biography as a criticism of the emperor's promotion of luxurious ritual display. See note 4 above.

Auspicious Motifs in Ninth- to Thirteenth-Century Chinese Tombs

ABSTRACT

Beginning in the ninth century, a new genre of images appeared in Chinese tomb murals: bird and flowers. These new motifs conveyed wishes for the prosperity of the family and quickly became standard, continuing to be used in Chinese tombs as well as in tombs of other ethnic groups affected by Chinese funeral practices well into the thirteenth century. This article has four goals. The first is to describe the evolution of bird-and-flower compositions in later Chinese burials. The second is to document the geographical range of the depiction in tombs of these bird-and-flower motifs and to prove that their use was widely accepted, not an isolated, local phenomenon. The third goal is to define the auspicious meanings of the bird-and-flower motifs seen in tombs, and the fourth is to explain their function in a funerary context.

My research into the beginnings of bird-and-flower painting, based on extant examples, indicates that birds have been a part of the Chinese decorative idiom since the Neolithic period.[1] Flowers, however, did not appear in Chinese art until the latter half of the first millennium B.C., but then the representation of floral motifs died out, only to reappear as an accepted art subject by the third century A.D. The evolution of flower depiction from generic blossom to the accurate representation of specific species can be traced through floral motifs in murals at Dunhuang and in Chinese tombs as well as in the engraved coffin chambers of early eighth-century imperial tombs.

The combination of birds and flowers, as distinct from the rendition of these motifs as separate entities, evolves from their first being placed individually in vertical registers to their later presentation as coherent and integrated, often symmetrical, arrangements. Evidence of this development is preserved in the decoration of Chinese metalwork, lacquers, and textiles. Integrated, coherent bird-and-flower compositions apparently did not emerge in Chinese art until the time when flora and fauna became appreciated for their own intrinsic values and, then, only after artists cultivated their abilities to render the complex bird-and-flower compositions.

The glorification of flowers and birds in Tang dynasty decorative art can be understood as one facet

Huang Jucai, *Pheasant, Brambles, and Sparrows,* ink and color on silk, tenth century. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

of a new esteem for nature manifested by advances in other cultural spheres such as the illustration of herbals, progress in horticulture, and innovative emphases on new plants in private gardens. On the art side, there are written references to a few pre-Tang and early Tang painters noted for depicting insects or birds or flowers, but it is difficult to know what these paintings really looked like. The appearance of bird-and-flower, along with rock-flower-and-bird, compositions in late seventh-century crafts coincides with written data indicating that painters of that period, such as Yuchi Yiseng 尉遲乙僧 (fl. during the Zhengguan era, A.D. 627–649), Xie Qi (649–713), and Yin Zhongrong 殷仲容 (ca. 684–705), had begun to render these themes. Unfortunately, painted examples of this stage of the sequence are missing today.

In the ninth century, the recently developed illustrative genre of integrated, coherent bird-and-flower compositions began to appear in Chinese tomb murals. Here assemblages of flora and fauna are most often depicted on painted replicas of multipaneled screens typically located on the most important surface of the tomb: the wall or walls surrounding the corpse. These bird-and-flower screens quickly became standard in tomb decoration. They continued to be used in Chinese tombs as well as in tombs of other ethnic groups affected by Chinese funeral practices well into the thirteenth century. However, despite their obvious popularity, their import and significance have been overlooked in archaeological reports because pictures of daily existence, also rendered on tomb walls, are more highly valued either for the light they shed on Chinese material culture, and on the life of other ethnic groups, or for what these paintings reveal about painting techniques and styles.

This article describes the evolution of bird-and-flower screens in later Chinese burials, documents the wide geographical range of the such depictions, and defines the relevance and function of these motifs in a funerary context. As background to this exposition, general comments are first presented about tombs and the organization of decorative motifs within them and about the rise of the use of replicated screens as a part of tomb decoration.

TOMBS AND SCREENS

Descriptions of the proper preparation for funerals and the correct performance of burial ceremonies survive in Chinese treatises. But there exist no Chinese writings detailing other important considerations for the proper disposition of the deceased. Such information must be recovered today through archaeological work. Archaeological excavations of tombs dating from the ninth century and later reveal that tomb shapes were circular, square, hexagonal, or octagonal.[2] Most graves were aligned from south to north with the entrance facing south (most tombs, however, are normally a few degrees off the true north/south axis). The corpse was usually positioned parallel to the north (back) wall of the burial chamber or, more rarely, parallel to the west wall. If the decoration of the tomb walls has survived, the most common subjects in these later tombs are understood as representing the life (often idealized, of course) of the deceased: processions, excursions, food preparation, dining, orchestras, and entertainments. These themes appear on any wall but the north wall of the burial chamber.

The north wall, the only one visible from the entrance, was often reserved for distinctive subjects. The special deference accorded this particular wall was pointed out years ago by Richard Edwards in his study of the Han dynasty burial cave reliefs in Ma Hao, Sichuan, where on the back wall were carved the two most important images in the complex: the horse and a seated Buddha "placed on the very axis of the tomb-shaft, appearing to us as both a guardian and a guide for that great dark unknown journey."[3]

Much later, in Song times, the back wall was routinely embellished with one of three subjects: (1) depictions of the deceased, often a couple, seated at a table; (2) the figure of a girl at a door, sometimes partly open; or (3) bird-and-flower compositions rendered as part of the replication of folding screens. These motifs are exceptional elsewhere in the tomb.

The figure of a girl at a door goes back to the Han dynasty, but its significance is unknown.[4] Some Chinese scholars suggest that she represents the daughter-in-law ready to serve her parents-in-law.[5]

Some Western scholars believe this motif "may simply be what it seems: an entrance or exit for the tomb occupant to move between the several worlds available to him or her."[6]

Substantially more information is known about the third major subject, the standing or folding screen and its importance in Chinese life. Long before the ninth century, the depiction of screens were part of tomb decoration. An extremely adaptable piece of furniture, screens can protect against cold drafts or prying eyes.[7] Screens define spaces for specific uses within a large room or even out-of-doors. Wealthy and elite personages of rank used the decoration on screens to announce and reinforce their social status, as did the dragon screens placed behind the imperial thrones. Thus, intimate connections existed between screens and their users. According to Wu Hung:

> For a long period in Chinese history, *discourse* on the subject of the screen evolved around a hypothetical male sitter. Although in actual life women owned and used screens as well, pre-Han and Han writers only talked about men's screens, and described their design. According to these writers, a screen's pictorial images were related to the man sitting in front of it — not so much in the sense of his physical comfort or perceptual delight as in his spiritual and moral conduct.[8]

A lacquered screen with didactic subject matter was found in the tomb of Sima Jinlong 司馬金龍 at Datong, Shanxi Province, dated to before A.D. 484 (figs. 1, 2). Depicted on the three-panel screen is an extensive program of male and female paragons of Confucian virtues. According to the excavators, this screen stood beside Sima Jinlong's coffin. Wu Hung suggests "that even in the afterlife, this painted object continued to symbolize its owner's high morality."[9] It might also have expressed hopes that his family would endure as upright, moral individuals.

By the fifth century A.D., multipanel screens enclosed the lower part of bedsteads or couches, as seen in a segment of the *Admonitions of the Palace Instructress to the Palace Ladies* scroll, a copy after Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (ca. 345–406) now in the British Museum (fig. 3). Beginning in the late sixth century, a new burial practice used stone couches in the tomb imitating the wooden bedsteads of the living with their multipanel screens enclosing couches (fig. 4).[10]

Screen panels were replicated as paintings on the walls surrounding the burial platform and decorated with subjects that changed over the centuries. In the sixth century, the subjects were men seated under trees. In a Shandong tomb (dating after 561), where the coffin was placed along the west side of the chamber, the north wall carried a painted nine-panel screen on which was depicted rudimentary mountains and clouds and a trio of figures: a presumed portrait of the deceased in the center and a servant to his left and right.[11] Several constellations of men under trees represent the well-known Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove accompanied by an eighth personage, Rong Qiqi 榮啓期.[12] Audrey Spiro, in her analysis of depictions of these seven unconventional third-century recluses and the legendary contemporary of Confucius, suggests that their attraction to later generations was that they became "classics, models in their talent and ability for both rulers and courtiers" and, like other character portraits, were "made for the purposes of admiration, identification, and emulation."[13]

Figures beneath trees on screen panels enclosing the coffin area remained a favored subject well into the early ninth century, as seen in some eleven tomb murals enclosing the coffin area as widely separated geographically as Xi'an in Shaanxi, Taiyuan in Shanxi, Guyuan in Ningxia, and even remote Astana in Xinjiang. These examples have recently been tabulated and analyzed by Zhao Chao, who determined that many represent paragons of filial piety or sages or other individuals of superior moral substance, including some members of the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove and Rong Qiqi, who serve as role models.[14]

On the other hand, in the Tang dynasty tomb 65TAM38 at Astana, a six-panel screen depicting six men, standing and seated under trees, spreads across the back wall (fig. 5). Despite severe damage in the middle of the scene, the gentlemen and their assistants

1 Painted lacquer screen from tomb of Sima Jinlong at Datong, Shanxi Province, before A.D. 484, two sides of a single panel. Shanxi Provincial Museum, Taiyuan, Shanxi Province. After Wu Hung, *The Double Screen: Medium and Representation in Chinese Painting* (London: Reaktion Books, 1996), figs. 53, 54.

seemingly engage in literati activities and the whole is interpreted as representing the life pleasures of the deceased.[15]

By the early eighth century, women in garden settings began to appear on the screens rendered in tombs, as discovered on the back wall of a grave near Xi'an (fig. 6).[16] In another tomb, that of Crown Prince Jiemin 節愍, dating to 710, a small section of a multipanel screen with depictions of women in a

garden is preserved among the west wall paintings.[17] These underground paintings are analogous to actual examples. The famous screen panels, now in the Shōsō-in in Nara, Japan, of women seated beneath trees reflect this new trend, as do the women, entertainers, and diversions depicted on actual screens discovered in fragmentary condition in tombs at Astana. Among these are two fragments representing dancers and musicians found in tomb 72TAM230, dating to
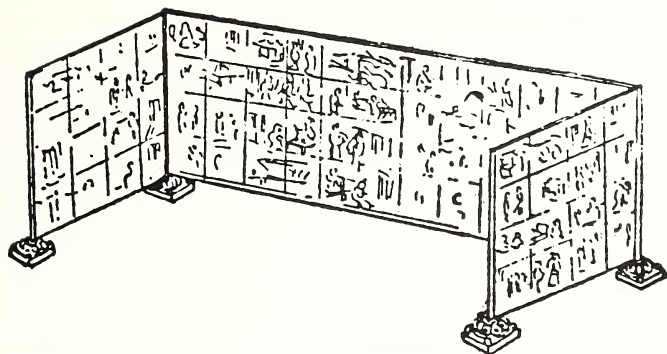
2 Reconstruction of fig. 1. After Wu Hung, *The Double Screen: Medium and Representation in Chinese Painting* (London: Reaktion Books, 1996), fig. 50

3 *Bedroom Scene,* copy after Gu Kaizhi (ca. 345–406), *Admonitions of the Instructress to Palace Ladies,* handscroll, ink and color on silk. © Copyright of The Trustees of The British Museum.
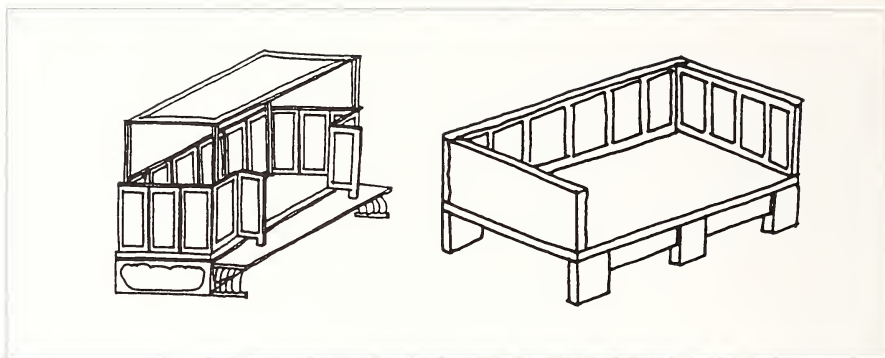
4 Left: screened bed illustrated in fig. 3. Right: a Northern Wei funerary couch from Luoyang, early sixth century. After Wu Hung, *The Double Screen: Medium and Representation in Chinese Painting* (London: Reaktion Books, 1996), figs. 55, 56.

5 *Men Under Trees,* six-panel screen mural, back wall of tomb 65TAM38 at Astana, Xinjiang, Tang dynasty. After Xinjiang Weiwuer zizhiqu bowuguan, "Tulufanxian Asitana—Halahezhuo gumuqun fajue jianbao," *Wenwu,* 1973, 10: pl. 2.

703, and men and horses under trees, fragments of an eight-panel screen from tomb 72TAM188, dated to 715.[18] It is generally understood by Chinese scholars that the subjects on screen paintings in tombs are related to the lives of the deceased.

Multipanel screens are also found replicated in the niches of Buddhist caves at Dunhuang. Here some later caves have a raised image niche opposite the entrance, resembling the arrangement of the Chinese tomb with its raised coffin platform opposite the entrance. In discussing screen paintings lining the three sides of niches in caves created during the Tibetan occupation of the Dunhuang area (781–848), Zhao Qinglan points out that the niche with its sculptured icon, directly opposite the door, is the most important part of the cave shrine. He observes that

6 *Women in Garden Setting,* six-panel screen mural, back wall of a tomb near near Xi'an, Tang dynasty. After *Zhongguo meishu quanji, huihuabian,* vol. 12, *Mushi bihua* 中國美術全集, 繪畫編, 墓室壁畫 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1989), pl.125.

the Buddhist screen paintings always are thematically connected with the sculptured icon in front of them, just as the tomb painting subjects are associated with the deceased.[19]

Finally, in the late Tang dynasty, flowers and rocks were introduced as suitable subjects in tomb decoration. In an undated tomb in Xi'an, a single panel containing the depiction of an unidentified flower on a long stem and a rock was on the east wall adjacent to a scene of a musical performance (fig. 7). On the north wall is rendered an altar with offerings and a flowering plant (fig. 8). Unfortunately, little remains of the painting on the west wall, where there was depicted a five-panel screen with undecipherable flowers and stones.[20] Despite the ruinous condition of the floral paintings in this tomb, their remains suggest the concurrent existence of two compositional arrangements. The north wall composition is in a wide horizonal format with a degree of formal symmetry evident in the arrangement of blossoms and leaves. The west wall flowers and rock are in the tall, vertical format of folding screen panels.

Happily, a nearly complete multipanel screen mural survives from Astana (fig. 9). Generally considered to be late Tang in date, it is the earliest known

bird-and-flower screen replica tomb mural, and indeed the earliest known integration of flora and fauna into consecutive compositions. It was painted on the all-important back wall of the tomb. In somewhat disjointed scenes, the motifs on the six panels include, as far as they can be identified, from left to right: (1) a mandarin duck and plant, (2) a pheasant with three chicks and dandelions or cattails, (3) a red duck and red daylily, (4) a mandarin duck and reeds, (5) two ducks and narcissus, and (6) a pheasant and an unidentifiable lily. Birds wing off toward distant mountains screened with red clouds. What actual bird-and-flower screens from this period might look like is seen in a sophisticated composition of a pheasant standing on a rock in front of a flowering tree and butterflies, one of a six-panel screen of which two panels are preserved today in the Shōsō-in (fig. 10).

BIRD-AND-FLOWER DEPICTIONS IN NINTH- AND TENTH-CENTURY TOMBS

Each panel of the Astana screen has a loose arrangement of motifs placed on the central axis. But another compositional format was also in vogue in the ninth century: a three-part organization suggesting

7 Detail of *Flowers and Stones,* mural on east wall of a tomb near Xi'an, Tang dynasty. Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo, *Shaanxi xinchutu Tang mu bihua* (Chongqing: Chongjing chubanshe, 1998), pl. 144.

8 *Altar Table with Offerings and a Flowering Plant,* mural on north wall of a tomb near Xi'an, Tang dynasty. After Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo, *Shaanxi xinchutu Tang mu bihua* (Chongqing: Chongjing chubanshe, 1998), pl. 145.

9 *Flowers and Birds and Rocks,* six-panel screen mural on back wall of tomb 217 at Astana, Tang dynasty. After *Zhongguo meishu quanji, huihuabian,* vol. 12, *Mushi bihua* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1989), pl. 134.

10 *Pheasant on a Rock,* printed textile screen panel, eighth century. Shōsō-in, Tōdai-ji, Nara, Japan. After *Yamatoe no shiki* 大和絵の四季, vol. 1, *Heian Kamakura no kacho* 平安鎌倉の花鳥 (Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1982).

a three-panel standing screen consisting of a large panel flanked by a small one on each side. In this new scheme, perhaps descended from the mural in the Tang tomb described above, a large plant spreads across the central surface in a visually arresting and effective method of covering a sizable expanse. This new scheme is seen in the decoration on the north walls of three graves dated 852, 924, and 995, all in present-day Hebei Province.

The earliest of these tombs is located in the Haidian suburb of Beijing. It was constructed for the wife of Wang Gongshu 王公淑 in 838; her husband was also buried there in 852.[21] It is unknown whether the roughly octagonal tomb was repainted to receive the body of the husband. Fragments of human bones were found on the elevated coffin platform abutting the north wall. In a large mural on the north wall, a luxuriant peony shrub stretches across the center of the wall; two large swallowtail butterflies hover to the right, and farther to the right is a plant identified in the report as an autumn hibiscus (figs. 11, 12). The upper part of the scene and much of the left portion have been destroyed, but the site report identifies the plant on the left as a *baihe* 百合 lily.[22] A pair of marsh geese stand facing each other at the bottom of the picture.

Some seventy-two years later, in 924, an elaborate four-chambered mausoleum near Xiyanzhuang village in Quyang County was prepared for Wang Chuzhi 王處直, a high official in the Tang and Later Liang dynasties.[23] Perhaps because it is later in date, or perhaps because it was prepared for a high official, the decorative scheme of this tomb is much more complex than that of the tomb of Wang Gongshu. Near the entrance into the forechamber, two side rooms open off to the east and west. On the central axis is a rectangular extension of the forechamber, and then at the back is a smaller burial chamber. There were at least two coffin platforms, one at the east and one at the west wall of the back chamber; there may also have been one at the north wall, but this is unclear from the description and the ground plan in the site report. The tomb had been robbed of its contents, but its walls were left largely intact. The large painting on the

11 *Peonies, Flowers, Marsh Geese, and Butterflies,* mural on north wall of tomb of Wang Gongshu in the Haidian suburb of Beijing, 838. After Beijingshi Haidianqu wenwu guanlisuo, "Beijingshi Haidianqu Balizhuang Tang mu," *Wenwu,* 1995, 11:49, fig. 7.

north wall of this chamber is nearly undamaged (figs. 13–15). It is similar to the one in Wang Gongshu's tomb: a large red peony shrub here augmented with a pitted rock, four pigeons on the ground and four flying long-tailed birds hovering above, along with at least six butterflies. One of the pigeons has espied a grasshopper (fig. 16). Each blossoming side plant has attracted four butterflies. The flowers on the left are white with a red center; they look suspiciously like narcissus.[24] The red flowers on the right are impossible to identify. In the burial chamber the murals once on the east and west walls are poorly preserved, but they must have been impressive. In the site report they are reproduced only in black and white, and it is difficult to make out the imagery. According to the report, on the east wall all that remains of the original painting is a tall, thin "mountain" rock and two stems of bamboo, two small flying birds, identified as mountain tits, and an insect identified as a bee.[25] On the west wall there are a convoluted "lake" rock, suggestions of branches and stems (perhaps of bamboo), a butterfly, and a long-tailed bird.

Painted decoration elsewhere in the tomb is especially rich in avian and floral imagery, including pairs of cranes flying in the interstices of the bracket arms. A peony plant with two long-tailed birds is painted on the west wall of the west side room, and ten panels of red flowering plants, rocks, and/or doves or pigeons line the east and west walls of the forechamber (fig. 17). These panels are akin to those in the Astana screen but are handled with greater sophistication. The blossoming plants are identified as tree peonies, monthly roses (*yueji* 月季), red roses (*qiangwei* 薔薇), and morning glories (*qianniu* 牽牛). The tomb is famous for two monochrome landscape murals and two exquisite marble carvings of female musicians and attendants, framed by a floral curtain. Many of the garments of the women depicted on the walls had been tinted red, and the figures are set against a painted red background. The murals include figures of male and female attendants, many in red clothing, along with sculpted figures of the zodiac, also wearing red robes.

12 Details of fig. 11. After Beijingshi Haidianqu wenwu guanlisuo, "Beijingshi Haidianqu Balizhuang Tang mu," *Wenwu,* 1995, inside back cover.
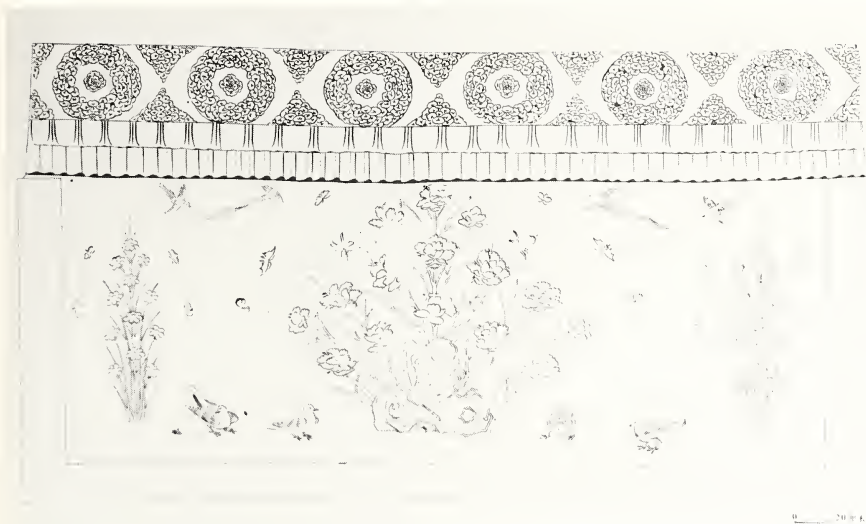
13 *Peony Shrub, Pitted Rock, Rose Plant, Narcissus Plant, Pigeons, Long-Tailed Birds, and Butterflies,* mural on north wall of tomb of Wang Chuzhi in Xiyanzhuang village in Quyang County, Hebei, 924. After Hebeisheng wenwu yanjiusuo and Baodingshi wenwu guanlichu, *Wudai Wang Chuzhi mu* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1998), pl. 20.

In sum, the arrangement of the floral compositions in the tombs of Wang Gongshu and Wang Chuzhi suggests a three-panel screen on the north wall with a large central panel and two smaller wings. This interpretation is confirmed by what is clearly a three-panel screen, now at the end of the tenth century, with a configuration of camellia shrub, rock, and secondary plants rendered on the north wall, the location of the coffin platform, in the tomb of Han Yi 韓依 (936–995) at Babaoshan, Beijing.[26] The picture is badly damaged, and only a poorly reproduced copy of it is available for study, but is important because it establishes the use of a three-paneled screen (fig. 18).

Among the many floral depictions in these tombs, only the peony murals in the graves of Wang Gongshu and Wang Chuzhi have attracted the attention of Chinese scholars. Luo Shiping associates the Wang Gongshu picture with the eighth-century painter Bian Luan 邊鸞 on the basis of written observations about his painting.[27] Hao Jianwen sees connections between

the Wang Chuzhi representation and the works of the tenth-century court painter Huang Quan 黃荃.[28] Only Luo touches briefly on the meaning of the peony as connoting wealth and nobility, but does not explain how these bird-and-flower representations function in a funerary context. In view of the sanctity of the north (or less frequently, the west) walls in tombs and of the importance of their received imagery, the question arises, how do motifs from the world of flora and fauna fit into the general intent of tomb decoration?

Despite inaccuracies or lapses in identifying the flowers and birds seen in these tomb paintings, it is hypothesized here that these motifs carried auspicious wishes for the welfare of the deceased and of his family. This development is not new in burial practices; such wishes placed in tombs can be traced back to the Han dynasty.

By the Eastern Han dynasty (A.D. 206–222), easily recognizable expressions of hopes for a prosperous and happy life were common. Auspicious expres-

14 *Narcissus Plant,* detail of fig. 13. After Hebeisheng wenwu yanjiusuo and Baodingshi wenwu guanlichu, *Wudai Wang Chuzhi mu* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1998), color pl. 28.2.

15 *Rose Plant,* detail of fig. 13. After Hebeisheng wenwu yanjiusuo and Baodingshi wenwu guanlichu, *Wudai Wang Chuzhi mu,* color pl. 28.1.

16 *Pigeon and Grasshopper*, detail of fig. 13. After Hebeisheng wenwu yanjiusuo and Baodingshi wenwu guanlichu, *Wudai Wang Chuzhi mu*, pl. 6.

sions take three forms: (1) written phrases, (2) visual rebuses to which the homophonic nature of the Chinese language lends itself, relying upon auditory associations but, instead of employing written text, using images to convey meaning;[29] and (3) the use of actual objects (such as coins) or representations of them. Such expressions permeated Han life. Aboveground, clay eaves-tile ends carried characters wishing "profound happiness without end" (*changsheng wuji* 長生無幾) or "a thousand autumns, ten thousand years" (or "everlasting life," *qianqiu wansui* 千秋萬歲) and similar ideas.[30] Han textiles incorporated characters spelling out analogous auspicious sentiments in their designs.[31]

Belowground, expressions of wishes for the propitious future of the deceased were routinely included in tombs. In Eastern Han tombs in Sichuan, for example, money trees (*yaoqianshu* 搖錢樹), their bronze branches festooned with coins, are interpreted as obvious hopes for the future prosperity of the deceased.[32] Molded clay bricks lining Sichuan tomb walls frequently had decorative motifs of coins or inscriptions including phrases such as *yizisun* 宜子孫, "May you have sons and grandsons."[33] Similar wishes were engraved on bronze basins placed in the

tomb. Actual coins were placed in tombs; some were specially made for burial and had auspicious phrases on them. In ancient China, coins were called *quan* 泉. *Quan* is also the sound of the character meaning "complete" (全). One Sichuan tomb contained more than one hundred coins as well as a bronze basin ornamented with a fish and inscribed with the phrase *fuguichang, yihou* 富貴長宜後. The fish (*yu* 魚) is a homophone for "plenty" or "excess" (*yu* 餘); the inscription can be translated as, "Wealth, honor and prosperity, may you attain the rank of a marquis."[34] Such sentiments must have applied equally to the deceased as well as to his descendants.

The fish just mentioned is an example of a rebus. In the realm of the living, puns and rebuses, based on auditory associations, were poetic staples.[35] In the precinct of the tomb, to continue with the Sichuan example, the money tree branches shelter human figures and animal figures including monkeys; molded on the ceramic bases for these trees are rams, deer, and elephants. The monkey (*hou* 猴) is a homophone for "marquis" (*hou* 侯) as well as for "descendants" (*hou* 後); the early dictionary, the *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (An Explication of Written Characters), equates the character for ram (*yang* 羊) with that for "auspicious" (*xiang* 祥); "deer" (*lu* 鹿) is a homophone for "salary" (*lu* 祿);[36] "elephant" (*xiang* 象) is an exact homophone for "auspicious."

A long-standing concern of the Chinese is embodied in the concept of "longevity" (*shou* 壽). In the later Han dynasty, physical immortality was an aspiration reflected in images of the Queen Mother of the West, the ruler of immortality, included among the money tree images and painted or sculpted on walls of numerous tombs. But *shou* meant more than immortality. According to the modern Chinese scholar, Wang Zhongshu, "In the Han dynasty as soon as an emperor was enthroned, he began to build his own grave, calling it his *shouling* 壽陵, or 'longevity grave.'"[37] Writing about bronze mirrors placed in Han dynasty tombs, K. E. Brashier explores the multiple meanings of the term *shou*. He interprets *shouling* and *shouqi* 壽器 (longevity object), the euphemism for a coffin, as referring to the "desire that these objects would long

17 *Red Flowering Plants, Rocks, and Doves or Pigeons,* four of ten panels on east and west walls of forechamber of tomb of Wang Chuzhi in Xiyanzhuang village in Quyang County, Hebei, 924. After Hebeisheng wenwu yanjiusuo and Baodingshi wenwu guanlichu, *Wudai Wang Chuzhi mu* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1998), fig. 5.

endure." Brashier points out that "*shou* is often used to signify more than the longevity of human life and can be associated with the perpetuation of social iden-

tity and of the grave itself." He observes, "If *shou* can refer to the perpetuation of social identity, the wish for future generations is not unrelated. Those genera-

18 *Camellia Shrub, Rock, and Secondary Plants,* three-panel screen on north wall of the tomb of Han Yi (936–995) at Babaoshan, Beijing. After Beijingshi wenwu gongzuodui, "Beijing Xijiao Liao bihua mu fajue," *Beijing wenwu yu kaogu,* 1983, 1: pl. 5.

tions would foster remembrance through sacrifices in ancestral worship. The wish for personal longevity and the wish for lineage longevity are fused." These sentiments could also be stated directly in written form, such as inscriptions on mirrors that use such phrases as, "May your longevity be that of metal and stone, and may you amass future generations without end" (*shou ru jin shi, lei shih wei yang* 壽如金石累世未央). The durability of metal is just one of a constellation of reasons why mirrors were placed in tombs to express hopes for longevity and for ancestral-cult remembrance.[38]

Concerns for the future of the deceased and of their families continued to be expressed in tomb furnishings and decoration. Images of fish were a constant in tomb decoration, as, for example, in a burial dated 366 in Zhejiang; in a Sui dynasty tomb in Fujian, there were double fish and coins.[39] One grave, dating to 398 at Zhenjiang, had wishes for family prosperity inscribed on a wall brick: "*zisun anshou wannian*" 子孫安壽萬歲 (sons and grandsons, peace and longevity, for ten thousand years).[40] Above- and belowground, auspicous symbols continued to be used as designs in textiles and elsewhere. One weaving discovered in Astana in 1966 in a tomb dating no later than 631 included a figure riding on an elephant: *qixiang* 騎象. The motif could only have been

intended as a homophone for "auspicious" (*jixiang* 吉祥).[41] Albert E. Dien has been particularly perceptive in recognizing auspicious symbols among objects placed in Six Dynasties tombs, including, for example, chicken-headed ewers and crossbow mechanisms. In both cases, the word for "chicken" (*ji* 雞) and that for "mechanism" (*ji* 機) are homonyms for "auspicious" (*ji* 吉).[42] In the late Six Dynasties period an impressed, molded clay tile affixed to a wall of a grave discovered in 1959 at Dengxian in southern Henan Province consists of a pair of confronted birds with unusual heads. One is described as having "a elf-like head with long pointed ears and a funny hat"; the other has "a profiled rodent-like head which appears to be craning upward."[43] According to Yü Ying-shih, one way to achieve physical immortality during the Han dynasty was to metamorphose the human body into a bird.[44] In reality, the identity of these two bird creatures in the Dengxian tomb has puzzled scholars for decades,[45] but for purposes here, it is the two pairs of characters in the lower corners that are of importance: they read *wansui* 萬歲 (ten thousand years) and *qianqiu* 千秋 (one thousand autumns) (fig. 19), common expressions for longevity.

These auspicious motifs are limited to isolated, individual creatures or actual objects. Part of the appeal of the newly devised bird-and-flower com-

positions in the late Tang was that they provided a new, powerful, attractive, and truly beautiful visual language through which to articulate these cultural aspirations. These ideas, like their predecessors in earlier tombs, could be proclaimed through metaphors as well as through rebuses and homophones. Flowers and birds had been assigned virtues in early Chinese poetry and continued to be given special distinction. Tao Hongjing 陶弘景(456–536), for example, wrote of pomegranate's red flowers as the "longevity flower" (*yannian hua* 延年花).[46]

It is entirely possible that the bird-and-flower screen replica tomb mural discovered in Astana (see fig. 9) served the purpose of expressing felicitous hopes. Those birds and flowers depicted on this screen that can carry propitious content include mandarin ducks, known for their marital fidelity, and pheasants, which symbolize loyalty because they "cannot be enticed with food (i.e. salary) or intimidated with awesome might."[47] Pheasants are also associated with five virtues: civil culture, martial qualities, courage, benevolence (*ren* 仁), and trustworthiness.[48] The daylily is supposed to "bring sons"; the narcissus, an early blooming flower, brings good luck throughout the next twelve months.

Two aboveground counterparts of the Astana screen, the roughly contemporary Shōsō-in printed screen panels (see fig. 10) and the tenth-century hanging scroll ascribed to Huang Jucai 黃居寀 (933–after 993), *Pheasant, Brambles, and Sparrows* deserve consideration here. In the Shōsō-in panels, aside from the auspicious connotations of the pheasant, the rocks are obvious symbols of endurance and longevity; the exact identification of the flowering tree is unclear, but butterfly (*die* 蝶) is a homophone for "octogenarian" (耋) and conveys the idea of longevity.

Of the two dominant bird-and-flower masters in the tenth century, Xu Xi 徐熙 (d. before 975) in the South and Huang Quan (903–968) in Sichuan, the tomb paintings seem to be most closely allied with the works of the latter artist along with those of his two sons, Jubao (dates unknown) and Jucai.[49] The Astana compositional formula, for example, was consolidated under the brush of Huang Jucai, whose *Pheasant, Brambles, and Sparrows* is in the National Palace Museum in Taipei (fig. 20). Huang's painting, now mounted as a hanging scroll, is believed originally to have been a screen panel and thus might once have been one portion of a full complement of auspicious motifs.[50] Its connections with the tomb murals dis-

19 *A Pair of Confronted Birds and Characters "Wansui" and "Qianqiu,"* impressed, molded clay tile from tomb at Dengxian, Henan, late Six Dynasties. After Annette L. Juliano, *Teng-Hsien: An Important Six Dynasties Tomb,* Artibus Asiae Supplementum (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1980), fig. 28.

cussed below are strengthened when it is remembered that the motifs in Huang's depiction do convey auspicious ideas: the sparrow (*que* 雀) is a homophone for "high official rank" (爵); this connection plus the meanings associated with the pheasant and the rock suggest an official with firm and lasting loyalty.

As the idea of expressing lucky wishes through birds and flowers took hold, the lexicon expanded. The first burst occurred in the ninth century, as seen in the murals in the tombs of Wang Gongshu, Wang Chuzhi, and Han Yi. The second surge was under way by the early twelfth century. Given below are the auspicious meanings associated with the bird, flower, and insect motifs of the three late ninth- and early tenth-century tombs of Wang Gongshu, Wang Chuzhi, and Han Yi that have not been explained earlier in this article. Among the flowers in these three tombs are peonies, camellias, narcissus, hibiscus, autumn hibiscus, *baihe* lily, roses, and morning glories. There are three birds: long-tailed birds, doves or pigeons, and wild geese. Among the insects are butterflies, bees, and grasshoppers. Two other motifs are rocks and bamboo.

In Tang times, the peony was prized as rare and precious, especially in the gardens of the imperial palace, and so the peony was called the flower of wealth and rank (*fugui* 富貴). As a spring flower, the peony is sometimes associated with longevity. In the Song dynasty, the peony became the most popular flower in Luoyang, which became the center of peony culture.[51] Another spring flower, the camellia, is also identified with longevity; it is a new year flower since it blooms in winter. The narcissus, a third early blooming flower, brings good luck throughout the next twelve months. A common name for the hibiscus is *furong* 芙蓉; the *rong* 蓉 echoes *rong* 榮, meaning "splendor and glory." The significance of the autumn or yellow hibiscus is loyalty; it is also known as a flower that follows the sun, the life-giving *yang* element.[52] By means of verbal rebuses, the *baihe* 百合 lily means "hundred together," a phrase describing multiple overlapping layers of the lily bulb; *baihe* also stands for *baihe* 百合, "hundred harmonies" or "complete harmony"; and further, the *bai* of *baihe* is a homophone for "cypress" (柏), the evergreen tree of long life. Roses may be taken as

symbols of longevity because of their long blooming period. With clinging vines, morning glories symbolize marital fidelity.

A generic name for "long-tailed birds" is *shoudai-niao* 綬帶鳥 (birds carrying streamers). The word for streamers is *shou* 綬 and is a pun on the word for longevity (*shou*). *Dai* shares the same sound as the character for "generation" (代). Ribbons were attached to seals of official office, and so sashes or streamers are connected with good fortune and nobility. Long-tailed birds carrying streamers appeared in the auspicious decorative lexicon especially as popular designs on Tang dynasty mirrors.[53] In the Han dynasty, sculptures of pigeons were mounted as finials on staffs presented
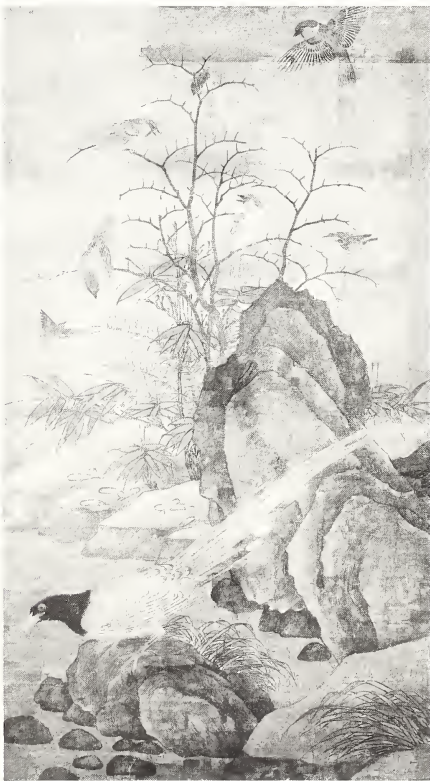
20 Huang Jucai, *Pheasant, Brambles, and Sparrows,* ink and color on silk, tenth century. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

to men who reached the advanced age of seventy. Because the word for "pigeon" (*jiu* 鳩) is a homonym for the idea of "long lasting" (*jiu* 久), this emblem wished the grantee long life.[54] The wild goose is a *yang* symbol because it follows the sun in its annual migrations and thus is also an emblem of longevity; because geese fly in pairs and are believed to mate for life, they embody marital fidelity.

The *feng* 蜂 in the name for "bee" (*mifeng* 蜜蜂) is a homophone for "bountiful" (豐) and for "appointment to noble rank" (封). The grasshopper (*guo'er* 蟈兒) carries wishes for success in the bureaucracy because *guo'er* is similar in sound to the pronunciation of the character for "official" (*guan* 官). The always-green bamboo and the large stones are obvious symbols of longevity.

Irrefutable evidence proving that exactly these images — rocks, pigeons, peonies, and long-tailed birds — were accepted as appropriate for funerary settings comes from the art-historian Guo Ruoxu 郭若虛, who recorded that in the year 1064,

> when the Xiaoyan Hall 孝嚴殿 was being constructed in the Jingling Mortuary shrine 景靈宮 [Yi] Yuanji 易元吉 was summoned to paint the Imperial audience screen in the Yingli Hall of Ritual Fasting 迎釐殿. On the center panel he depicted rocks from Taihu, and sketched in the well-known pigeons of the capital and the celebrated flowers of the Luo; while on the two side panels he represented peacocks.[55]

Luo refers to Luoyang and its peonies. Peacocks are emblems of dignity and, as birds with long tails, fit into the category of *shoudainiao* (birds carrying streamers). Thus, all four motifs receiving imperial endorsement carry auspicious significance suggesting the perpetuation of the family and its continued prosperity. These motifs as appropriate for burials not only became firmly situated in Chinese imperial practice, as revealed by Guo Ruoxu in the quotation above, but also, along with a host of other bird-and-flower motifs, became embedded within the Chinese cultural sphere in general and subsequently spread to other ethnic groups who came in contact with the Chinese.

By the time of Han Yi's death in 995, the Qidan Liao had acquired the prefectures of Yan 燕 and Yun 雲, basically the northern part of modern Shanxi and Hebei provinces. The Qidan people were of proto-Mongol stock. From the tenth to the thirteenth century, they occupied a large area of northern Asia, covering present Inner Mongolia, southern Manchuria, and, as noted, parts of present-day Shanxi and Hebei provinces of China.[56] The Liao and the Song continued their dual rulership of China until 1127, when both were defeated by the Jin armies. The Liao moved westward. The Song reestablished their capital in the far south, in the present-day city of Hangzhou, and as the Southern Song ruled from 1127 until 1279, when both the Jin and the Song were replaced by Mongol invaders. Under the Qidan Liao, Chinese subjects continued to bury their dead and decorate their tombs according to Chinese custom. Some Qidan also adopted certain Chinese burial practices, including painting the interior walls of tombs.[57]

BIRD-AND-FLOWER COMPOSITIONS IN LATE ELEVENTH- AND EARLY TWELFTH-CENTURY TOMBS

The strength and effectiveness of expressing auspicious wishes through bird, rock, and flower motifs on screens in tombs are further substantiated by the fact that by the late eleventh and early twelfth century, this usage had spread from Hebei to other areas of China. In northern Shanxi this screen formula appears on the north wall of nine, round, painted brick tombs discovered in the northern, southeastern, and southwestern sectors of Datong city, the Liao western capital, more familiar as the site of the Buddhist cave shrines at Yungang. All were cremation burials. One tomb is believed to have been constructed between 1091 and 1093; two others are dated by inscription to 1107 and 1119; the other six tombs are not dated, but circumstantial data point to approximately the same era.[58] According to the reports, the walls of these round tombs are divided into sections by painted columns. All nine tombs had three-, five-, or six-paneled screens depicted on the northern segment (fig. 21). Lush flowering shrubs, pitted rocks, and sometimes birds
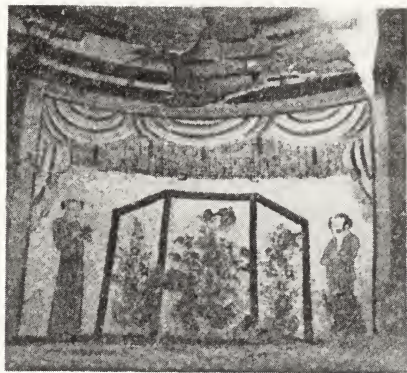
21 *Peony and Rock,* three-panel screens on north walls of tomb 4 (top right and left), tomb 5 (lower left), and tomb 6 (lower right) at Datong, Shanxi, late eleventh–early twelfth century. After Datongshi wenwu chenlieguan, "Shanxi Datong Wohuwan sizuo Liaodai bihua mu," *Kaogu,* 1963, 8: p. 5, figs. 1–2, and p. 6, figs. 1–2.

or butterflies are depicted on each panel of the screen replicas. Unfortunately, none of these paintings is adequately reproduced in the site reports, thus precluding supplementary comment here.

Moving farther north, to the Liao main capital at Zhongjing in present-day Ju Ud Meng of Inner Mongolia, the walls of four early twelfth-century tombs had, according to the report, "six paintings of flowers and plants," or pictures of "a large stone in the center with bamboo and plum to the sides."[59] Other fragmentary echoes of the rock-and-peony convention as a funerary motif come from late eleventh–early twelfth-century Qidan tombs in the area

of Kulun Banner, Inner Mongolia. These murals are best understood from drawings published in the site reports. The basic configuration of peony and rock was discovered painted in the antechamber of tomb 6 at this site (fig. 22).[60] A nearby tomb — tomb 1 — is famous for its extensive murals depicting Qidan life, and these have received extensive attention from Chinese and Western scholars.[61] The north and south walls of the antechamber of tomb 1 from this site were decorated with registers of paintings, including rows of figures at the bottom, then sets of fine rocks and peony plants, then a band of clouds, and, finally, four cranes in a bamboo grove and a lotus pond (fig. 23).

This top register is not a coherent scene, as the lotus pond awkwardly intrudes into the bamboo grove from one side of the high entranceway.

Two spectacular paintings of bird-and-flower screens from the early twelfth century were uncovered in the graves of two members of the Zhang family whose cemetery was near Xuanhua, some 129 kilometers northwest of Beijing, in Hebei Province. Zhang Shigu 張世古 and Zhang Gongyou 張恭誘 were Chinese administrators under the Liao. Zhang Shigu died in 1108; his cremated remains were entombed in 1117. Zhang Gongyou died in 1113, and his cremated remains were also buried in 1117 (their tombs are designated in the reports as tombs 5 and 2, respectively).[62] Both tombs are hexagonal; they are cremation burials, and the ashes of the deceased were placed in a wooden effigy deposited along the north wall. On the northwest, the north, and the northeast walls of each tomb are painted six-panel bird-and-flower screens, two panels on each wall. As in the other tombs in Hebei and Shanxi discussed above, these screens occupy the most important position of the tomb decorative scheme and could be seen from the entrance (fig. 24). Compositionally, these paintings, descendants of the panels in the tomb of Wang Chuzhi (see fig. 17), demonstrate that as the bird-and-flower compositions continued to develop in present-day Hebei Province, the genre became more elaborate and the motifs more diversified.

This second, twelfth-century surge expanding the range of permissible bird, flower, and insect motifs reflects the rapid acceptance of bird-and-flower painting. By the time the imperial Song collection was inventoried in 1120, this genre outstripped all others, with 2,776 bird-and-flower paintings by 46 specialists out of a total of 6,396 works by 231 artists, and it was "more than twice the number of the next largest genre, religious painting," of which the imperial collection had 1,180.[63] Not only were there more artists in the bird-and-flower specialty, but the types of flora and fauna they chose to portray had also expanded. In addition to the increased exploitation of birds and flowers as auspicious motifs, this expansion was perhaps due to the broadening interest in observing the physical world, an interest reflected in Song landscape paintings with their emphasis upon recording natural phenomena such as rain, mists, clouds, and times of the day.

In Zhang Shigu's grave the representation on each of the six-screen panels combines a plant with red blossoms (few of the flowers are identified in the site report), dragonflies, a convoluted rock, and a crane in a different pose in each panel (fig. 25). From the left, on the two panels on the northwest wall are wild chrysanthemum (following the identification in the site report)[64] and hibiscus; the next panel (on the north wall) depicts a shrub laden with small red flowers and augmented with bamboo; in the next panel (also on the north wall) is a long spray of dainty red blooms amid more bamboo foliage. The final two panels, on the northeast wall, have red hibiscus and lily plants.

The images on the screens replicated in Zhang Gongyou's tomb (fig. 26) are more elaborate and complex than those in his kinsman's tomb. From left to right in Zhang Gongyou's tomb: the first panel on the northwest wall is decorated with an integrated composition of a large rock behind which stands a crane; a large red lotus is presented in three stages of its life — bud, full blossom, and blossom with developing seedpod. Pointed leaves of the arrowhead plant provide fillers. Two amazingly accurate renderings of the black-naped yellow oriole, sometimes known as the Chinese oriole, are above the lotus plant. The plant in the next panel appears to be a rose (following the site report);[65] an oriole perches in its upper branches and a butterfly hovers above. On the north wall panels, a peony and a rock are accompanied by two butterflies and the hibiscus and rock by two orioles. In the final two panels (on the northeast wall) is another peony and rock composition with one oriole and a lotus with rock, a standing crane, and two dragonflies.

The rocks depicted in Zhang Gongyou's tomb are exceptional for their convoluted animal-like contours and eyelike pits, some of which have a pebbled appearance. Fancy rocks from Lake Tai (Taihu) far to the south of Hebei Province in Jiangsu Province in south-central China are well-known components of
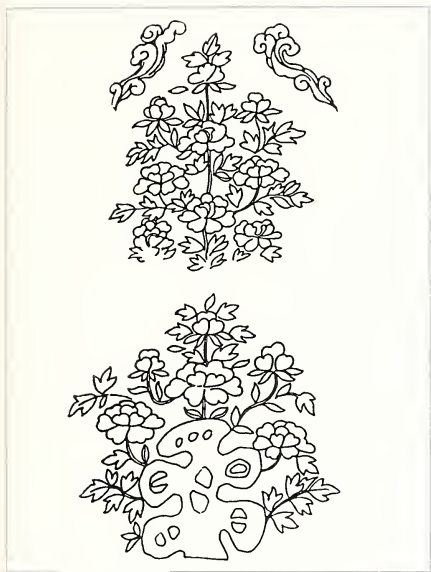
22 *Peonies and Rock,* mural in tomb 6 at Kulun Banner, Inner Mongolia, late eleventh century. After Zhelimu Meng bowuguan and Nei Menggu wenwu gongzuodui, "Kulunqi de wu, liu hao Liao mu," *Nei Menggu wenwu kaogu,* 1982, 2:42, fig. 5.
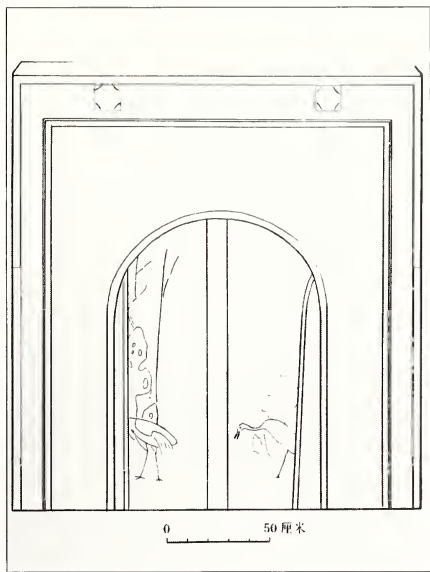
24 View into tomb of Zhang Shigu at Xuanhua, 1117. After Hebeisheng wenwu yanjiusuo, *Xuanhua Liao mu—1974–1993 nian kaogu fajue baogao* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001), 1: fig. 187.

23 *Figures, Peonies and Rocks, and Cranes in Bamboo, and a Lotus Pond,* murals in entrance corridor of tomb 1 at Kulun Banner, Inner Mongolia, late eleventh century. After Wang Jianqun and Chen Xiangwei, *Kulun Liaodai bihua mu* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1989), figs. 14, 15.
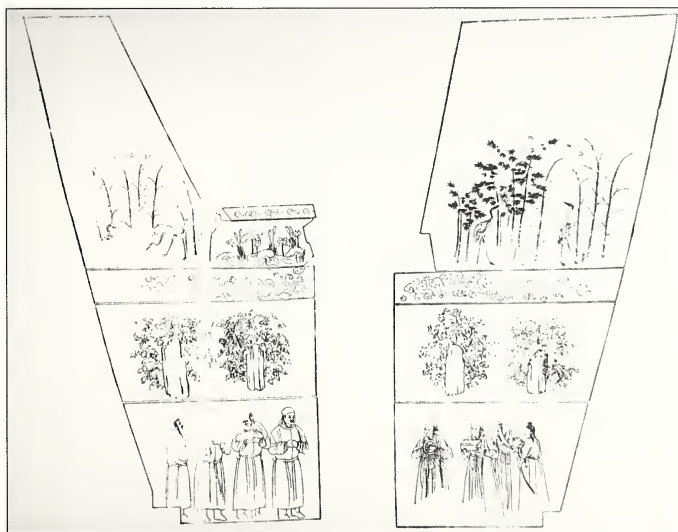
Chinese gardens. Those depicted in the Zhang tomb correspond remarkably to a vivid description of the superior garden rock paintings by Huang Jubao 黃居寶, a son of the famous bird-and-flower painter from Sichuan Province, Huang Quan:

> His predecessors, in painting Taihu rocks, would simply hollow out the pot-holes lightly by ink shading. Jubao would use the tip of his brush to rub in vertical and horizontal markings, [add] various sorts of inserted pebbles, [and make] everything sharp corners and hardness; instead of a single [type, his forms] would be shown like dragons or tigers about to spring.[66]

Depictions of peonies and other flowering plants and long-tailed birds, some on ersatz screen panels surrounding the coffin platform, spread far northeast to the heartland of Qidan, to Aohan Banner east of the present-day city of Chifeng in Inner Mongolia. An elaborately decorated Qidan burial near Yangshan (tomb 1) had a false door and a figure on the wall opposite the entrance; to either side was a panel with a

rock and a blossoming peony as the main motifs (figs. 27, 28).[67] Tomb 5 excavated near Xiawanzi belonged to a Chinese and is believed to be from the middle to late Liao period (fig. 29). It had a peony shrub (described as having four large blossoms) and butterflies on the north wall of the hexagonal grave; to either side was a large lotus pond with large lotus leaves, blooming lotuses, reeds, and arrowhead plants (fig. 30). Tomb 1 at this same site, also believed to be a Chinese tomb, had two extremely unusual auspicious motifs painted on the walls. The north wall of this hexagonal tomb had a representation of a servant girl at open door and a servant standing to either side. On the northeast and

A

B

C

25 *Flowers, Rocks, Cranes, Butterflies, and Dragonflies,* six-panel screen mural on the northwest (A), north (B), and northeast (C) walls of tomb of Zhang Shigu at Xuanhua, Hebei. 1117. After Hebeisheng wenwu yanjiusuo, *Xuanhua Liao mu— 1974–1993 nian kaogu fajue baogao* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001), 2: color pls. 75–77.

A

26 *Flowers, Rocks, Cranes, Butterflies, Birds,* six-panel screen mural on the northwest (A), north (B), and northeast (C) walls of tomb of Zhang Gongyou at Xuanhua, Hebei, 1117. After Hebeisheng wenwu yanjiusuo, *Xuanhua Liao mu—1974–1993 nian kaogu fajue baogao* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001), 2: color pls. 82–84.

B

C

northwest walls were replicas of single-panel standing screens painted with images of two mynah birds on what are said in the site report to be plum tree branches (fig. 31).[68] Of five tombs excavated in the Qijia area believed to date from the late Liao period, three still retained remnants of wall paintings. All three had floral screens on the back wall (figs. 32, 33).[69]

By the twelfth century, as seen in the paintings in the Zhang family tombs in Xuanhua and in the tombs in Aohan Banner in Inner Mongolia, the auspicious visual vocabulary had expanded to include lotuses, arrowhead, chrysanthemums, dragonflies, orioles, and cranes, perhaps reflecting the concurrent heightened interest in exploring nature. And, compatible with this trend, auspicious meanings for birds and flower have become more intricate.[70]

Lotuses host a cluster of lucky ideas, including the concepts of steadfastness because its tubers are firmly

rooted; it suggests continued prosperity since its flowers and leaves are so numerous but also because its blooms, buds, and seedpods appear on the plant at the same time. Its many seeds suggest many sons. One lotus picture in the tomb of Zhang Gongyou (see fig. 26) shows the flower in three stages of development:

bud, full blossom, and beginning of seedpod. One of the names for lotus, *lian* 蓮, is a homophone for "continuous" 連; another of its names, *he* 荷, is a homophone for "harmony" (和) as well as for "entire" (合). The lotus is often the symbol of the continuation of the family through an uninterrupted line of male descendants. The arrowhead (*cigu* 慈姑) contains in its name the character for "benevolence" (*ci* 慈). The word for chrysanthemum (*ju* 菊) is the sound equivalent of the word for "to remain" (居). The chrysanthemum, an autumn flower, is thus also associated with longevity.

Among several terms for dragonfly is *qingding* 青虹, and the *ding* serves as a homophone for "adult male" (丁). According to Dieter Kuhn, in the Song dynasty, "long nails [*ding* 釘] used to nail the coffin lid were called 'nails of the descendants' (*zisun ding* 子孫釘)."[71] Combined with the lotus, the dragonfly stands for the continuation of the family line through its sons. The oriole is often associated with singing girls and prostitutes. However, in the context of auspicious meanings, it is the bird's yellow color that carries significance. Yellow (*huang* 黃) is close to the pronunciation of a word for "happiness" (*huan* 歡); the same character also means "welcome." When depicted together, the lotus (*he*) and the yellow bird signify "entire happiness." A later, but related, phrase is *hejia huanle* 合家歡樂, "happiness in the entire family."[72]

The crane was a common metaphor because it was asserted that cranes often lived to a great age and so they symbolized wisdom, longevity, and immortality.[73]

They were believed to transport the deceased to the realms of immortality, a belief that accounts for their frequent appearance in tomb decoration from the Han dynasty onward, including the tomb of Wang Chuzhi.[74]

Additional meanings are derived from the homophones for the name for the crane, *he* 鶴, which is another homophone for "harmony" and "entire." For example, the two cranes that appear at either end of the screen sequence in Zhang Gongyou's tomb (see fig. 26) could be understood as *hehe* 和合, a homophone for "harmony and unity." A pair of cranes appears in an undated Tang tomb in Fuping District, Shaanxi. Here the north wall was divided into three parts; on the west side was depicted an ox led by a black man, and in the center was a female attendant. On the east side were two cranes, one on either side of a convoluted rock and flowers: one crane while walking toward the right has its head turned to look over its back; the head of the other crane, facing to the left, is partially damaged. This bird raises its wings and lowers its body as if calling (fig. 34).[75] Whether this pair might also be interpreted as "harmony and unity" remains to be clarified.

The theme of six cranes, as seen in the screen panels in Zhang Shigu tomb (see fig. 25), is exceptional, and explaining its presence in this tomb requires extended investigation of the multiple layers and dimensions of meaning of this motif.

In Zhang Shigu's grave, the representation on each of the six screen panels follows a configuration com-
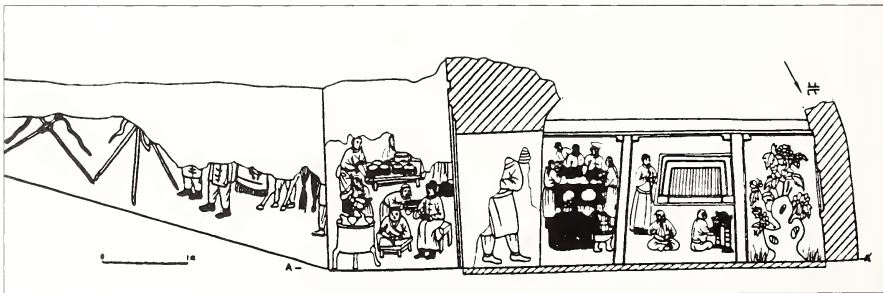
27 Cross-section of tomb 1 at Yangshan, Aohan Banner, Inner Mongolia, Liao dynasty. After "Aohanqi Yangshan 1–3 hao Liao mu qingli jianbao," *Nei Menggu wenwu kaogu*, 1991, 1:3, fig. 4.

28 *Peony and Rock,* mural on northwest wall of tomb 1 at Yangshan, Aohan Banner, Inner Mongolia, Liao dynasty. After "Aohanqi Yangshan 1–3 hao Liao mu qingli jianbao," *Nei Menggu wenwu kaogu,* 1991, 1:15, fig. 2.

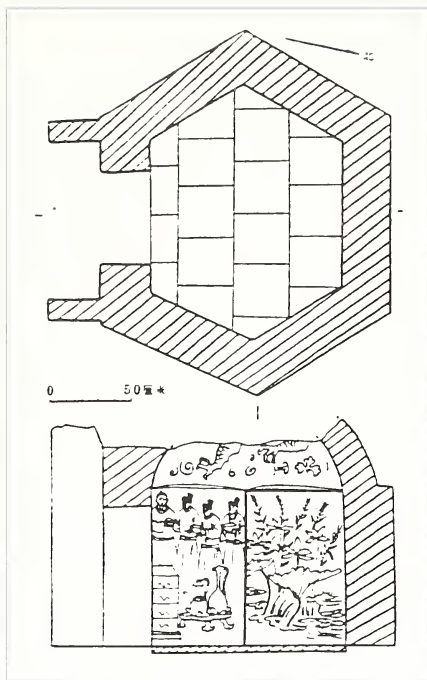**29** Ground plan and cross-section of tomb 5 at Xiawanzi, Aohan Banner, Inner Mongolia, Liao dynasty. After "Aohanqi Xiawanzi Liao mu qingli jianbao," *Nei Menggu wenwu kaogu,* 1991, 1:69, fig. 5.

bining a flowering plant (of varied species in each segment), a convoluted rock, and a crane in a different pose in each panel: striding along, preening its feathers, pecking at the ground, flapping its wings, and so forth. As mentioned above, flying cranes have a long history as a funerary motif, being normally associated with immortality, but these cranes are not winging off among clouds; they are earthbound, seeking sustenance and living among reeds. This six-panel screen painted with representations of cranes reopens the question of their possible relationship to similar works by court artists.

The earliest known representation of six cranes is on a Han dynasty eaves-tile end, where, given the fact that other images on roof tiles have some meaning, these six cranes must also have had some significance, although what that might be in the Han dynasty is unclear (fig. 35). In painting history, the most famous creation of the painter Xie Ji 薛稷 (649–713) was his rendering of six cranes on

a screen, and indeed he is credited with introducing this genre.[76] Six cranes were quickly appropriated as decorative themes for small utilitarian objects, such as a lacquerware chest now in the Shōsō-in in Nara, Japan.[77]

In 944, the Southern Tang state sent an envoy with gifts, including six live cranes, to the ruler of Shu (present-day Sichuan), the second Prince Meng (Meng Chang 孟昶, r. 934–65). The prince obviously was pleased with this present and, as if to commemorate it, ordered Huang Quan to represent these birds on the walls of his (Prince Meng's) withdrawing room. The gift cranes were real creatures; heretofore the people of Shu knew of these birds only through Xie Ji's pictures. Meng's withdrawing room was des-

30 Upper left: lotus pond on northwest wall; upper right: lotus pond on northeast wall; lower left: peony plant on north wall of tomb 5 at Xiawanzi, Aohan Banner, Inner Mongolia, Liao dynasty. After "Aohanqi Xiawanzi Liao mu qingli jianbao," *Nei Menggu wenwu kaogu,* 1991, 1:77, fig. 16.

31 *Mynahs on Plum Trees,* single screen panel murals on the northeast and northwest walls of tomb 1 at Xiawanzi, Aohan Banner, Inner Mongolia, Liao dynasty. After "Aohanqi Xiawanzi Liao mu, qingli jianbao," *Nei Menggu wenwu kaogu,* 1991, 1:75, figs. 1, 2.

ignated the Hall of the Six Cranes.[78] The portrayals of the cranes by Huang were honored with distinctive names. According to the eleventh-century painting historian, Guo Ruoxu,

> The first was called "Screamer-to-Heaven" ([because it was shown] raising its head with outstretched beak, and calling). The second was called "Alarm-giver," (because it was turning its head and stretching its neck to look). The third was called "Lichen-pecker," (because it was lowering its head to peck at the ground). The fourth was called "Wind-dancer," (because it was balancing against the wind with spread wings [as if] dancing). The fifth was called "Feather-preener," (because it was turning its head to tend its plumage). The sixth was called "Look-as-you-step," (because it was walking along with head down [as if] looking). Later generations of painters took these as models to imitate.[79]

For the people of Shu, Huang's crane paintings immediately recalled those of Xie Ji. There is a possibility that these six names actually were initially assigned to Xie's six cranes.[80]
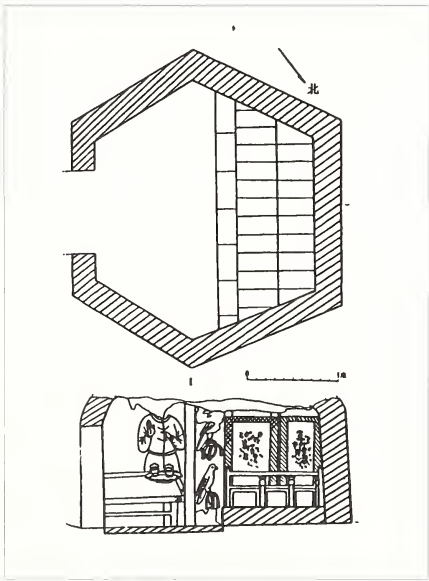
32 Ground plan and cross-section of tomb 2 at Qijia, Aohan Banner, Inner Mongolia, Liao dynasty. After "Aohanqi Qijia Liao mu," *Nei Menggu wenwu kaogu,* 1999, 1:48, fig. 5.

33 *Flowers,* screen panel murals on north wall of tomb 2 at Qijia, Aohan Banner, Inner Mongolia, Liao dynasty. After "Aohanqi Qijia Liao mu," *Nei Menggu wenwu kaogu,* 1999, 1:58, figs 1, 2.
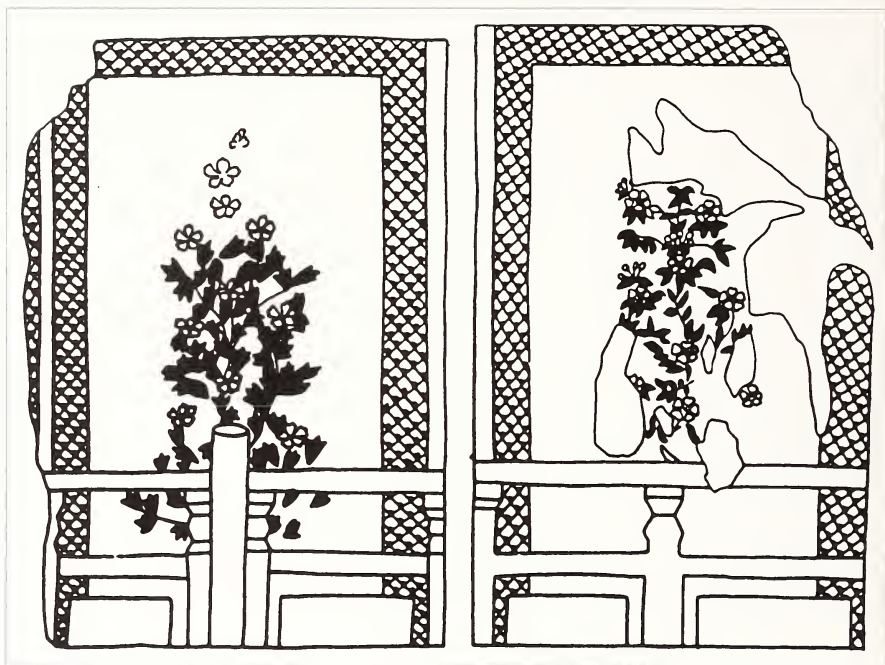
Xie Ji's six-crane screen and the gift of six cranes to the Shu prince and his Hall of the Six Cranes undoubtedly carried auspicious wishes, based upon the similarity between the pronunciation of the characters for "six cranes" (*liuhe* 六鶴) and those for "six harmonies." The latter set of sounds is usually explained as referring to the "six directions" (north, south, east, west, the zenith, and the nadir), suggestive of "harmony everywhere." Another meaning stems from the writings compiled ca. 139 B.C. by Liu An 劉安, king of Huainan 淮南, and members of his group of scholars, known as the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 (Master Huainan). "Seasonal Rules," the fifth chapter of the *Huainanzi*, states that the rules "follow automatically from the annual waxing and waning of yin and yang; they are accompanied by dire warnings of the conse-

quences of ignoring them."[81] Section 14 of this chapter is *Liuhe* 六合 (Six Coordinates). These six coordinates "are six pairs of months" and are used "to demonstrate the cyclical unity of the calendar. First, it is shown that every monthly phenomenon is paired with its opposite at an interval of six months: for example, in mid-spring crops sprout, in mid-autumn crops are harvested. Next, it is asserted that any failure to observe the duties of government in any given month will have adverse consequences six months later."[82] Stripped of its political trappings, the *Liuhe*, by extension, offers the concept of all year long, perpetually, or "harmony forever." Such ideas would be entirely appropriate for a gift from one ruler to another. Perhaps the chest now in the Shōsō-in was also originally a presentation item.

34 *Two Cranes, Rocks, and Flowers,* mural on north wall of a tomb in Fuping District, Shaanxi, Tang dynasty. After Jing Zengli and Wang Xiaomeng, "Fupingxian xinfaxian de Tang mu bihua," *Kaogu yu wenwu,* 1997, 4:9, fig. 2.

In addition, one simple rebus explanation links the pronunciation of the character for six (*lu* or *liu*) with the sound of the character for prosperity, rank, and promotion (*lu*). The number six is considered a lucky number; it occupies the pivotal position in the basic sequence of even numbers (two, four, six, eight, and ten). Gifts of identical items totaling six or sixteen are considered especially lucky.[83]

THE FUNCTION OF AUSPICIOUS BIRD-AND-FLOWER MOTIFS IN LATER CHINESE TOMBS

The birds and flowers painted in the later Chinese tombs expressed hopes for the longevity and continuation of the family, as well as for wealth and prosperity. This section further expands upon the purpose of these motifs in a funerary context.

It is understood that in traditional China, depictions in tombs represented the beliefs, the cultural environment, and the life of the tomb occupant. At the same time, objects placed in or depicted in Chinese tombs were for the use of the deceased in an afterlife. Expressions wishing longevity were to hope for long life to the deceased in another world. In return for this care and for continued observance of rites, the deceased will help ensure the continuation and prosperity of the living family. Edouard Chavannes's observation about Chinese desires is astute:

> Happiness and longevity are not the only desires of the Chinese. To these must be added the wish for a numerous male posterity, the reason for which is found in the idea of the significance of the family that they have developed. To the Chinese, the

35 *Six Cranes*, molded clay tile end, Han dynasty. After Zhao Liguang, *Zhongguo gudai wadang tudian* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1998), 86.

family has a far greater reality than the individual; secret and powerful ties attach the dead to the living. The dead will not be tranquil in their tombs or on the family altar if they do not have descendants to offer for them the sacrifices prescribed by the rites; and in return, the living will not be happy unless they are surrounded by the beneficent influences of the dead, who mysteriously protect them.[84]

Writing about the rationale behind ancestor worship, Jan Stuart and Evelyn S. Rawski elaborate:

The spirits of the deceased inhabit a world that is not completely cut off from the world of of the living. Death does not sever the relationship between the living and the dead. Although the corpse is a dreaded source of pollution, it can be transformed into a beneficent force through appropriate rituals. Even after burial of the corpse, some elements of the deceased person's spirit linger and must be nurtured by his descendants. Ancestors properly cared for become sources of wealth, good luck, and many sons for their descendants. If they are neglected, however, the spirits of deceased persons can become malevolent and wreak misfortune not only on the family but also on the community, in the forms of ghosts.[85]

In return for the care lavished on the deceased to ensure his happy afterlife, the living hoped to realize and maintain a good life through the powers of the deceased. What the family wanted was made evident in the auspicious motifs expressing wishes for a felicitous and propitious prosperity continuing over the generations.

Although these sentiments expressed in bird-and-flower murals were a new development in post-Tang times, some older practices persisted. During the Song dynasty, bronze coins were used to spell out the four characters *qiannian wansui* 千年萬歲 (thousand years, ten thousand years).[86] In one example, 115 coins were used for this purpose (fig. 36). Other text placed in the tombs themselves expressed wishes for prosperity and longevity (*fushou* 福壽) and for long life (*yanchang* 延長; figs. 37, 38). In the tenth century, the epitaph of Han Yi, whose burial chamber was decorated with paintings of camellias (see above), includes the term "chamber of longevity" (*shoutang* 壽堂) to refer to the tomb. As noted earlier in this article, *shouling* (longevity grave) was used in the Han dynasty. In the twelfth century, especially in Sichuan, written characters for *shoutang* and *qingtang* 慶堂 (chamber of blessings; fig. 39) were placed directly in the tombs. The Song dynasty poet and statesman, Su Shi 蘇軾 (1036–1101), a native of Sichuan, noted that double tomb chambers, one for husband and one for the wife, were popular there, adding "the room of the [still] living [partner] is called 'Hall of Longevity' (*shoutang*)."[87]

In China, white is normally considered to be the color of death; yet red is a constant in Chinese burials. Layers of cinnabar were placed in Shang dynasty tombs, and red is the major color on the coffins of the Marquis Yi of Zeng (d. ca. 433 B.C.) and of Lady Dai from Mawangdui (d. after 168 B.C.).[88] In later tombs, red predominates, as in the murals of Wang Chuzhi's tomb noted above. The inside of some Song dynasty coffins were lacquered red.[89] Red had multiple roles. Cinnabar was an ingredient in the elixirs of longevity Daoist masters sought to concoct. Richard Edwards points out that as a background color in early murals at Dunhuang, red might have been used to indicate "a

special place."[90] Red is the color of joy and happiness; as a prophylactic, it wards off evil. Associated with the sun, it is a *yang* influence, the color of life. Albert E. Dien suggests that the placement of a figure of a ram (*yang*) in Six Dynasties tombs functions as a homophone for *yang* influence.[91] Arthur P. Wolf finds that except in the mourning garments of members of the deceased's household or his children or grandchildren, red appears in the mourning attire of everyone else who attends a funeral. In this capacity, red protects the "wearer from the malignant influence of death."[92] The floral, bird, and insect motifs in these later tombs expressing wishes for longevity, harmony, prosperity, wealth, official office, nobility, and preservation of the family are visual reinforcements of these ideas and apparently were more popular than verbal ones. In the Zhang tombs at Xuanhua, the crane and rock screen panel are the visual equivalent of the euphemism for burial chamber as a "longevity chamber," and the red lotus, crane, and dragonfly panel, for the continued longevity of the family.

EXTENSIONS

Once the presence, significance, and importance of auspicious images in tombs is recognized as vital pictorial adjuncts to tomb decoration, the meanings of other motifs depicted in later tombs fall into place. As the urge to use auspicious themes in tombs escalated, such themes could be represented in other media and with other motifs. Although these are illustrated and described in the site reports, there is never any attempt to explain their significance.

Among the 169 clay bricks recovered from a late Southern Song tomb in Ankang, Shanxi, some were impressed with exquisite, delicate patterns of peonies, lotuses, chrysanthemums, and autumn hibiscus (fig. 40).[93] In addition to carrying the messages already identified, these four seasonal blooms suggests "all year long" or "forever."

A different solution to incorporating auspicious motifs was found in a three-room grave in Huguan, Shanxi, dated 1123. Two perfunctory replicas of hanging scrolls — one with peonies, the other with a lotus — were part of the mural program on the east (peony) and west (lotus) walls of a small chamber opening off the main room.[94] This east-west peony and lotus configuration was not uncommon in tombs of this era. Two examples come from the far southwest of China, Sichuan and Guizhou. In a tomb in Zhaohuaxian in Sichuan, dated by inscription to 1183, a relief sculpture of a single peony was on the east wall and a lotus on the west wall.[95] A similar arrangement of peony and lotus sculptures was discovered in an undated tomb of the Song period in Meitan, Guizhou.[96] These two flowers — peony and lotus — become basic necessities in tomb decoration. Shifting north to Inner Mongolia, in the tomb at Xiawanzi mentioned above, only peonies and lotuses are depicted. The peony is a huge, flourishing shrub, and the lotus has been expanded into a veritable pond complete with reeds and arrowhead plants. Peony and lotus are the flowers of spring and summer, the two seasons when the life-giving *yang* forces begin to wax (in spring) and then to flourish (in summer).

Other auspicious motifs entered the lexicon for tomb decoration. Sprays of blossoming plum and two cranes were rendered in black lines and colors on an eight-paneled screen replicated on the north wall above the coffin platform of an octagonal tomb at Kangyingzi in Aohan Banner of Ju Ud Meng (fig. 41).[97] Given the auspicious connotations associ-
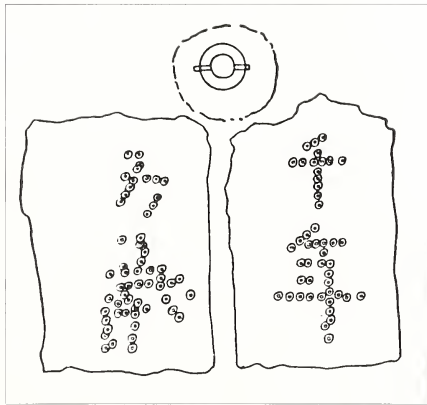
36 Coins forming the characters Qiannian wansui in a Song dynasty tomb. After *Kaogu xuebao*, 1985, 3:390, fig. 9.
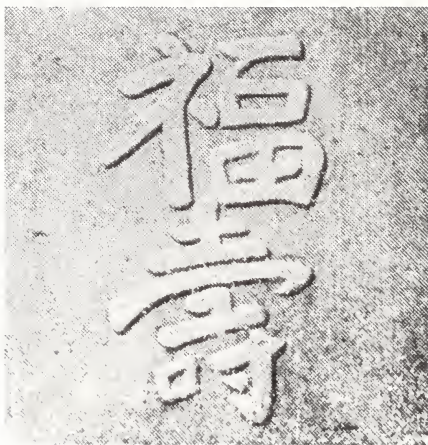
37 Characters *fushou* in tomb 2 at Jingkou, Chongqing, Sichuan, early twelfth century. After Chongqingshi bowuguan lishizu, "Chongqing Jingkuo Song mu qingli jianbao," *Wenwu,* 1961, 11:59, fig. 25.

38 Characters *yanchang* in tomb 1 at Jingkou, Chongqing, Sichuan, early twelfth century. After Chongqingshi bowuguan lishizu, "Chongqing Jingkuo Song mu qingli jianbao," *Wenwu,* 1961, 11:58, fig. 18.

ated with the blossoming plum, it is surprising that it so rarely appears in tomb decoration. The plum (or more correctly, Japanese apricot) "is a long lived tree. Very old specimens, of hundreds of years up to a thousand years of age, are often found in gardens and temple grounds in China."[98] Because the plum blossoms early in the spring, before the ice and snow are melted, it suggests "hardiness and loftiness and purity."[99] As stated by Richard Barnhart, "The sight of an ancient plum bursting into flower like a shower of snow is unforgettable."[100] The five-petaled blossom of the plum can signify "good luck" because five is a "lucky number" in China.[101]

In one early twelfth-century tomb in Sichuan, a stone panel is carved with a special composition of a deer holding "spirit grass" (*lingcao* 靈草), a donkey standing on a slope, a small crane in the background, and a monkey (*hou*) seated in the boughs of a peach tree plucking its fruits (fig. 42). The excavation report states that the crane and deer are symbols of longevity, and that the donkey is an "immortal donkey" (*xianlü* 仙驢), illustrating the expression "the donkey of an immortal will enjoy 500 years and carry heavy loads

without rest."[102] The monkey picking peaches is linked to the ancient story of Dongfang Shuo 東方朔 stealing the peaches of immortality from Xiwangmu's 西王母 garden. The report continues, saying that all images reflect the influence of Daoism. Dieter Kuhn takes a slightly different view of these motifs, saying that it was believed the deceased ascended to heaven on the crane; that the deer stood for wealth and longevity; that the donkey (or as he translates the term,

39 Plaque with characters *qingtang* in tomb in Sichuan, early twelfth century. After Shen Zhongchang and Chen Jianzhong, "Sichuan Zhaohuaxian Quhuixiang de Song mu shike," *Wenwu cankao ziliao,* 1957, 12:52, fig. 5.

mule) is "the mule of the immortal." Kuhn interprets the monkey picking peaches as an allusion to the monkey-king Sun Wukong 孫悟空, the protagonist of the famous sixteenth-century novel, *Xiyou ji* 西游記 (*Journey to the West*), who stole the peaches of immortality.[103] Although it is true that parts of *Xiyou ji* were rooted in earlier oral traditions,[104] it is also difficult to accept this motif as representing the monkey-king. It is more consistent with the other auspicious

motifs to interpret the monkey picking the peaches as a rebus based upon a character homophone for "monkey," which means "posterity." The monkey picking the peaches of longevity expresses hopes that the

40 *Peonies, Lotuses, Chrysanthemums, and Autumn Hibiscus,* clay bricks from a tomb at Ankang, Shanxi, Southern Song dynasty. After Shanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo and Ankangshi wenhua jiaoyuju, "Ankangshi Shang Xu jia tai Nan Song mu fajue jianbao," *Kaogu yu wenwu* 2002, 2:34–35, figs. 18–22.
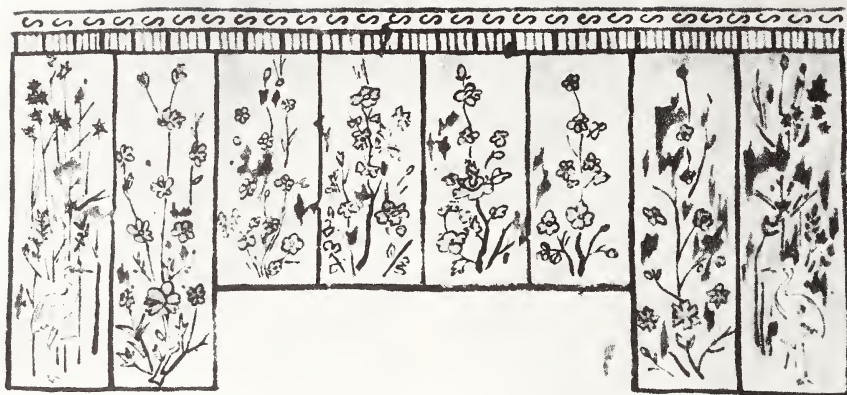
41 *Two Cranes and Plum Blossoms,* eight-panel screen mural on north wall of tomb at Kangyingzi, Aohan Banner, Ju Ud Meng, Inner Mongolia, Liao dynasty. After Xiang Chunsong, comp., *Liaodai bihua xuan* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1984), 71.

family will be long lived. The deer (*lu*) and crane (*he*) can stand not only for longevity and wealth, but the combination of *lu* for deer and *he* for crane can also be understood as homophones for "six harmonies," as discussed above.

Finally, a veritable explosion of felicitous motifs appears in the numerous, spectacularly embellished tombs located in the area of Pingyang, Shanxi. The tombs were constructed under the Jin dynasty and range in date from 1173 to 1212; the interior walls were profusely covered with beautifully carved clay panels depicting a variety of figural and other motifs. Auspicious botanical motifs include the familiar peonies, lotuses, peaches, chrysanthemums, autumn hibiscus, and morning glories. Crabapple blossoms (*haitang* 海棠) and pomegranates are also among the lucky motifs. The crabapple blossom is often represented along with the peony (*fugui*) and the magnolia (*yulan* 玉蘭), where the *tang* of the crabapple blossoms contributes to the rebus expression: *yutang fugui* 玉堂富貴, "wealth and rank in the jade hall." "Jade Hall" refers not only to a wealthy family but also to the Hanlin Academy, whose members were scholars with the highest civil service degrees. The abundant seeds of the pomegranate make it an ideal emblem expressing wishes for many sons. Among the propitious crea-

tures are the familiar deer, peacocks, pigeons, golden pheasants, and pairs of fish. These and other motifs in the Pingyang tombs were recognized as auspicious; they are so listed and identified in a lavish collection of reproductions of more than four hundred images from this location, but there is no hint about their function in the tomb.[105] As part of the continuum, the mortuary pictorial scheme of 1064 as recorded by Guo Ruoxu is echoed in a Jin dynasty tomb at Pingyang dated 1210. On one side of the north wall of the tomb is a replica of a single-panel standing screen with a composition of peacock, peony, and contorted Taihu rock (fig. 43).[106]

CONCLUSIONS

The bird-and-flower compositions with their complements of busy insects in the tombs are parts of larger pictorial programs of the tomb. Their standard location on the north (back) wall of the tomb reinforces a premise about later Chinese tombs proposed two decades ago: that the decoration of later Chinese tombs is not randomly selected and placed but tends to adhere to unwritten rules dictating the appropriate location in the tomb for each motif.[107] In addition, the motifs carry meaning. The bird-and-flower com-

positions in these tombs are not the consequence of whim or fancy on the part of the bereaved family or the funeral director but are those specific blooms and birds that connote felicitous wishes for the deceased and the descendants. As such, they confirm the persistence of concepts about suitable tomb decoration, for they are an updated visual expression of the ideas about auspiciousness articulated as early as the Han dynasty (although through different motifs) as well as by contemporaneous written declarations. The fact that the bird-and-flower compositions are usually placed along the north (back) wall, adjacent to the coffin and hence close to the deceased, underscores hopes for their efficacy. The preponderance in the tomb paintings of red flowers and red butterflies, and even the yellow hibiscus that faces the sun or the goose that follows the sun in its migrations, is yet further concentration of the active, energizing *yang* element necessary to achieve the goals expressed through these pictorial combinations. ❖

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43 *Peacock, Peony and Rock,* screen replica in a tomb at Pingyang, Shanxi, Jin dynasty. After Shanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo, *Pingyang Jin mu zhuandiao* (N.p.: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1998), pl. 56.

NOTES

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1. Ellen Johnston Laing, "The Development of Flower Depiction and the Origin of the Bird-and-Flower Genre in Chinese Art," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 64 (1992): 180–223.

2. Dieter Kuhn, *A Place for the Dead: An Archaeological Documentary on Graves and Tombs of the Song Dynasty (960–1279)* (Heidelberg: Edition Forum, 1996), 39–54.

3. Richard Edwards, "The Cave Reliefs at Ma Hao II," *Artibus Asiae* 17 (1954): 116, see also 120.

4. Ellen Johnston Laing, "Patterns and Problems in Later Chinese Tomb Decoration," *Journal of Oriental Studies* 16 (1978): 13–14, 17–18.

5. Kuhn, *Place for the Dead*, 50.

6. Jessica Rawson, "Changes in the Representation of Life and the Afterlife as Illustrated by the Contents of Tombs of the T'ang and Sung Periods," in *Arts of the Sung and Yüan*, ed. Maxwell K. Hearn and Judith G. Smith (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), 36 n. 44.

7. For an early survey of screens in Chinese art, see Michael Sullivan, "Notes on Early Chinese Screen Painting," *Artibus Asiae* 27 (1965): 239–54.

8. Wu Hung, *The Double Screen: Medium and Representation in Chinese Painting* (London: Reaktion Books, 1996), 84. Wu Hung gives an example of this idea on p. 85.

9. Wu Hung, *Double Screen*, 89. Li Li 李力 discusses screens as found in tombs both as physical objects and painted replicas in "Cong kaogu faxian kan Zhongguo gudai de pingfeng hua" 從考古發現看中國古代的屏風畫, *Yishushi yanjiu* 藝術史研究 1:277–94, synopses in *China Archaeology and Art Digest* 4.4 (April–May 2002): 265–68.

10. Wu Hung, *Double Screen*, 90. Sogdians living in North China especially favored this funerary couch. Four such couches, two complete and two now divided among museums, are known. They were produced within a brief period of some fifty years

between the Northern Qi (550–577) and the Sui (581–618) dynasties. The stone panels are carved with scenes of banqueting, hunting, musicians, and dancers and with Zoroastrian religious themes. See Annette L. Juliano and Judith A. Lerner, *Monks and Merchants: Silk Road Treasures from Northwest China* (New York: Harry N. Abrams and the Asia Society, 2001), 304–09, and the several articles on Zoroastrianism in China in *China Archaeology and Art Digest* 4.1 (December 2000): 5–216. A sacrophagus carved with similar subjects is discussed in the collection of essays in part 1, "The Yu Hong Sarcophagus and Sinicized Sogdian Art," in *Han Tang zhi jian wenhua yishu de hudong yu jiaorong* 漢唐之間文化藝術的互動與融合, ed. Wu Hong 巫鴻 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001). Whether Sodgians originated the practice of using stone platforms and screened burial couches and were copied by Chinese, or the other way around, remains to be clarified.

11. Ji'nan bowuguan 濟南博物館, "Ji'nanshi Majiazhuang Bei Qi mu" 濟南市馬家莊北齊墓, *Wenwu*, 1985, 10:44–46, figs. 5, 8–10.

12. Walls in the tomb of Cui Fen 崔芬 dating to 551 had a replica of a fifteen-panel screen with figures and trees, including eight figures identified as the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove and Rong Qiqi. Shandongsheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 山東省文物考古研究所 and Linquxian bowuguan 臨朐縣博物館, "Shandong Linqu Bei Qi Cui Fen bihua mu" 山東臨朐北齊崔芬壁畫墓, *Wenwu*, 2002, 4:4–26; Wu Wenqi, "Painted Murals of the Northern Qi Period in the Tomb of General Cui Fen," *Orientations* 29.6 (June 1998): 60–69. For two early studies of the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove as motifs in Chinese tombs, see Alexander Coburn Soper, "A New Chinese Tomb Discovery: The Earliest Representation of a Famous Literary Theme," *Artibus Asiae* 24 (1961): 79–86; Ellen Johnston Laing, "Neo-Taoism and the 'Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove' in Chinese Painting," *Artibus Asiae* 36 (1974): 5–54. An undated tomb from the Northern Dynasties in Dongbaliwa, near Ji'nan in Shandong Province, had an eight-panel screen painted on the walls surrounding the coffin platform. Four of the eight panels were blank; the figures on the other four

panels are identified as the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove and Rong Qiqi. Shandongsheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, "Ji'nanshi Dongbaliwa Beichao bihua mu" 濟南市東八洼注北朝壁畫墓, *Wenwu*, 1989, 4:67–78, figs. 3, 4–6; Yang Hong 楊泓, "Shandong Beichao mu renwu pingfeng bihua de xin qishi" 山東北朝墓人物屏風壁畫畫的新啓示, *Wenwu tiandi*, 1991, 3:6–8.

13. Audrey Spiro, *Contemplating the Ancients: Aesthetic and Social Issues in Early Chinese Portraiture* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 135, 11. Spiro includes in her discussion the renditions of the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove and Rong Qiqi found in Qi imperial tombs in the Nanjing region.

14. Zhao Chao 趙超, "'Shuxia laoren' yu Tangdai de pingfengshi mu zhong bihua" 樹下老人與唐代的屏風式墓中壁畫, *Wenwu*, 2003, 2:69–81. For the known examples and references to their site reports, see Zhao's chart, pp. 71–72.

15. Xinjiang Weiwuer zizhiqu bowuguan 新疆維吾爾自治區博物館, "Tulufanxian Asitana—Halahezhuo gumuqun fajue jianbao" 吐魯番縣阿斯塔 那—哈拉和卓古墓群發掘簡報, *Wenwu*, 1973, 10:19.

16. Site report in Zhao Liguang 趙力光 and Wang Qiugang 王九剛, "Chang'anxian Nanliwangcun Tang bihua mu" 長安縣南里王村唐壁畫墓, *Wenbo*, 1989, 4:3–9, 19.

17. Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo 陝西省考古研究所, *Shaanxi xinchutu Tang mu bihua* 陝西新出土唐墓壁畫 (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 1998), pl. 129.

18. "Xinjiang Asitana sanzuo Tang mu chutu zhengui juanhua ji wenshu deng wenwu" 新疆阿斯塔那三座唐墓出土珍貴絹畫及文書等文物, *Wenwu*, 1975, 10:89–90, reproduced in pl. 1 and pp. 40–41, figs. 3–5.

19. Zhao Qinglan 趙青蘭, "Mogaoku Tufan shiqi dongku kannei pingfenghua yanjiu" 莫高窟吐蕃時期洞窟龕內屏風畫研究, *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究, 1994, 3:58–59.

20. See illustration in Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo, *Shaanxi xinchutu Tang mu bihua*, pl. 147.

21. Beijingshi Haidianqu wenwu guanlisuo 北京市海澱區文物管理所, "Beijingshi Haidianqu Balizhuang Tang mu" 北京市海澱區八里莊唐墓, *Wenwu*, 1995, 11:49.

22. Beijingshi Haidianqu wenwu guanlisuo, "Beijingshi Haidianqu," 46.

23. Hebeisheng wenwu yanjiusuo 河北省文物
研究所, Baodingshi wenwu guanlichu 保
定市文物管理處, and Quyangxian wenwu
guanlisuo 曲陽縣文物管理所, "Hebei
Quyang Wudai bihua mu fajue jianbao" 河
北曲陽五代壁畫墓發掘簡報, Wenwu, 1996,
9:4–13; Hebeisheng wenwu yanjiusuo and
Baodingshi wenwu guanlichu, Wudai Wang
Chuzhi mu 五代王處直墓 (Beijing: Wenwu
chubanshe, 1998). For an English-language
survey of this tomb, see the entry by Richard
Barnhart, "The Tomb of Wang Chuzhi at
Xiyanchuan, Quyang, Hebei Province," in
The Golden Age of Chinese Archaeology:
Celebrated Discoveries from the People's
Republic of China, ed. Xiaoneng Yang (New
Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 506–13.

24. Both of the secondary plants in the 924
Wang Chuzhi tomb have red blossoms and
are identified in the site report (Hebeisheng
wenwu yanjiusuo and Baodingshi wenwu
guanlichu, Wudai Wang Chuzhi mu, 31) as
roses (qiangwei), but this is erroneous since
the long, lanceolate leaves bear no resem-
blance to rose shrub foliage.

25. Hebeisheng wenwu yanjiusuo and
Baodingshi wenwu guanlichu, Wudai Wang
Chuzhi mu, 30–31, pl. 4.

26. Beijingshi wenwu gongzuodui 北京市文
物工作隊, "Liao Han Yi mu fajue baogao"
遼韓佚墓發掘報告, Kaogu xuebao, 1984,
3:361–81; Beijingshi wenwu gongzuodui,
"Beijing Xijiao Liao bihua mu fajue" 北京西
郊遼壁畫墓發掘, Beijing wenwu yu kaogu,
1983, 1:28–47.

27. Luo Shiping 羅世平, "Guan Wang Gongshu
mu bihua 'Mudan luyan tu' xiaoji" 關王公
淑墓壁畫《牡丹蘆雁圖》小記, Wenwu,
1996, 8:78–83. Although Luo does not refer
to it, the scroll depiction of two rabbits,
bamboo, and sparrows found in a Liao
tomb at Yemaotai retains a remnant of the
symmetry seen in the Wang Gongshi mural.
See Ellen Johnston Laing, "A Survey of Liao
Dynasty Bird-and-Flower Painting," Journal
of Sung Yuan Studies 24 (1994): 60–63; Yang
Renkai 楊仁愷, "Yemaotai Liao mu chutu
guhua de shidai ji qita" 葉茂臺遼墓出土古
畫的時代及其他, Wenwu, 1975,12:37–39.

28. Hao Jianwen 郝建文, "Qiantan Quyang
Wudai mu bihua" 淺談曲陽五代墓壁畫,
Wenwu, 1996, 9:79.

29. There is a vast literature explaining these
auspicious motifs. Some of the most use-
ful include Edouard Chavannes, Five
Happinesses: Symbolism in Chinese Popular

Art, trans., annotated, and illustrated Elaine
S. Atwood (New York: Weatherhill, 1973);
Wolfram Eberhard, A Dictionary of Chinese
Symbols: Hidden Symbols in Chinese Life and
Thought, trans. G. L. Campbell (London
and New York: Routledge, 1986); C. A. S.
Williams, Outlines of Chinese Symbolism and
Art Motives, 3rd rev. ed. (Shanghai: Kelly
and Walsh; reprint, New York: Dover, 1976);
Nozaki Nobuchika 野崎誠近, Kissho zuan
kaidai 吉祥圖案解題 (Tianjin: Zhongguo
tuchan gongsi, 1928), 2nd ed. (Tokyo:
Heibonsha, 1940; reprinted as Zhongguo
jixiang tu'an 中國吉祥圖案 [Taipei:
Zhongwen tushu, 1980]); Wang Shucun
王樹村, Zhongguo jixiang tu jicheng 中國
吉祥圖集成 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin
chubanshe, 1992).

30. Wang Zhongshu, Han Civilization, trans. K.
C. Chang et al. (New Haven: Yale University
Press, 1982), 148–50.

31. Sichou zhilu: Han Tang zhiwu 絲綢之路: 漢
唐織物 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1972),
4, 5, 22, 23.

32. Susan N. Erickson, "Money Trees of the
Eastern Han Dynasty," Bulletin of the
Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities 66 (1994):
15; He Zhiguo 何志國, Zhu Junhui 朱俊
輝, Huang Quanxiang 黃全祥, and Zeng
Guoming 曾國明, "Mianyangshi chutu
yaoqianshu shukao" 綿陽市出土搖錢樹述
考, Sichuan wenwu 1999, 2:22.
For surveys of money trees and the mean-
ings of various motifs, see Erickson, "Money
Trees"; Stanley K. Abe, Ordinary Images
(Chicago: University of Chicago Press,
2002), 31–151.

33. Cheng Te-k'un, Archaeological Studies in
Szechwan (Cambridge: Cambridge
University Press, 1957), 150, pl. 26.

34. He Zhiguo et al., "Mianyangshi chutu
yaoqianshu," 22; for photographs of such
basins, see Cheng Te-k'un, Archaeological
Studies, pl. 56.

35. See James J. Y. Liu, The Art of Chinese Poetry
(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963),
11, 111–12; Qianshen Bai, "Image as Word:
A Study of Rebus Play in Song Painting
(960–1279)," Metropolitan Museum Journal
34 (1999): 65–66.

36. Erickson, "Money Trees," 9; He Zhiguo et al.,
"Mianyangshi chutu yaoqianshu," 22.

37. Wang Zhongshu, Han Civilization, 211.

38. K. E. Brashier, "Longevity Like Metal and
Stone: The Role of the Mirror in Han
Burials," T'oung Pao 81 (1995): 217, 218, 218 n.
42, 225.

39. Fu Yimin 傅亦民, "Zhejiang Fenghuashi
Jin jinian mu de qingli" 浙江奉化市晉
紀年墓的清理, Kaogu 2003, 2:89, fig. 6;
Quanzhoushi wenguanhui 泉州市文管
會 and Huianxian bowuguan 惠安縣博物
館, "Fujian Huianxian Zengcuocun faxian
liangzuo Sui mu" 福建惠安縣曾厝村發現
兩座隋墓, Kaogu, 1998, 11:72, fig. 4.

40. Zhenjiangshi bowuguan 鎮江市博物館,
"Zhenjiang Dong Jin huaxiang zhuan mu"
鎮江東晉畫像磚墓, Wenwu, 1973, 4:54, 56,
fig. 6.

41. Sichou zhilu: Han Tang zhiwu, 27.

42. Albert E. Dien, "Developments in Funerary
Practices in the Six Dynasties Period: The
Duisuguan or 'Figured Jar' as a Case in
Point," in Wu Hung, Han Tang zhi jian, 510.

43. Annette L. Juliano, Teng-Hsien: An
Important Six Dynasties Tomb, Artibus Asiae
Supplementum (Ascona: Artibus Asiae,
1980).

44. Yü Ying-shih, "Life and Immortality in the
Mind of Han China," Harvard Journal of
Asiatic Studies 25 (1964–65): 110.

45. Juliano, Teng-Hsien, 45 nn. 206, 207, 208;
Susan Bush, "Thunder Monsters, Auspicious
Animals, and Floral Ornament in Early
Sixth-Century China," Ars Orientalis 10
(1975): 24; Wang Kai 王愷, "'Renmianniao'
kao" 人面鳥考, Kaogu yu wenwu, 1985,
6:97–101.

46. Donald Harper, "Flowers in T'ang Poetry:
Pomegranate, Sea Pomegranate, and
Mountain Pomegranate," Journal of the
American Oriental Society 106.1 (January–
March 1986): 142–43. Convenient lists of
metaphors and allusions, especially as found
in Chinese love poetry, are in Anne Birrell,
trans. and annotator, New Songs from a Jade
Terrace: An Anthology of Early Chinese Love
Poetry (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin,
1986), 295–335; Lois Fusek, trans., Among
the Flowers: The "Hua-chien chi" (New York:
Columbia University Press, 1982), 203–16.

47. Ban Gu 班固, Baihu tong 白虎通,7.4a,
quoted in Charles Hartman, "Literary and
Visual Interactions in Lo Chih-ch'uan's
Crows in Old Trees," Metropolitan Museum
Journal 28 (1993): 146.

48. Hanshi wai zhuan 韓詩外傳, quoted in
Hartman, "Literary and Visual Interactions,"
165–66 n. 95. See also Hou-mei Sung, "Lü
Chi and His Pheasant Paintings," National
Palace Museum Research Quarterly 10.4
(Summer 1993): 8.

49. For a biographies of Xu Xi and Huang Quan, see entries by Richard M. Barnhart in *Sung Biographies: Painters*, ed. Herbert Franke (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH), 41–45, 50–55, respectively. Huang Jucai's biography by Ellen Johnston Laing appears in this same volume on pp. 47–50. In the *Xuanhe huapu* 宣和畫譜, Huang Quan is credited with pictures of pigeons next to a bowl. Hou-mei Sung, "The Evolution of Chinese Pigeon Painting," *Oriental Art* 39.3 (Autumn 1993): 28–30. An intriguing, unfortunately poorly reproduced, section of a mural in the Xi'an tomb of Princess Tang'an is of birds, including pigeons, and flowers around a shallow bowl. Chen Anli 陳安利 and Ma Yongzhong 馬詠鐘, "Xi'an Wangjiapo Tangdai Tang'an gongzhu mu" 西安王家坡唐代唐安公主墓, *Wenwu*, 1991, 9:20, reproduced on p. 19, fig. 12.

50. Richard M. Barnhart, "Wang Shen and Late Northern Sung Landscape Painting," in *International Symposium on Art Historical Studies*, 2d, 1983, Kyoto (Kyoto: National Museum and Taniguchi Foundation, 1984), 62–63, 69, quoted in Wen C. Fong, "Riverbank," in Maxwell K. Hearn and Wen C. Fong, *Along the Riverbank: Chinese Paintings from the C. C. Wang Family Collection* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), 28.

51. For additional information about the peony appreciation, see H. L. Li, *The Garden Flowers of China* (New York: Ronald Press, 1959), 22–26.

52. Hui-shu Lee, "The Domain of Empress Yang (1162–1233)" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1994), 147–48. I am grateful to Richard Edwards for supplying me with a copy of this reference.

53. For examples, see Wang Shilun 王士倫, *Zhejiang chutu tongjing* 浙江出土銅鏡 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1987), 2; Qiu Shijing 裘士京, *Tongjing* 銅鏡 (Hefei: Huangshan shushe chuban, 1995), 80.

54. Shang Yongqi 尚永琪, "Zhongguo gudai de zhang yu zunlao zhidu" 中國古代的仗與尊老制度, *Zhongguo dianji yu wenhua*, 1997, 2:86–88. Shang also discusses rules regulating the awarding of these tokens.

55. Guo Ruoxu, *Tuhua jianwen zhi*, trans. Alexander Coburn Soper as *Kuo Jo-hsü's Experiences in Painting* (Washington, D.C.: American Council of Learned Societies,

1951), 65. For the sake of consistency, Soper's Wade-Giles spellings here and elsewhere are converted into pinyin.

56. Jing-shen Tao, *Two Sons of Heaven: Studies in Sung-Liao Relations* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998), 10.

57. For general surveys of Liao period tomb structures, decoration, and dating, see Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, *Liao Architecture* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), chap. 12; Dieter Kuhn, *How the Qidan Reshaped the Tradition of the Chinese Dome-Shaped Tomb*, Würzburger Sinologische Schriften (Heidelberg: Edition Forum, 1998); Hsingyuan Tsao, *Differences Preserved: Reconstructed Tombs from the Liao and Song Dynasties* (Portland, Ore.: Douglas F. Cooley Memorial Art Gallery, Reed College, 2000).

58. Bian Chengxiu 邊成修, "Datong xi'nanjiao faxian sanzuo Liaodai bihua mu" 大同西南郊發現三座遼代壁畫墓, *Wenwu*, 1959, 7:73; Shanxisheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 山西省文物管理委員會, "Shanxi Datong jiaoqu wuzuo Liao bihua mu" 山西大同郊區五座遼壁畫墓, *Kaogu*, 1960, 10:37–42; Datongshi wenwu chenlieguan 大同市文物陳列館, "Shanxi Datong Wohuwan sizuo Liaodai bihua mu" 山西大同臥虎灣四座遼代壁畫墓, *Kaogu*, 1963, 8:432–36.

59. Only a dim photograph of one wall painting is reproduced in the site report. Nei Menggu zizhiqu wenwu gongzuodui 內蒙古自治區文物工作隊, "Liao Zhongjing xichengwai de gumuzang" 遼中京西城外的古墓葬, *Wenwu*, 1961, 9:41, fig. 3.

60. Tomb 6 is reported in Zhelimu Meng bowuguan 哲里木盟博物館 and Nei Menggu wenwu gongzuodui 內蒙古文物工作隊, "Kulunqi de wu, liu hao Liao mu" 庫倫旗的五六號遼墓, *Nei Menggu wenwu kaogu*, 1982, 2:35–46.

61. The site report is Jilinsheng bowuguan 吉林省博物館 and Zhelimu Meng wenhua ju 哲里木盟文化局, "Jilin Zhelimu Meng Kulunqi yihao Liao mu fajue jianbao" 吉林哲里木盟庫倫旗一號遼墓發掘簡報, *Wenwu*, 1973, 8:2–18. The tomb paintings are discussed by Wang Zeqing 王澤慶, "Kulunqi yihao Liao mu bihua chutan" 庫倫旗一號遼墓壁畫初談, *Wenwu*, 1973, 8:30–35. Tomb 1 is also covered in a monograph on four Liao tombs at Kulunqi by Wang Jianqun 王建群 and Chen Xiangwei 陳相

偉, *Kulun Liaodai bihua mu* 庫倫遼代壁畫墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1989). See also Linda Cooke Johnson, "The Wedding Ceremony for an Imperial Liao Princess: Wall Paintings from a Liao Dynasty Tomb in Jilin," *Artibus Asiae* 54 (1983): 107–36.

62. The initial report on tomb 5 appeared in Zhangjiakoushi Xuanhuaju wenwu baoguansuo 張家口市宣化區文物保管所, "Hebei Xuanhua Liaodai bihua mu" 河北宣化遼代壁畫墓, *Wenwu*, 1995, 2:4–19; the first report for tomb 2 was in Zhangjiakoushi wenwu shiye guanlisuo 張家口市文物事業管理所 and Zhangjiakoushi Xuanhuaju wenwu baoguansuo, "Hebei Xuanhua Xiabali Liao Jin bihuamu" 河北宣化下八里遼金壁畫墓, *Wenwu*, 1990, 10:1–8, 19. Both tombs are detailed in the final site report, Hebeisheng wenwu yanjiusuo, *Xuanhua Liao mu—1974–1993 nian kaogu fajue baogao* 宣化遼墓—1974–1993年考古發掘報告 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001), 1:239–67, 268–87.

63. Richard M. Barnhart, *Peach Blossom Spring: Gardens and Flowers in Chinese Paintings* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983), 27.

64. Hebeisheng wenwu yanjiusuo, *Xuanhua Liao mu*, 1:256.

65. Hebeisheng wenwu yanjiusuo, *Xuanhua Liao mu*, 1:274.

66. Huang Xiufu 黃休復, *Yizhou minghua lu* 益州名畫録 (*Huashi cong shu* ed.), comp. Yu Anlan 于安瀾), *zhong* 21, trans. Soper in *Kuo Jo-hsü's Experiences in Painting*, 147 n. 357.

67. "Aohanqi Yangshan 1–3 hao Liao mu qingli jianbao" 敖漢旗羊山 1-3 號遼墓清理簡報, *Nei Menggu wenwu kaogu*, 1991, 1:1–38, 43.

68. "Aohanqi Xiawanzi Liao mu qingli jianbao" 敖漢旗下彎子遼墓清理簡報, *Nei Menggu wenwu kaogu*, 1991, 1:67–84.

69. "Aohanqi Qijia Liao mu" 敖漢旗七家遼墓, *Nei Menggu wenwu kaogu*, 1999, 1:46–66, 104.

70. The auspicious meaning of mynahs in what are identified as plum trees painted in tomb 1 at Xiawanzi, noted above, remains enigmatic.

71. Kuhn, *Place for the Dead*, 20.

72. Terese Tse Bartholomew, "Pious Hopes Carved on Chinese Beads: A Discussion of Rebuses and Legends in Chinese Art," *Orientations* 19.8 (August 1988): 27, 30.

73. For the roles of cranes in Daoism, see Edward H. Schafer, "The Cranes of Mao Shan" in *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R. A. Stein*, vol. 2, ed. Michel Strickmann, published as vol. 21 of *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques* (Brussels: Institut Belge des Hautes-Études Chinoises, 1983), 372–93. For the role of cranes in Tang dynasty culture, see Madeline K. Spring, "The Celebrated Cranes of Po Chü-i," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 111 (1999): 8–18.

74. In the Tang capital Xi'an, the west walls in tombs of Liang Yuanhan 梁元翰 (dated 844) and Yang Xuanlüe 楊玄略 (dated 864) had replicas of six-panel screens ornamented with cranes. Wang Renbo 王仁波, He Xiuling 何修齡, and Shan Wei 單暐, "Shaanxi Tang mu bihua zhi yanjiu" 陝西唐墓壁畫之研究, *Wenbo*, 1984, 2:45. Or, according to Su Bai 宿白, the ornaments are cranes among clouds. Su Bai, "Xi'an diqu Tang mu bihuade buju he neirong" 西安地區唐墓壁畫的布局和內容, *Kaogu xuebao*, 1982, 2:147, 152–53. No excavation report on these two tombs has been published. The subject depicted on the six-panel screen replicated on the west wall of another unpublished Xi'an tomb, that of Gao Kecong 高克從 (dated 847), is uncertain: the birds are identified first as cranes and later as pigeons. Wang Renbo et al., "Shaanxi Tang mu bihua zhi yanjiu," 45, 55.

75. Site report in Jing Zengli 井增利 and Wang Xiaomeng 王小蒙, "Fupingxian xinfaxian de Tang mu bihua" 富平縣新發現的唐墓壁畫, *Kaogu yu wenwu*, 1997, 4:8–11.

76. Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠, *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 (*Huashi congshu* ed., comp. Yu Anlan) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1963), 9:111, trans. in William R. B. Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting*, vol. 2, *Chang Yen-yuan, Li Tai Ming Hua Chi Chapters IV–X*, pt. 1, *Translation and Annotations* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), 245. Houmei Song has analyzed these materials, as well as later information about and images of cranes, in "Images of the Crane in Chinese Painting," *Oriental Art* 44.3 (Autumn 1998): 11–33.

77. Scenes of six cranes among vegetation painted on a black lacquer chest preserved in the Shōsō-in Repository in Nara, Japan, may echo Xie's six-crane screen. Since the chest was deposited in the Shōsō-in in 756, the box must have been decorated within Xie's lifetime or shortly after his death. Today the images of the six cranes on the Shōsō-in chest can be studied only with the aid of infrared techniques. As recaptured by Ogawa Hiromitsu 小川裕充, the birds are in lively poses: standing with head turned to the back, or with head lowered as if looking at the ground, or preening its wing feathers, or with head raised and wings outstretched; walking with head raised, or pecking at the ground. Ogawa Hiromitsu, "Sha Shoku rokkakuzu byobu ko" 薜稷六鶴圖屏風考, *Toyo bunka kenkyujo kiyo* 117 (1993): 179–214. The chest is also illustrated in *Shōsō-in no kaiga* 正蒼院の繪畫 (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shinbunsha, 1968), pls. 151–52, figs. 170–74.

78. Guo Ruoxu, *Tuhua jianwen zhi* 圖畫見聞誌, trans. Soper in *Kuo Jo-hsü's Experiences*, 34.

79. Guo Ruoxu, *Tuhua jianwen zhi*, trans. Soper in *Kuo Jo-hsü's Experiences in Painting*, 34, 75. When the people of Shu compared the two, of course, Huang's depictions of cranes were declared superior. If these names originated with Xie's cranes, the connections between Xie and Huang would be strengthened.

80. The poses of the cranes depicted on the Shōsō-in chest mentioned in note 77 fit those described by Guo Ruoxu, but not necessarily in the same order. The entry on Huang Quan in Huang Xiufu's *Yizhou minghua lu* (preface dated 1006) names the cranes in a different order and gives different names for three of them (trans. Soper in *Kuo Jo-hsü's Experiences in Painting*, 188 n. 598). For more information on Xie Ji's crane paintings, see Chen Gaohua 陳高華, comp., *Sui Tang huajia shiliao* 隋唐畫家史料 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1987), 89–97. The Northern Song emperor, Huizong 徽宗 (r. 1100–26) was an avid believer in portents and auspices and was also knowledgeable about ancient culture and its auspicious motifs. He commemorated some of the unusual or noteworthy events of his reign, considered as "auspicious responses" to his rule, in visual form and provided them with accompanying written explanations. Peter C. Sturman suggests that Huizong's *Five Colored Parakeet* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) and his *Auspicious Dragon Rock* (Palace Museum, Beijing) are remnants of this program. Peter. C. Sturman, "Cranes above Kaifeng: The Auspicious Image at the Court of Huizong," *Ars Orientalis* 20 (1991): 33–68. Sturman notes that appearances of flocks of cranes performing aerial ballets were taken by Emperor Huizong as "auspicious responses." A Song dynasty painting of cranes dancing above a palace gate (a work if not by the emperor himself, certainly of the period) was meticulously analyzed by Sturman. Although hesitant to press the point, Sturman perceived a visual division of the flying crane dancers into groups of six. Closer to the topic at hand, however, a set of album leaves depicting six cranes in various poses, traditionally claimed as painted by Huizong in imitation of Huang Quan's original, deserves to be remembered (reproduced in *Shina Nanga Taisei* 支那南畫大成 [Tokyo: Kobunsha, 1935–37] 6:15–17). The images are vaguely reminiscent of, but not identical to, those on the Shōsō-in chest mentioned earlier. Huizong's album includes two standing cranes with heads raised and beaks open, one crane looking at the ground, one with head turned, one standing on one leg and preening its wing feathers, and one running with wings outstretched. Basically, Huang Quan's and Huizong's cranes are a topological catalogue of characteristic poses and movements of these birds, so it is not surprising that similar, but not identical, postures are found as well on the screen panels in Zhang Shigu's tomb. It need not be asserted that these crane pictures descend from a single prototype.

81. John S. Major, *Heaven and Earth in Early Han Thought: Chapters Three, Four, and Five of the "Huainanzi"* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 11.

82. Major, *Heaven and Earth*, 263.

83. Vivien Sung, *Five-Fold Happiness: Chinese Concepts of Luck, Prosperity, Longevity, Happiness, and Wealth* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2002), 83.

84. Chavannes, *Five Happinesses*, 24–25.

85. Jan Stuart and Evelyn S. Rawski, *Worshiping the Ancestors: Chinese Commemorative Portraits* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 36.

86. Kuhn, *Place for the Dead*, 21. As noted above, in ancient China coins were called *quan*. *Quan* is also the sound of the character meaning "complete." Consequently, ten coins were used to convey the expression *shiquan shimei* 十全十美 (literally, "ten complete, ten beauties" or figuratively, "to be complete in every way"). Whether this idea also pertains to the use of coins spelling out felicitous wishes in the tombs remains to be explored.

87. Trans. Helga Stahl, "Su Shi's Orthodox Burials: Interconnected Double Chamber Tombs in Sichuan," in *Burial in Song China*, ed. Dieter Kuhn (Heidelberg: Edition Forum, 1994), 161. See also Kuhn, *Place for the Dead*, 341, 342–43.

88. For the Shang dynasty use of layers of cinnabar, see Robert L. Thorp, "Burial Practices of Bronze Age China," in *The Great Bronze Age of China: An Exhibition from the People's Republic of China*, ed. Wen Fong (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 52. For the Marquis Yi coffin, see Hebeisheng bowuguan 河北省博物館, *Zeng hou Yi mu* 曾侯乙墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1989), 2:1–2. For the Mawangdui coffin, see Hunansheng bowuguan 湖南省博物館, *Changsha Mawangdui yihao Han mu* 長沙馬王堆一號漢墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1973), 2:26, 32–36.

89. Kuhn, *Place for the Dead*, 128.

90. Richard Edwards, personal communication.

91. Dien, "Developments in Funerary Practices," 510.

92. Arthur P. Wolf, "Chinese Kinship and Mourning Dress," in *Family and Kinship in Chinese Society*, ed. Maurice Freedman (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970), 193, 194.

93. Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo and Ankangshi wenhua jiaoyuju 安康市文化教育局, "Ankangshi Shang Xujiatai Nan Song mu fajue jianbao" 安康市上許家臺南宋墓發掘簡報, *Kaogu yu wenwu*, 2002, 2:34–36.

94. Wang Jinxian 王進先, "Shanxi Huguan Xiahaolao Song mu" 山西壺關下好牢宋墓, *Wenwu*, 2002, 5:42–55 (52, figs. 28, 29).

95. Shen Zhongchang 沈仲常 and Chen Jianzhong 陳建中, "Sichuan Zhaohuaxian Quhuixiang de Song mu shike" 四川昭化縣趙回鄉的宋墓石刻, *Wenwu cankao ziliao*, 1957, 12:52, 50, fig. 3.

96. Guizhousheng bowuguan choubeichu 貴州省博物館籌備處, "Guizhou Zunyi zhuanqu de liangzuo Song mu jianjie" 貴州遵義專區的兩座宋墓簡介, *Wenwu cankao ziliao*, 1955, 9:86, 83, figs. 18, 19.

97. There is no site report for this tomb known to me and no further information about it is included with the reproduction of the mural in Xiang Chunsong 項春松, comp., *Liaodai bihua xuan* 遼代壁畫選 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1984), 71.

98. Li, *Garden Flowers of China*, 49.

99. Li, *Garden Flowers of China*, 49.

100. Richard Barnhart, *Wintry Forests, Old Trees: Some Landscape Themes in Chinese Painting* (New York: China House Gallery, 1972), 37.

101. Li, *Garden Flowers of China*, 50. For an extensive discussion of the plum and its role in Chinese culture, see Maggie Bickford, *Ink Plum: The Making of a Chinese Scholar-Painting Genre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

102. Chongqingshi bowuguan lishizu 重慶市博物館歷史組, "Chongqing Jingkou Song mu qingli jianbao" 重慶井口宋墓清理簡報, *Wenwu*, 1961, 11:60.

103. Kuhn, *Place for the Dead*, 343–44.

104. There are several studies of *Xiyou ji* and its sources. See, for example, Glen Dudbridge, *The Hsi-yu chi: A Study of Antecedents to the Sixteenth-Century Chinese Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 36–38, for his ideas about the peach-stealing episode.

105. Shanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo 山西省考古研究所, *Pingyang Jin mu zhuandiao* 平陽金墓磚雕 (N.p.: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1998), 32–35.

106. Shanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo, *Pingyang Jin mu*, pl. 56, see also pls. 51–53 for additional examples.

107. Laing, "Patterns and Problems in Later Chinese Tomb Decoration," 18.

A Jin Hall at Jingtusi

Architecture in Search of Identity

ABSTRACT

The Main Hall of Jingtu Monastery in Ying County, Shanxi, dated to 1124, is an ideal structure through which to explore the building system and its purpose during the nonnative Jin dynasty (1115–1234). The structure of the hall is shown to be extremely simple, in contrast to its ceiling, the most structurally complicated and magnificent ceiling among known Jin buildings or those a century earlier or later in date.

An examination of Jin architecture shows Jingtusi Main Hall to be typical. The structure is shown to have some roots in construction of the former century, but to be a simpler version with a more complicated ceiling than Song or Liao buildings. An investigation of Jin tomb architecture yields similar results: structurally simpler tombs than those built in earlier times with explosive detail in ceiling and wall decoration.

The lack of monumental construction distinguishes Jin not only in China but also among conquest dynasties. It is suggested that architecture was not fundamental to Jin imperial goals. As a result, the Jin period had little impact on Chinese construction. The intense interest in detail, however, is suggested to be part of a wider-spread phenomenon evident beyond Jin's borders during the period.

The Main Buddha Hall (Daxiongbaodian 大雄寶殿) of Jingtu 淨土 Monastery faces onto a narrow dirt road in the northeastern corner of Ying 應 County, Shanxi Province (fig. 1). Dates on architectural components of the hall and stele at the site inform us that it was built in 1124 and rebuilt in 1184, but the history of the monastery, according to local records, is traced to the late Tang period. It was a clan temple of Li Siyuan 李嗣源 (r. 926–34) of the Later Tang (923–34). A stone funerary pillar and a pair of stone lions today in front of the hall are dated by inscription to the year 1040. At the time of the monastery's greatest flourishing, the Jin dynasty (1115–1234) and probably the subsequent Yuan dynasty (1267–1368) as well, Daxiongbao Hall was one of nine buildings that stood in two north-south lines: a Shanmen 山門 (front gate), ten-meter-high relic pagoda, Hall of the Divine Kings, bell and drum towers, and the Buddha Hall on the west and a Meditational Hall, second Buddha Hall, and two-story sutra tower on the east.

Occupant portrait, Macun tomb 4. After Cui Yuanhe, gen. ed., *Pingyang Jinmu zhuandiao* (Jin tombs with relief sculpture in Pingyang) (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin chubanshe, 1999), pl. 85.

1 Main Hall, Jingtu Monastery, Ying County, Shanxi, 1124, with repairs of 1184 and later. Steinhardt photograph.

Repaired three times in the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) and once under Qing rule (1644–1911), Jingtusi suffered extensive destruction in 1969 during the Cultural Revolution, after which only Daxiongbao Hall survived. Its doors and windows were replaced in 1976.[1]

The greatest number of monasteries in Ying Prefecture in premodern times seems to have been thirty-seven, the number recorded in *Yingzhou zhi* (Record of Ying Prefecture) for the Ming and Qing periods.[2] Most famous among them was Fogong 佛宮 Monastery, home of the 67.31-meter structure known throughout China today as Muta 木塔 (Timber Pagoda), built in 1056 (fig. 2). Constructed by the eighth emperor of the Liao dynasty (947–1126) in the birthplace of his adoptive mother in the year of his father's death, the pagoda brought attention to a prefecture that otherwise was not of political or cultural importance.[3] Still, builders of Jingtusi could not have been unaware of the massive tower only a few kilometers to the west. One would expect such an awe-

inspiring structure to have encouraged impressive construction at other monasteries in the town. From the outside, the impact on the Jingtusi Hall appears to have been negligible.

Daxiongbao Hall of Jingtusi is but a three-bay-square, nearly square building that supports a single-eave, hip-gable roof. It has two multipanel doors in the central front bay and windows in the two side bays. All exterior pillars of the hall are nearly the same length, very slightly shorter than the lengths of the side bays, and interior pillars have been eliminated except for those that flank the back interior bay. Bracket sets above the pillars are of the four-*puzuo* 鋪 作 formation, fourth rank in complexity in a system of eight possible ranks (with eight as the highest). The front bracket sets have one cantilever, and none is used in the back exterior sets. The interior walls were fully painted in the Jin period, when Buddhist statues stood on the altar. The murals were redone during the Qing period repair, but some statues, at least, survive from the Jin dynasty.[4]

2 Timber Pagoda, Fogong Monastery, Ying County, Shanxi, 1056. Steinhardt photograph.

3 Ceiling of Main Hall, Jingtu Monastery. Steinhardt photograph.

Only upon entering does one know that, in contrast to the mediocre building standards exhibited by the timber frame, the ceiling is magnificent. Somewhat repaired in late imperial times or the late twentieth century, the ceiling of the Main Hall of Jingtusi is believed to survive largely in its twelfth-century form. It is comprised of nine individual caissons (*zaojing* 藻井), three each of three sizes, and each extraordinary in its own right (fig. 3). Framing several of the *zaojing* are *tiangong louge* 天宮樓閣, multistory structures so named because they were believed to resemble heavenly palaces. At the base of one is the beam with the date Dading 大定府 24, or 1184, the

year of repair, followed by illegible names, believed to be monks. The bracket sets of the *zaojing* are more complex than those of the hall, ranging from five *puzuo* to seven, the latter with four layers of perpendicularly projecting bracket arms and two cantilevers. Roofs of the miniature palatial structures are decorated with coiling dragons and flowers, all covered with gold leaf.[5]

One might think that, as one of sixty-five timber-frame Jin buildings in Shanxi,[6] enough others are worthy of study that this one has rightly been ignored. This is not the case. Jingtusi is known to architectural historians, but usually because of its ceiling, a superb example of "small-scale" carpentry, or *xiaomuzuo* 小木作, the subject of *juan* 6–11 in Li Jie's twelfth-century architectural manual *Yingzao fashi* (Building Standards).[7] The other Jin wooden buildings, too, are by and large omitted from the general discourse on

Chinese architecture, both in the premodern local records and in modern studies.

One also might suspect that the omission, at least in premodern sources, should be attributed to the fact that the ruling dynasty was of non-Chinese, Jurchen, origins.[8] This is not true either. Not only is the extraordinary Timber Pagoda, built by non-Chinese patronage of the Khitan during the Liao dynasty, one of China's most famous buildings, so are the Liao period Daxiongbao Hall of Shanhua 善華 Monastery in Datong, Daxiongbao Hall of Fengguo 豐國 Monastery in Yi 義 County, Liaoning, and Pavilion of the Bodhisattva Guanyin in Ji County, Hebei.[9]

The only Jin structures that have received attention stand at two monasteries in western capital at Datong and at Yanshan 巖山 Monastery in Fanshi 繁峙 County of Shanxi. The Datong architecture, however, is most often discussed as Liao-Jin, without an attempt to separate construction practices of one dynasty from those of the other.[10] The Daxiongbao Hall at Datong's Huayansi 華嚴寺, discussed below, was constructed under Liao rule and repaired in Jin times. At Shanhua Monastery, the structurally complex buildings, Puxian 普賢 Pavilion with a mezzanine story and the Main Hall mentioned above, date from the Liao period; only the structurally simpler Front Gate and Hall to Three Deities are Jin structures.[11] Mañjuśrī Hall of Yanshan Monastery is known for its interior murals, not the structure of the hall.[12] Among structures built anew during the Jin period in Hebei, Shanxi, Henan, Shaanxi, Shandong, Gansu, or the Northeastern Provinces, not one offers the structural creativity or innovation of the Liao buildings listed above or of Song (960–1279) or later Yuan architecture.[13]

This investigation seeks to understand why Jin buildings from Shanxi to Shandong were so lacking in architectural challenge, creativity, inspiration, or symbolism and why, in contrast, such an extraordinary ceiling would be found in one of them. We shall observe that, like temples, tombs of the Jin period, irrespective of location, early or late date during the dynasty, construction by Jurchen or non-Jurchen, imperial or nonimperial patrons, are as structurally lackluster as the halls, exhibiting embellishment but

not challenging or advancing the existing architectural system. Jingtusi's Hall will emerge as an ultimate example of the Jin architectural legacy.

GREAT HALLS OF THE JIN

Amituofo 阿彌陀佛 Hall, better known by the shortened name Mituo 彌陀 Hall, at Chongfu 崇福 Monastery in Shuo 朔 County, Shanxi, is the most grandiose timber-frame building that survives from the Jin period. Monastery records relate that the temple complex was founded in 665. Under Liao rule, it was used as a military office, but a sighting of light from a spirit led to its reconversion to a monastery. In 1143, Amitabha Hall and Guanyin Hall behind it were constructed. During the Hailingwang 海陵王 reign (1149–61), Chongfusi changed from a Pure Land to a Chan monastery.[14]

One of the three largest wooden buildings in Shanxi,[15] 41.32 by 22.7 meters at the base, it is also the best example of a high-ranking hall, or *diantang* 殿堂, the *Yingzao fashi* term, among extant Jin architecture (fig. 4). Criteria for this distinction are: (1) bracket sets of five *puzuo* or higher on the interior and exterior that are positioned around two concentric timber frames; (2) bracket sets of the interior ring of columns that are higher than those of the exterior columns; correspondingly, the interior pillars should be five to seven increments (*zucai* 足材), or full modules, taller than the exterior ones, sometimes even more; (3) bracket sets under the exterior eaves that are joined by wooden members to the bracket sets of the inner ring, or *cao* 槽 (created by the inner ring of columns) (fig. 5).[16] In this system, the distribution of pillars can vary. The interior columns might be parallel to the exterior eave columns on only three sides, and the fourth row might be moved toward the interior. The result of this displacement is that not all interior bracket sets rest on pillars. Rather, braces such as those named after the shape of camel's humps (*tuofeng* 駝峰) or lintels on rafters can support bracket sets.

Displacement of interior columns, off line with those indicated on the building's exterior, and elimination of interior columns, are features shared by

4 Front facade of Amitabha Hall, Chongfu Monastery, Shuo County, Shanxi, 1143. Steinhardt photograph.
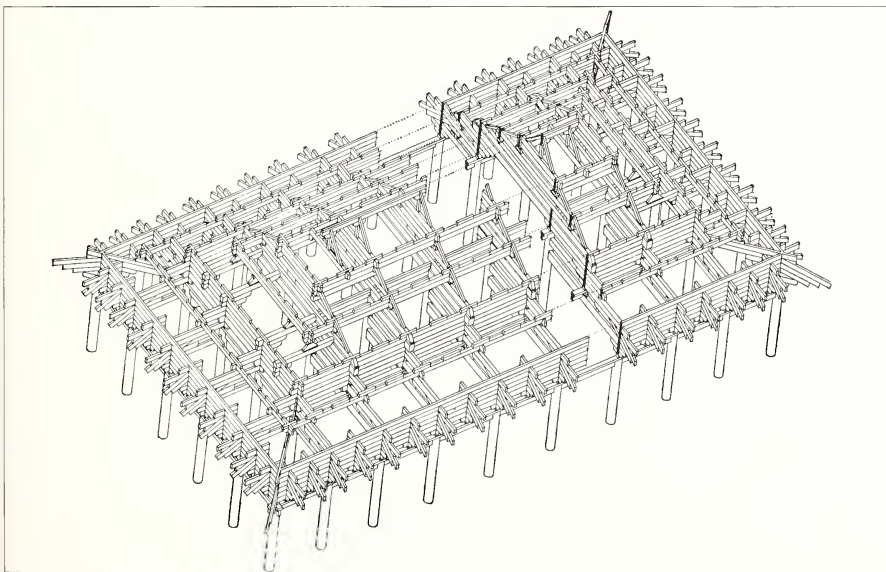
5 Infrastructural drawing of timber frame of Main Hall, Fengguo Monastery, Yixian, Liaoning, 1019, a *diantang* structure. After Chen Mingda, "Zhongguo fengjian shehui mujiegou jianzhu jishu de fazhan" (Development of Chinese timber-frame architecture of feudal society), pt. 2, *Jianzhu lishi yanjiu*, vol. 2 (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu kexue yanjiuyuan jianzhu qingbao yanjiusuo, n.d.), 54.

Mituo Hall and the Jingtusi Hall that associate them with Liao and Jin wooden buildings. (Both continue to occur in Yuan period architecture.) Other Jin features seen at Mituo Hall are the radiation of bracket arms at angles other than ninety degrees to the building plane; highly elaborated camel's hump–shaped braces; excessively long lintels (*nei'e* 內額 or *youheng* 由橫), up to 12.45 meters; sublintels (*you'e* 由額 or *xiahengfang* 下橫枋); numerous diagonal braces including *tuojiao* 托腳 (side braces connecting cross-beams with purlins that had been in use since Tang times); and *heta* 合�, wooden clamps that hold posts in place when camel's hump–shaped braces are not used. The long lintels and sublintels are among the few building components that are not present in Liao architecture.[17] The most noteworthy feature is the seven-*puzuo* bracketing, here composed of four *huagong* 華栱, or arms perpendicular to the building plane, and three cantilevers. Mituo Hall is the only Jin structure in which such eminent clusters are found.

Mituo Hall was dominant among ten buildings in the main precinct of Chongfu Monastery in the Jin dynasty. With a date of 1143, or on the cusp of what we might call Flourishing Jin,[18] Mituodian is the best standard we have for determining the structural details of a high-ranking hall of the Jin period.

Daxiongbao Hall of Fengguo Monastery in Yi County, Liaoning, dated 1019, an archetypical *diantang* structure, shares with Mituo Hall the three fundamental features of *diantang* listed above as well as the elimination of interior pillars.[19] A building one might expect to anticipate or rival Chongfusi's Mituo Hall is the Daxiongbao Hall of Huayan Monastery, probably constructed under Liao rule, in about 1040, and rebuilt in 1140.[20] A spectacular structure, the nine-bay-by-five building spans more than fifty meters across the front and is elevated on a platform more than four meters high. It has the simple, hipped roof, important in designating a structure as *diantang*, and both interior pillar elimination and interior pillars not aligned with those on the sides. It has, moreover, the fan-shaped bracket sets characteristic of Datong architecture and observed at Mituo Hall, but here the similarities cease. Daxiongbao Hall of Huayan Monastery

has only five-*puzuo* bracket sets, the kind employed at the Jingtusi Hall.[21]

Herein we begin to perceive what defines the Jin building tradition and what associates and distinguishes it with or from those of Liao and Song. Among a representative sample of twenty-seven Jin wooden buildings, twenty-three in Shanxi, three in Shandong, and one in Henan,[22] only Mituo Hall of Chongfusi has bracketing of the seven-*puzuo* variety, and only three halls—Mituodian, Daxiongbao Hall of Huayansi, and Mañjuśrī Hall of Foguang Monastery, discussed below—are more than five bays across the front.

Dated 1137, Mañjuśrī Hall of Foguang Monastery on Mount Wutai has three double doors in the front, one in the back, and the typical Jin features of elimination of pillars from the interior, diagonal and camel's hump–shaped braces, excessively long lintels, and fan-shaped bracketing.[23] The braces have particularly decorative edges, sharply contrasting the ceilingless shell and empty interior whose exposed roof rafters are supported by only two interior columns in front of the altar (fig. 6).

Due to its ceiling, Jingtusi Hall might come next in an assessment of Jin architecture from most to least grandiose, for its three-bay dimensions, doors only in the front, exterior pillars all nearly the same length and only very slightly shorter than the lengths of the side bays, and four-*puzuo* bracket sets are important criteria in distinguishing it as *tingtang* 廳堂 rather than *diantang*.[24]

Except for its ceiling, the Jingtusi Main Hall represents the norm in Jin timber-frame construction: a modest hall, usually three-bay square but sometimes five-bays-by-three, no ceiling, four- or in some cases five-*puzuo* brackets sets whose arms project only parallel or perpendicular to the building facade, no intercolumnar bracketing, and a hip-gable roof. These features are all found in Buddhist and other halls: Yuanjue 圓覺 Hall of Baozangsi 寶藏寺, the main halls of the Temple to the Sage Mother Wu Zetian 武則天 and Yanqingsi 延慶寺, Guangwang Temple of Taifuguan 太符觀, and Daxiongbao Hall of Bu'ersi 不二寺 (figs. 7–10).[25] Can it be coincidence of survival

6 Interior of Mañjuśrī Hall, Foguang Monastery, 1137. After *Ancient Chinese Architecture* (Beijing and Hong Kong: China Building Industry Press and Joint Publishing Company, 1982), 107.

that even though Jin builders must have seen Liao architecture and Song architecture and probably Tang architecture, only Chongfusi's Amitabha Hall and the rebuilt Daxiongbao Hall of Huayansi bear signs of Jin architectural grandeur?

The only other period of Chinese history in which small, humble buildings dominate is the first two-thirds of the tenth century. All five dated buildings are three-bays square.[26] Two of them, Daxiongbao Hall of Hualin 華林 Monastery and the Main Hall of Zhenguo 鎮國 Monastery, have large and elaborate bracket sets in contrast to very understated exteriors. Not one of the halls has a ceiling: every member of their roofs frames is exposed. The five tenth-century buildings are products of short-lived dynasties and kingdoms such as Northern Han (951–79) or Wu-Yue (907–78) or Late Jin (936–46), patrons of Zhenguosi,

7 Yuanjue Hall, Baozang Monastery, Fanshi County, Shanxi, Jin period. After Chai Zejun and Zhang Chouliang, *Fanshi Yanshansi* (Yanshan Monastery in Fanshi) (Beijing: Wenwu Press, 1990), pl. 140.

8 Temple to the Sage Mother Wu Zetian, Wenshui County, Shanxi, 1145. Steinhardt photograph.

9 Main Hall, Yanqing Monastery, Wutai County, Shanxi, Jin period. After *Wutaishan* (Beijing: Wenwu Press, 1984), pl. 34.

10 Main Hall, Bu'ersi, Yangqu County, Shanxi, ca. 1195. Steinhardt photograph.

Hualinsi, and Dayunyuan, respectively. The small size of the halls is probably explained by constraints on time and money and patrons who employed massive bracket sets or other oversize features as visual symbols of status and wealth, but appended them to scaled-down, more affordable structures.[27] Since Jin ruled an empire that extended from Jilin Province to Gansu and south to include Henan, Shanxi, and Shaanxi, for a century, if expenditures were a factor in decisions to construct humble buildings, they cannot have been the only one.[28]

From the outside, Mañjuśrī Hall, also known as the South Hall, of Yanshansi, dated 1153, appears in all ways to be typical of Jin religious architecture according to the criteria discussed here: five bays as opposed to three across the front, bracket sets that are only four *puzuo*. Yet as mentioned above, its interior walls are covered with meticulously rendered murals, among which a majority of scenes take place in or in front of buildings. The wall paintings are further distinguished because they are signed and dated by court painter
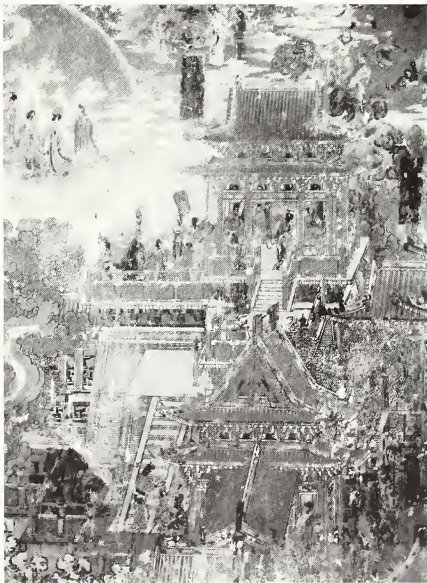
Wang Kui (1100–?) and others to 1163 and 1167 (fig. 11).[29] The contrast between both the quality of paintings and the structural complexity of the architecture depicted, on the one hand, and the hall that houses the murals, on the other, is similar to the contrast between the Jingtusi ceiling and its timber frame.

Although the contrast between exterior structure and interior decoration may be a feature of Jin wooden architecture, the Jin do not deserve credit as innovators of such a design. Liao builders constructed a pavilion with an interior mezzanine and ceiling unanticipated by its exterior structure in 984, and followed it with the five-bay, hip-gable roofed Sutra Library of Huayan Monastery in 1038, a *tingtang* whose interior cabinetry included architectural detail with seven- and eight-*puzuo* bracket sets. Then, in 1056, Fogong Monastery pagoda with its four unanticipated interior mezzanine stories was built (see fig. 2), and even as the Liao dynasty was in rapid decline in 1124, three of the humblest halls known from the period, at Kaiyuan 開元 Monastery in Yi 易 County, Hebei (all now destroyed), were built, one of which exhibited a caisson ceiling of the kind in evidence at the Jingtusi Hall.[30] Although not yet in Jin hands, it is possible that Pilu 毗盧 Hall or another similar building in the territory of Liao-Jurchen conflict could have influenced the construction of the Jingtusi Hall and its contrasting ceiling (figs. 12, 13; see also figs. 1, 3).

12 Pilu Hall, Kaiyuansi, Yi County, Hebei, first quarter of twelfth century, destroyed. After Liu Dunzhen, "Hebeisheng xibu gujianzhu diaocha jilüe" (Notes on the investigation of ancient architecture in western Hebei), *Zhongguo yingzao xueshe huikan* 6.4 (1935), pl. 2, ding.
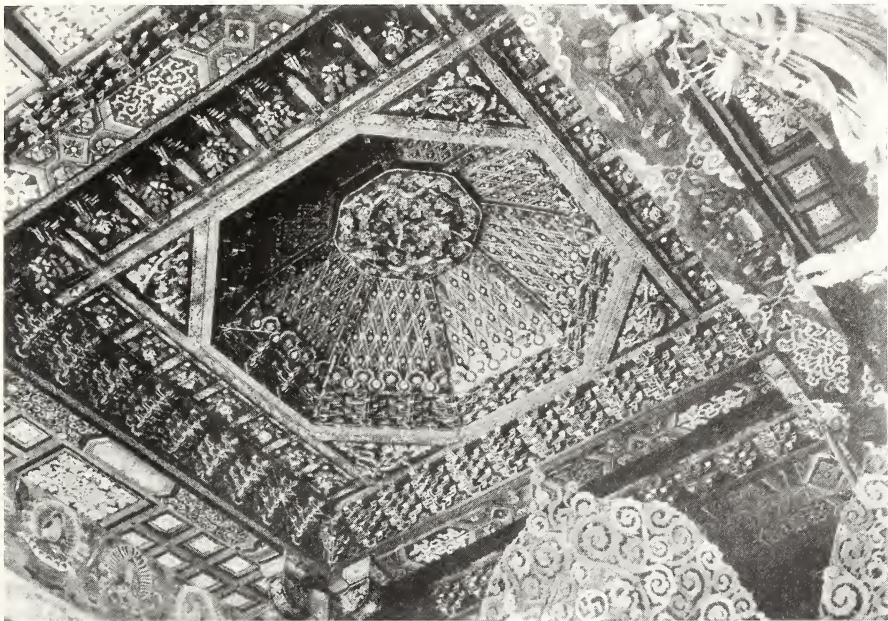
13 *Zaojing* of Pilu Hall, Kaiyuan Monastery. After Liu Dunzhen, "Hebeisheng xibu gujianzhu diaocha jilue" (Notes on the investigation of ancient architecture in western Hebei), *Zhongguo yingzao xueshe huikan* 6.4 (1935), pl. 4, jia.

By 1124, exquisite examples of *xiaomuzuo* are also found in Song buildings. One three-bay hall with a hip-gable roof and five-*puzuo* bracket sets, where this contrast is also observed, is in the Main Hall of Erxianguan 二仙觀 in Xiaonan 小南 Village, Jincheng 晋城 County, Shanxi. Believed to have been built shortly after the monastery's establishment in 1107, its interior exhibits an elaborate *xiaomuzuo* altar (fig. 14). The most famous example of *xiaomuzuo* from the Northern Song period, the cabinet inside the Pavilion of the Revolving Sutra Cabinet at Longxing 龍興 Monastery, Zhengding 正定, Hebei, was also constructed before the onset of Jin rule.[31] Clearly, superb examples of small-scale carpentry could have been seen by the Jurchen conquerors of North China from the time of their earliest invasions of Liao or Song territory.

The contrast between exterior construction and ceiling of the Main Hall of Jingtusi also suggests com-parison with Jin funerary architecture in southern Shanxi. As we shall see, almost without exception, Jin period tombs in the region have only one main room, yet, at the same time, complex, vaulted ceilings further elaborated by intricate detail. As in timber-frame architecture, aspects of these tombs can be shown to follow Song and Liao precedents, but the simplicity in ground plans marks a sharp break before the twelfth century.

JIN PERIOD TOMBS AND DECORATION IN JINNAN

Jinnan 晋南, the southern part of the ancient province of Jin, also known as the Pingyang 平陽 region, in southern Shanxi, that includes Linfen 臨汾, Yuncheng 運城, and Yongji 永濟 prefectures and the towns of Houma 侯馬, Jishan 稷山, Macun 馬村, Xinjiang 新絳, Wenxi 溫溪, and Xiangfen 襄汾, has scores of tombs dated to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[32]

14 Altar, Main Hall, Erxian Daoist Monastery, Jincheng, Shanxi, first quarter of twelfth century. After Li Yuming et al., *Shanxi gujianzhu tonglan*, (Panorama of ancient architecture in Shanxi) (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin chubanshe, 1986), 209.

Among the thirty or so Jin tombs from southern Shanxi studied for comparison with Jingtusi's Main Hall, most are entered from ground level via a stepped or inclined diagonal ramp. The actual entry is a double-leaf door. Only occasionally are southern Shanxi tombs simple pits dug into the ground. In tombs with rectangular plans, the entry is usually on the east side of the south wall. In square tombs, the entry is at the center of the south wall. Rooms may also be octagonal, but whatever their shape, almost without exception the underground space is a single room or a room with two small corner extensions or niches. In contrast to such simple, one-room burials are the elaborately decorated interiors in which brick is transformed to imitate wooden construction (fig. 15).

The extraordinary elaboration of every architectural feature cannot be overemphasized. Ceilings and walls of Jin tombs in southern Shanxi replicate the virtuosity of Jingtusi Main Hall's *xiaomuzuo* ceiling.[33] The practice of *fang mugou* 仿木构, the Chinese phrase for imitation of wooden structure, often used to describe underground tomb walls and ceilings, is much more ingenious than mere imitation. For example, the bracket sets above and between columns in tombs 1 and 5 in Macun, Jishan, and in the tomb of Dong Ming 董明 are five-*puzuo* formation. Yet the curvilinear forms resembling the outlines of clouds make them appear more complicated (fig. 16). The widespread use of five-*puzuo* bracketing is noteworthy. One recalls that with the exception of Mituo Hall

15 Interior of Macun tomb 1 showing south wall, Jin Dynasty Tomb Museum, Jishan County, Shanxi. After Cui Yuanhe, gen. ed., *Pingyang Jinmu zhuandiao* (Jin tombs with relief sculpture in Pingyang) (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin chubanshe, 1999), pl. 3.

16 Bracketing on north wall of tomb of Dong Hai showing elaboration of ends of uppermost bracket arms, Houma, Shanxi, 1196. Steinhardt photograph.

of Chongfusi, bracket sets in Jin timber architecture are mainly five *puzuo*. Like buildings aboveground, in spite of the decorative effect, the structural rank of the wooden parts imitated in Jinnan tombs is middle range. Aboveground, Jin period *diantang* are rare but, as we have seen, did exist; underground, so far, the timber-frame architecture follows *tingtang* style.

The fan-shaped bracket clusters that have characterized Liao-Jin construction in Datong and at the Mañjuśrī Hall of Foguangsi also are found in Jin period Jinnan tombs. Excellent examples of these bracket sets also remain on walls of tombs of the Liao consort clan, Xiao 蕭, at their family cemetery in Kulunqi 庫倫旗, Inner Mongolia. Yet as was the case in the comparison of aboveground architecture of Jin and Liao, the bracket formations in Liao tombs are more complicated than those found in Jin tombs.[34] It can be argued, moreover, that the use of high-ranked bracketing in Liao tombs had a symbolic purpose: it represented a conscious effort to elevate the status of the interred in the afterlife beyond their terrestrial rank.[35] Liao tomb wall decoration offers even more in the way of symbolism and purpose that is not found in Jin architectural decoration in Jinnan, such as the use of the twenty-eight lunar lodges and signs of the twelve Chinese calendrical animals and the Western zodiac.[36]

There is little doubt the Chinese system of wood joinery and its association with structural rank were understood by Jin builders, because from Mituo Hall of Chongfusi to the three-bay-square halls of Shanxi and tomb walls of Jinnan, structural forms are consistent with the ranks specified in *Yingzao fashi*. Lacking in Jin funerary construction is the employment of symbolism that had been exploited by Liao builders. In this way, Jin tomb architecture in southern Shanxi seems rather to follow Northern Song tombs, tending toward the decorative without the symbolic.

Although Song tomb walls and ceilings never reach the degree of decoration observed in Jinnan, highly decorated interiors, far more complicated than those of the Tang, tenth century, or even most Liao tombs, existed.[37] The well-known Northern Song tombs at

Baisha 白沙 in central Henan Province are excellent examples of the degree to which Song tomb interiors were elaborated in imitation of wooden architecture, as are tombs excavated at Shizhuang 柿莊, southwestern Hebei, in Mangshan 邙山 and Xin'ancun 新安村 in the vicinity of Luoyang, and a tomb excavated in Huguan 壺關 County of Southern Shanxi (figs. 17, 18).[38] Perhaps not coincidentally, this last tomb is dated to 1123, within a decade of the Jin takeover of the region and a year before construction of the Jingtusi Hall. The graded tones of blues and greens that decorated architectural members of Northern Song tomb interiors, as well as decorative molding on the ends of bracket arms, are features that, like *puzuo* number, are explained in the *Yingzao fashi* and should be considered further evidence that the architectural manual influenced construction above- and below-ground (figs. 19, 20).

Northern Song tombs also exhibit a broader-based knowledge and implementation of Chinese timber-
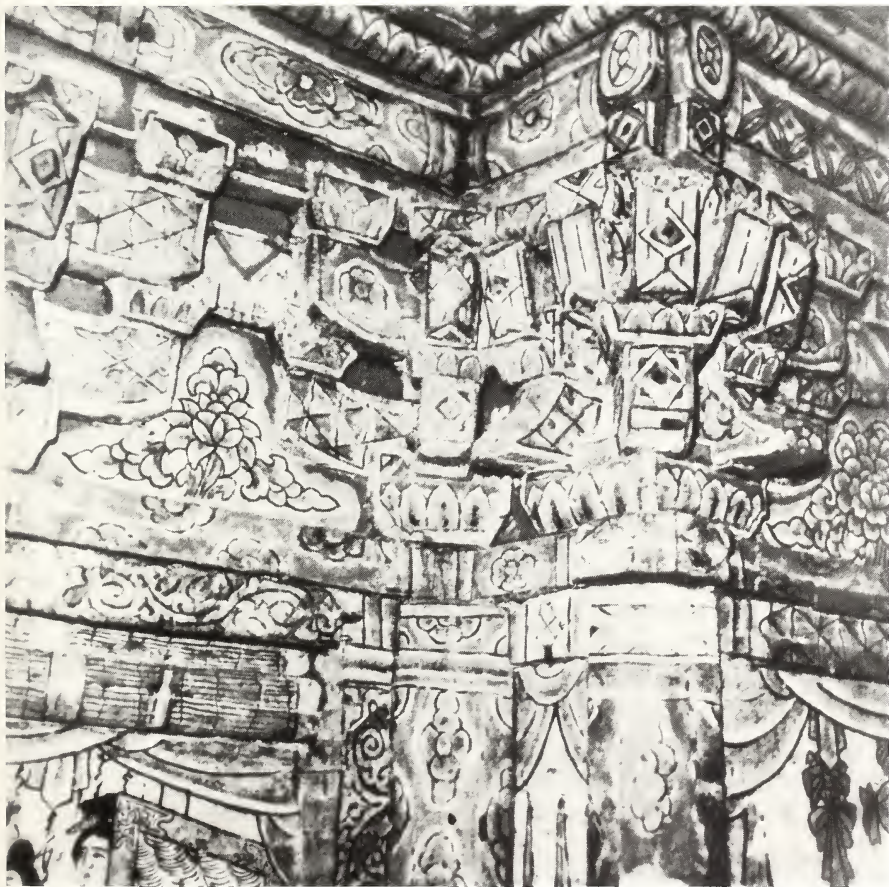
17 Detail of painting of architectural decoration on west wall of front chamber, tomb 1, Baisha. After Su Bai, *Baisha Songmu* (Song Tombs at Baisha) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1957), pl. X.

18 North and northwest walls of tomb 1, Licun, Xin'an, Luoyang county. After Su Bai, ed., *Zhongguo meishu quanji* (Universal history of Chinese art), *Huihua bian* (Painting series), vol. 12, *Mushi bihua* (Tomb wall painting) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1989), pl. 141.

frame architecture than is observed in Jin tombs. *Gualunzhuang* 瓜輪莊, or melon wheel–shaped pillars, such as survive at Daxiongbao Hall of Baoguo 寶國 Monastery in Yuyao County, Zhejiang, dated 1013, for example, are painted at the wall seams in tomb 1 in Licun (fig. 21; see also fig. 18). Diamond-shaped and pentagonal sections at the end of the bracket arm, features that date a structure to the eleventh century and are found at Moni 摩尼 Hall of Longxing Monastery, dated 1052, are also found in the Song tombs listed above (fig. 22; see also fig. 18).[39]

Jin tomb builders in southern Shanxi added an overlay of flora and fauna beyond even Song decoration of architectural members. Lattice doors in Jin tombs in Shanxi often have different floral patterns on each compartment of a six-panel series as well as flowers and flowering plants on the lintel (fig. 23). The quality and arrangement anticipate gardens of southeastern China today and perhaps also represent garden architecture of the twelfth or thirteenth century, local or from farther south in China.

Some of the themes on Jin tomb walls in Jinnan, such as scenes of daily life including banquets and entertainment for the deceased, a woman looking out a partially open door, or stories of filial piety, could be anticipated from the history of tomb decoration in China long before the eleventh or twelfth century.[40] Two of the narrative programs fit especially well in the octagonal, vaulted ceilings found in many of the Shanxi Jin tombs: the Eight Daoist Immortals and Twenty-four Paragons of Filial Piety. Jin tomb decora-

19 Gradations of color in architectural decoration, Li Jie, *Yingzao fashi* (Building standards), 1103 (reprint, Taipei: Taibei Yinshuguan, 1974), *juan* 33 (8:30–31).
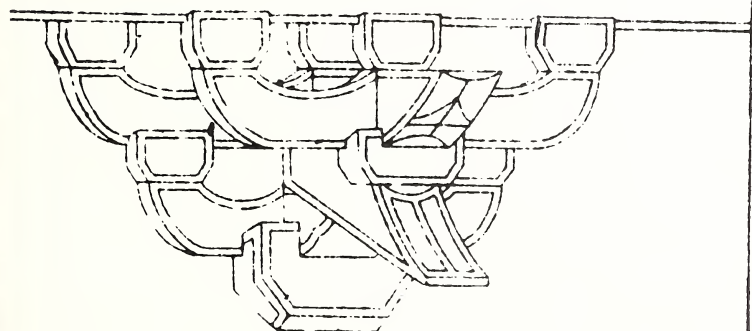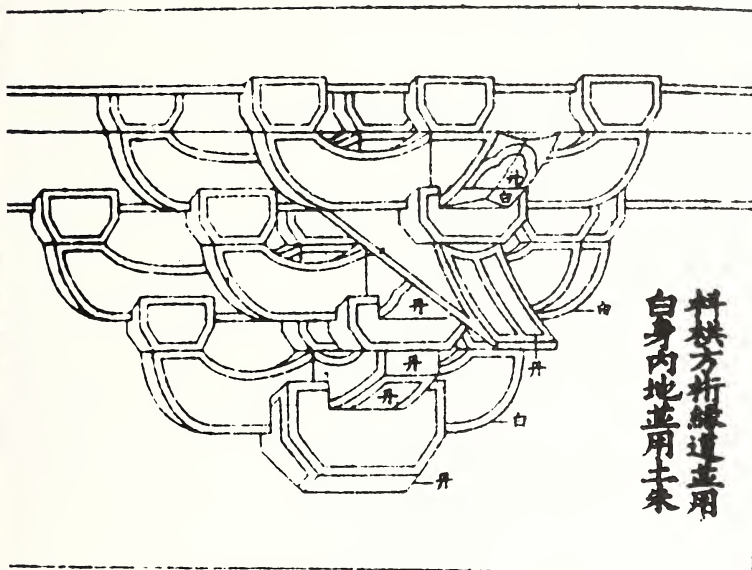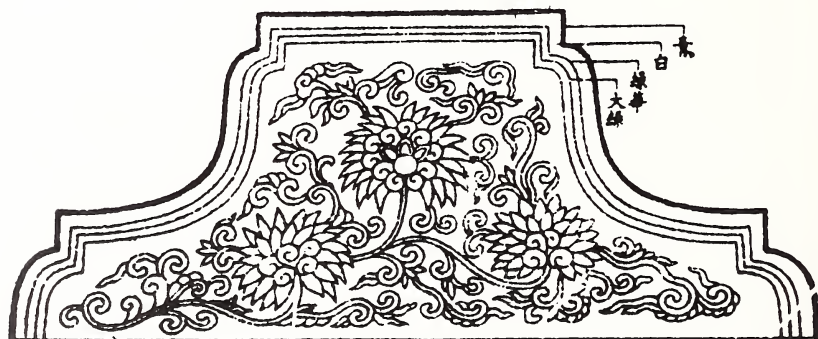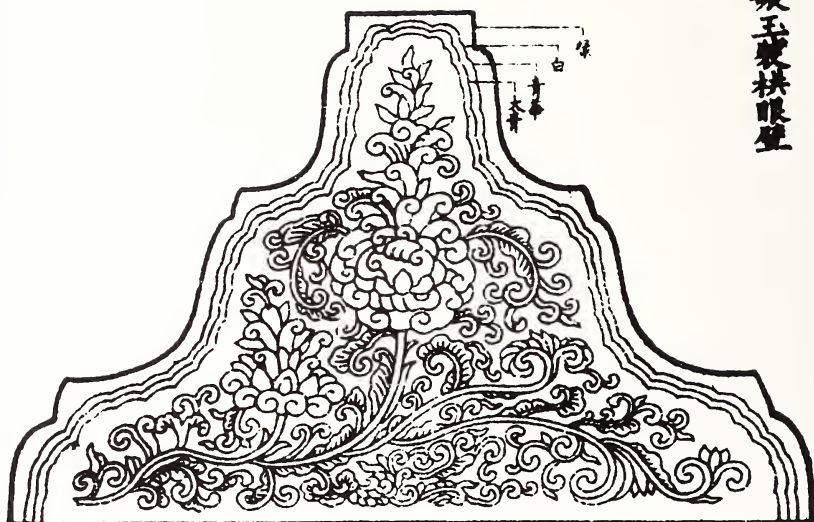
20 Varieties of decorated camel's hump–shaped braces. Li Jie, *Yingzao fashi* (Building standards) (1103), *juan* 30 (reprint, Taipei: Taibei Yinshuguan, 1974), 6:41.

21 Interior of Daxiongbao Hall, Baoguo Monastery, Yuyao County, Zhejiang, 1013, showing melon wheel–shaped column and *zaojing*. Steinhardt photograph.

tion is best known, however, for representations of drama, sometimes set on a stage.

Any study of Chinese drama emphasizes the importance of the Pingyang region in the development of *zaju* 雜劇 or *yuanben* 院本 and other forms of drama and entertainment in the Jin and Yuan periods.[41] Studies of Chinese drama since the 1960s, by which time several of the most relevant tombs had been opened, have recognized the one-to-one correspondence between five main actors in *zaju* and their representation in Jin tomb interiors, paying particular attention to the best example, five actors on a stage on the north wall of the tomb of Dong Ming in Houma, dated 1162 (fig. 24). The "bamboo horse," or hobbyhorse, also appears in Jin tomb wall decoration.[42] So far, specific plays have not been identified on the walls of tombs, although the specificity of scenes of filial piety and historical or legendary heroes in Chinese funerary art is such that it would not be surprising if representations of drama were specific. The individual

players in *yuanben* such as the clowns or leader are as identifiable as specific instruments.

The proportion of representations of drama compared to other subjects in Jin as opposed to Song or later Yuan tombs is also impressive, although the subject has a history in China before and after the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Entertainment and performance, no doubt intended for the deceased, are part of decorative programs in countless excavated tombs with wall painting, relief sculpture, or figurines from the last B.C. centuries onward.[43] Whether all curtains represent stages or if curtains alone are merely decorative, as they appear to be in some Song tombs (see fig. 18), in Jinnan tombs there is no question that stages are sculpted onto the walls (see fig. 24) or that the performers on the stages have roles in play scripts.

A Yuan tomb excavated in 1986 at Xilizhuang 西里莊, Yuncheng County, southern Shanxi, displays six *zaju* actors, including a child, across its western wall and six musicians opposite them on the east (fig. 25).[44] The subject is a marked contrast to the otherwise dominant portrayals of Mongolian males and their wives and servants in the majority of other known Yuan tombs with wall paintings.[45] In the Xilizhuang tomb, the presentation of actors is simple, direct, and stark, lacking the complicated decoration that combines with actors and drama in Jin tombs. Yet Yuan is the only period from which an acting troop is identified by name on a temple mural,[46] suggesting that the popularity of drama and other performances in Yuan times, particularly in Shanxi, may have been no less than in the previous century under Jin rule, but the portrayal of actors in Jin tombs is, like the other decoration more generally, uniquely exuberant.

The emphasis on decorative stages in Jinnan tombs may reflect reality. A center of drama in Jin and Yuan times, the Pingyang region had open-air stages in many of its towns. A comparison of the stage in Dong Ming's tomb and one that survives from the Yuan period in Linfen County again shows the Jin period to be more opulent. The mounted figures that decorate the lintel, cut-off decoration on the bracket arms, scal-

22 Pentagonal bracket-arm end, front facade of Moni Hall, Longxingsi, Zhengding, Song dynasty. Steinhardt photograph.

lops under the base, and cloud patterns on the roof of the stage in the tomb chamber are all missing in the actual stage built more than a century later in the same province (fig. 26; see also fig. 24).

Comparisons of representational tomb art of Liao, Northern Song, and Jinnan during the Jin period suggest terms like straightforward, clear, and sometimes symbolic for the first, some decorative aspects in painting and relief sculpture of architecture on walls and one-to-one correspondences above- and below-ground for the second, and breathtaking, detailed decoration for Jin. Not only are Jin tomb interiors decorative; the decorative experience is intensified by the interior space. All but one of the Song and Liao tombs discussed above or mentioned in notes have several main chambers, at the least.[47] The exception is the late Song tomb in Xiahaolao, suggested as anticipating Jinnan tomb construction of the Jin period because of its date. Its plan consists

of a four-sided chamber and two side niches. The intensification of decoration through constricted space is the same principle at work in the Jingtusi Hall.

Grand as *xiaomuzuo* may be, it is small-scale, carpenter's work. If it served a purpose for Jin builders, it appears to have been a decorative one. In no Jin wooden structure was the *zaojing* fashioned around a monumental sculpture or multilevel sculptural program such as one finds at the Liao Guanyin Pavilion or Timber Pagoda. Architecture whose focus is a *xiaomuzuo* ceiling, it is suggested, is not that of conquerors or dynastic founders or shapers with eternal visions — not Qin Shihuangdi, Tang Taizong, Khubilai Khan, the Yongle emperor, or even Liao Shenzong and his successor Daozong, whose names are linked to the Yingxian Timber Pagoda.

One might wonder if the structural magnificence present in religious and funerary architecture before
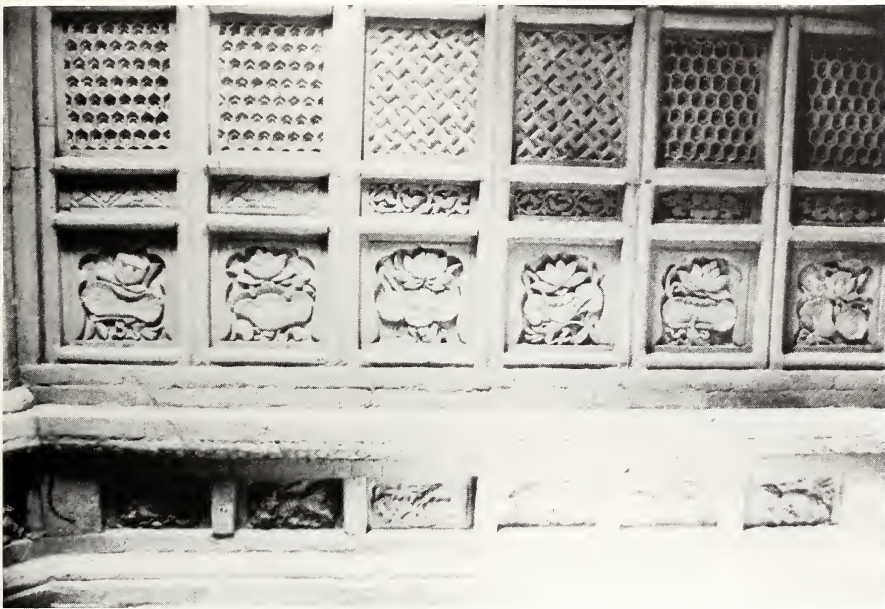
23 East wall of Macun tomb 5, showing different floral patterns and latticework on each door panel. Jin Dynasty Tomb Museum, Jishan County, Shanxi. After Cui Yuanhe, gen. ed., *Pingyang Jinmu zhuandiao* (Jin tombs with relief sculpture in Pingyang) (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin chubanshe, 1999), pl. 31.

and after Jin was in the Jin period restricted to palace construction. The Jin had six imperial capitals. The earliest, their first Shangjing 上京, about thirty kilometers southeast of Harbin in Heilongjiang, was dismantled and destroyed in 1153. Preserved parts moved with the transfer of the capital to the former Liao central capital in Ningcheng 寧城, Inner Mongolia, during the reign of Hailingwang. No palace buildings survive at either Shangjing site. As for the other four imperial cities and their palaces, the Jin central, eastern, and western capitals and palaces were built on the ruins of the Liao southern, western, and eastern capitals, respectively, during the reigns of the second, third, and fourth Jin rulers, Wuqimai 吳乞買 (r. 1123–38), Dan 亶 (r. 1135–49), and Hailingwang. Hailingwang also moved building parts from the former Northern Song capital Dongjing/Bianjing 汴京, today Kaifeng, to his central capital Zhongdu 中

都, beneath present-day Beijing, which were added to the expanded and reconstructed palaces of the former Liao southern capital there. What he left in Dongjing was used in the Jin southern capital.[48] In other words, although nothing but a few pieces of decoration from these palaces survives, textual evidence suggests that little Jin originality or ingenuity went into their construction.[49]

Pagodas remain within what would have been the walls of each of the Jin capitals, as well. Almost without exception, they are considered Liao pagodas or are designated Liao-Jin because they were refaced or otherwise rebuilt on Liao originals.[50] In comparison to the profound importance of imperial architecture of China in the establishment and legitimation of nonnative empires prior to Jin, in particular for the fifth-century Northern Wei at Luoyang, for Liao, or for the later Mongols or the Manchus,

24 Actors on stage of north wall of tomb of Dong Ming, Houma, 1162. After Cui Yuanhe, gen. ed., *Pingyang Jinmu zhuandiao* (Jin tombs with relief sculpture in Pingyang) (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin chubanshe, 1999), pl. 131.

or earlier non-Chinese who impacted smaller regions of China such as the Xiongnu in the city they constructed at Tongwan 統萬 in Shaanxi, Jin appears almost unique in the decision not to use architecture as a means of self-aggrandizement and imperial visual display.[51] One cannot but wonder why the conquest-dynasty Jin had this seemingly unique relationship with architecture.

25 Actors and musicians in tomb at Xilizhuang, Yuncheng. After "Shanxi Yuncheng Xilizhuang Yuandai bihuamu" (A Yuan period tomb with wall paintings in Xilizhuang, Yuncheng, Shanxi), *Wenwu*, 1988, 4: pl. 4.

JURCHEN AND JIN PERIOD TOMBS BEYOND JINNAN

Jin period tombs have been excavated in almost every county of the former Jin empire. Besides the Jinnan tombs, located in a region heavily influenced by Chinese civilization, Jin tombs cluster in the vicinities of the first Shangjing, that is, eastern Heilongjiang along the Songhua 松花 River, and the central capital, near Beijing, and contiguous counties.[52]

One of the most impressive Jurchen tombs is believed to have belonged to Wanyan Yan 完顏晏, also known as the prince of Qi 齊, estimated by excavators to have been about sixty at the time of death, and his wife, probably about forty when she died.[53] The tomb was excavated in 1988 in Juyuan 巨源, about thirty-eight kilometers northwest of Acheng 阿城, and the pristine condition and variety of the ruler and his wife's garments have attracted great attention.[54]
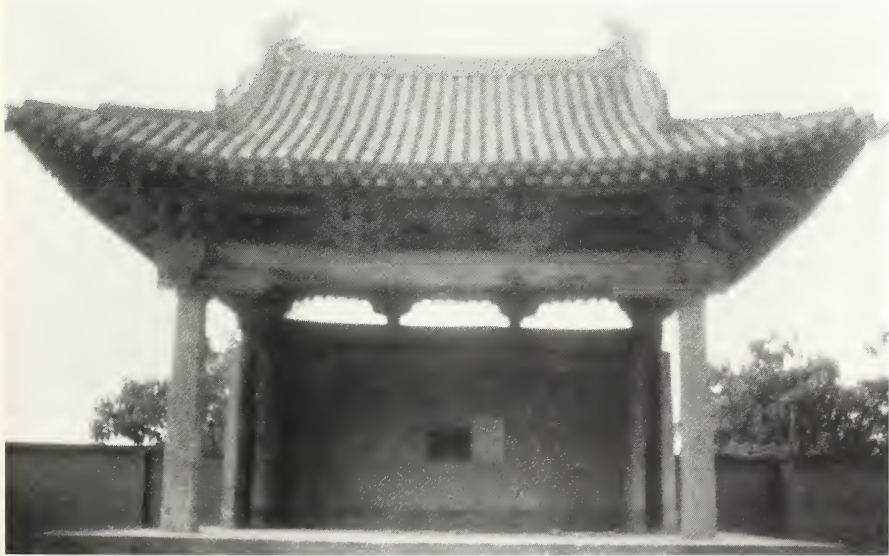
26 Stage in Linfen County, Shanxi, 1345. Steinhardt photograph.

He was dressed in eight layers of garments and she in nine, with another sixteen articles of clothing such as hats, belts, leggings, and boots among the tomb contents. The structure of the tomb and method of burial offer a sharp contrast to the contents. The Jin prince and his wife were laid to rest in a wooden sarcophagus inside a stone sarcophagus in a simple, vertical pit tomb (fig. 27).

Although joint husband-and-wife burial is a widespread practice in China and at its northeastern border, burial of spouses in the same sarcophagus is unusual. Also noteworthy is the interment of royalty in a simple pit tomb. The coffin of Wanyan Yan and his wife was 2.21 by 1.26 meters at the base and 90 centimeters in height, each side, the top, and bottom made of between seven and twelve wooden planks. Contrasting the simple space was its decoration: the coffin was lined with a curtain made of two pieces of cloth and adorned with male and female mandarin ducks, a Chinese symbol of harmonious marriage. No epitaph was found, but the tomb contained two plaques with a total of three inscriptions. The first, made of silver, was 48.5 by 17 centimeters and placed in the center of the lid of the inner coffin. The second, of wood, 66.3 by 23 centimeters, was under the heads of the corpses. Both inscriptions referred to the deceased male as *taiwei* 太尉 (commander) and Qiguowang, or prince of the state of Qi. The wooden plaque also had the three-character inscription *fang yizuo* 房一坐 (one house) on the back, perhaps a reference to burial in the same sarcophagus.

Simple wooden coffins in simple pits seem to have been the norm for Heilongjiang burials dated to the twelfth century. Twenty-five tombs excavated from approximately seventy found in the vicinity of Aolimi 奥里米, about nine kilometers northwest of the Songhua River near Suibin 綏濱滨, were simple pit tombs. Some had wooden coffins and others had stone coffins. No coffin was large enough to hold two corpses. In cases in which husband and wife burial is suspected, each spouse had its own grave.[55] Among fourteen tombs found in Yongsheng 永生, fewer than ten kilometers north of Aolimi, all twelve that were opened were pit tombs.[56] Less complicated

27 Remains of prince of Qi, Wanyan Yan, and his wife, Juyuan, Acheng, Heilongjaing. After Zhu Qixin, "Royal Costumes of the Jin Dynasty," *Orientations* 21 (December 1990):60.

and smaller than the Aolimi group, the largest tomb was 3.05 by 1.4 meters and just under a meter into the ground. There were no stone sarcophaguses, and among the wooden ones, all were tenoned together. Even iron nails that held together coffins at Aolimi were not found. The lack of anything more precious than iron led archaeologist Jing Ai 景愛 to conclude that this was a commoner cemetery.[57]

Twelve tombs of higher-status occupants were excavated in Zhongxing 中興, also in the Suibin River valley.[58] Forming two sets of six tombs each, each group had three larger burials beneath a single, earthen mound, and the other six, significantly

smaller graves, spread in no obvious pattern to their southeast. The largest of them, tomb 3, the main tomb under one of the mounds, was a rectangular earthen pit with a painted, inner, wooden sarcophagus and an outer one made of stone. West beyond tomb 5, which shared a mound with tomb 3 to tomb 3's west, was a depression with evidence that five posts had once stood in it. It has been suggested these were stakes for tying horses,[59] presumably for use in the afterlife.

Tomb 3 was the only one with a double coffin. Nine tombs of this group had wooden coffins, and two were coffinless pits. The coffinless tombs were cremation burials, as were six of the tombs that had wooden coffins. In other words, postcremation, corporeal remains were placed in coffins or underground pits without coffins. Cremation before interment is one reason mid-Jin or later has been proposed as the date of all twelve tombs. Pre-Jin and proto-Jurchen peoples are believed to have buried corpses, whether with or without containers, and cremation is viewed as a practice learned from non-Jurchen peoples, perhaps but not necessarily directly from Buddhists.[60]

Clues that might indicate the status of occupants of the Zhongxing tomb group are found among burial goods. First is the presence silver, gold, or jade objects and garments made of ermine, sable, or other valued animal skins. *Sanchao Beimeng huibian* 三朝北盟會編 (Collected Documents on Treaties with the North during the Three Dynasties [Liao, Jin, Song]), informs us of the association between certain animal skins and the upper echelons of Jin society. The wealthy, we are told, adorned themselves with precious objects and garments of black fur such as sable or black fox. Others, by contrast, wore clothing of ox, horse, pig, sheep, cat, dog, fish, and snake skin.[61] Although neither preferred varieties of glazes nor kiln sites are specified in this text, ceramics buried with the dead should also indicate status.

Another burial object indicative of status should be currency. Coins also provide a *terminus post quem* for a tomb. Based on a historical fact, that the Jurchen did not mint currency until the year Zhenyuan 2, or 1154, some Jin tombs have earliest possible dates from Liao and Song coins.[62] Similarly, the appearance anywhere

in a tomb of Jurchen script, invented by Wanyan Xiyi 完顏希尹 (d. 1140) in 1119 at the request of Wuqimai and according to the official record used only until it was denounced in 1153 by Hailingwang's sweeping Sinicization reforms (one of which was the issue of Jin coins),[63] has been used to date tombs to the thirty-four-year period between these two dates.[64] In at least one instance, the tomb of Shi Li'ai 時立愛, discussed below, the tomb occupant died in 1143 but his epitaph is dated to 1195. His funerary inscription is believed to have been carved at the time of his death, perhaps in Jurchen script, and recarved later. The current epitaph not only uses Chinese characters but records a lower-status title designated in 1157, also a result of policy during Hailingwang's reign.[65]

The family cemetery of the above-mentioned Wanyan Xiyi survives in Shulan 舒蘭 County, Jilin Province. One of five tombs built into mountains in a 13.64-kilometer area, Wanyan Xiyi's was opened in 1980.[66] Each was built entirely of stone. Wanyan Xiyi's tomb was a single-chamber, stone replica of a hipped-roof structure with an octagonal, caisson ceiling (fig. 28). His remains were found in a stone box, one of five in the tomb. All five tombs had their own spirit paths consisting of pairs of tigers, sheep, pillars, and civil and military officials. These are the only known Jurchen spirit paths except for those at the imperial tombs, discussed below. Although the use of stone as the primary construction material and the single chamber associate these tombs with Jurchen or Jin burials in China's Northeastern Provinces, the spirit paths and particularly the form of Wanyan Xiyi's sarcophagus are indications that Chinese architecture was known to the Jurchen in the vicinity of their first Shangjing capital.

One cannot assume Jurchen tomb construction in the Suibin River valley ceased with the movement of the main seat of Jin government to Zhongdu in 1153, but in 1155 Hailingwang ordered the destruction of imperial tombs and their aboveground architecture at the first Shangjing capital and the transfer of Aguda's 阿骨打 and Wuqimai's tombs to the hills near Fangshan 房山, southwest of Beijing today.[67] Before the end of the year, funerary temples were constructed

28 Tomb of Wanyan Xiyi. After *Zhongguo wenwu ditu ji: Jilin fence* (Atlas of Chinese Cultural Relics: Jilin Volume) (Beijing: Zhongguo ditu chubanshe, 1993), pl. 141.

at the two new tomb sites. Hailingwang also commenced construction of tombs for his father and nine other imperial ancestors at Da Fangshan, to which corpses were moved from the first Jin capital by 1161. In the same year, Hailingwang awarded royal burial to his murdered older brother Dan, building for him Siling 思陵, to which Dan's remains were moved from temporary burial in the tomb of an empress dowager at the first Shangjing capital. Although all historical records inform us of the thorough destruction of tomb architecture and nonfunerary buildings of the early Jin capital by Hailingwang, the occasional discovery in Acheng County of stone and lacquer sarcophaguses, glazed ceramics, carved marble, and gold objects suggests remnants of imperial construction.

Siling was moved again about twenty kilometers southwest to Emei 峨眉 Valley near Fangshan in 1188. Hailingwang was laid to rest near his father and other ancestors at Da Fangshan as well, as was his son (Hailingwang's successor was not his son, but his brother Wanyan Yong 完顏雍 [Wulu 烏魯], who

became the Emperor Shizong). Eventually, the first seven Jin emperors, their ancestors, their wives, and some of their children were buried in the hills and valleys of Fangshan between the 1150s and the beginning of the thirteenth century. All but the seventh emperor's tomb, belonging to Weishao 衛紹 (or Weiwang 衛王) (r. 1209–13) who, like Hailingwang, never received a "temple name," were designated *ling* 陵, or royal tombs. The eighth Jin ruler, Xuanzong (r. 1209–13), died near the southern capital Bianjing (Kaifeng) and was buried there in a tomb called Deling 德陵. Jin Aizong, who saw the demise of the dynasty, did not receive a royal tomb.[68]

It is believed that much survived from the Jin royal tombs in Fangshan County into the Ming dynasty. Destruction was rampant in the late Ming period, however. Reconstruction, including a wall around part of the tomb area, took place under Manchu rule, probably inspired by the same emotional or symbolic attachment to their Manchurian forbears that led to the predynastic name Hou Jin 后金 and restoration of Jin architecture in northeastern China after 1644. The Ming-Qing history of the Fangshan necropolises makes it impossible to be sure if oversize stone sculptures of men and animals found at Da Fangshan were from the spirit paths of Jin royal tombs, but it is likely. Yet the frequent movement of funerary architecture and human remains, particularly under Hailingwang, seems to indicate that decades of planning and construction that predated the burial of Chinese rulers of Tang, Song, Ming, and Qing were not incorporated into the Jin ideology of imperial death, particularly at the Da Fangshan necropolis.

In spite of uncertainties about the dates of aboveground components of the tomb such as animal sculpture or an enclosing wall,[69] three-colored porcelain dated to the Song dynasty, jade, and a silver face mask found in the vicinity of the presumed location of the Jin royal tombs were believed since initial reconnaissance to be from them. The mask was noted in only one study,[70] yet its potential to link Jurchen funerary practices with those of Liao would be evident to anyone with knowledge of Khitan burial customs.[71] The report on excavation at the tomb believed

to be Aguda's at Da Fangshan, in September 2003, of headgear made of golden wire netting strengthens the possibility that the Jurchen rulers engaged in burial practices of Liao. It is unknown if this burial custom was employed in Aguda's first tomb at the capital Shangjing in Heilongjiang. If so, it is a strong contrast to the burial without facial covers of Wanyan Yan, prince of Qi, and his wife (see fig. 27) and other excavated tombs in the Songhua River valley. The face mask and headgear of wire netting that would be joined to a death mask raise the possibility that an aspect of royal Khitan burial was learned and adapted by the Jurchen from peoples they conquered after they moved south from Heilongjiang. There is no indication the covering of the corpse with a metal mask and wire netting was a predynastic Jurchen custom.

Six sites are representative of nonroyal Jin burial in the vicinity of Beijing. The first, the Fengtai 豐臺 district adjacent to Fangshan, yielded four tombs within about thirty meters of one another during excavations of 1980 and 1981.[72] Each differed slightly from the others, but, more important, the four Fengtai tombs resembled Jin tombs from Heilongjiang. Tomb 1 at Fengtai contained pieces of a coffin bed in a stone sarcophagus made of six stone slabs joined together by corner notches. Tomb 2 was an earthen pit tomb with a lacquered wooden coffin. The third tomb, identified by funerary inscription as belonging to Wugulun Wolun 鳥古論窩論, contained his cremated remains in the remnants of a wooden lacquer box on a coffin bed inside a wooden coffin. Finally there was the joint burial of Yuan Zhong 元忠 and his wife, the princess of the state of Lu 魯, both relatives of the imperial Jin clan. They were buried together in a stone inner coffin enclosed by a jade outer coffin, the double coffin format and pit tomb the same as those of Wanyan Yan and his wife. Information in Yuan and his wife's lengthy funerary inscriptions is corroborated by numerous passages in *Jinshi* 金史 (Standard History of Jin) and other historical treatises.[73] The biographical information indicates rank and status comparable to those of the prince of Qi and his wife, suggesting that simplicity in burial space was the norm for this level of Jin royalty. Among the objects that remained in the two Fengtai tombs with identified occupants were an incense burner with the eight trigrams cast across its neck and a coin with the inscription *changming fugui* 長命富貴 on the obverse side and a stork with one straight and one bent leg, head turning back, and a turtle holding a plant in his mouth on the reverse. Like clothing and motifs in the tomb of Wanyan Yan and his wife, the eight trigrams, stork, and turtle signal familiarity with Chinese goods and presumably ideas.[74] The contrast between Chinese decorative goods and the single-coffin, simple pit tombs that housed them suggests the same mentality of builder who constructed a spectacular ceiling in the simple Jingtusi Hall.

In 1958, one of the architecturally most extraordinary Jin tombs was uncovered in Beichang Village, Xincheng 新城 County, southwest of Fangshan. It belonged to Shi Li'ai and his wife.[75] According to *Jinshi* as well as the epitaph in the tomb, Shi died in 1143.[76] The tomb was approached by a fifty-nine-meter long spirit path that culminated in a mound about fifteen meters across the base. It was entered via a diagonal ramp. There were four underground chambers, more than in any excavated Jin tomb to date. In the front center was a four-sided room that contained the epitaphs, joined by a corridor to an octagonal room behind it and connected to smaller chambers on either side (fig. 29). In other words, among the four rooms were three shapes. Around the four sides of the epitaph, each 1.14 meters in length and 20 centimeters wide, were the eight trigrams. The Chinese duodenary calendrical animals decorated the four sloping slides between the lid and the sides with the trigrams.

Shi Li'ai's tomb is the one mentioned above in which the epitaph was recarved in 1195, fifty-two years after his death. Shi had died during the reign of Jin Shizong. The inscription had first been written in 1157 during the Hailingwang era when the interred's status as prince (*wang* 王) had been demoted. It was reinstated in the 1195 inscription, either on a recarved or new epitaph.

Shi Li'ai's fourth son, Shi Feng 時豐, was buried 29.34 meters to the west in a more standard Jin tomb.
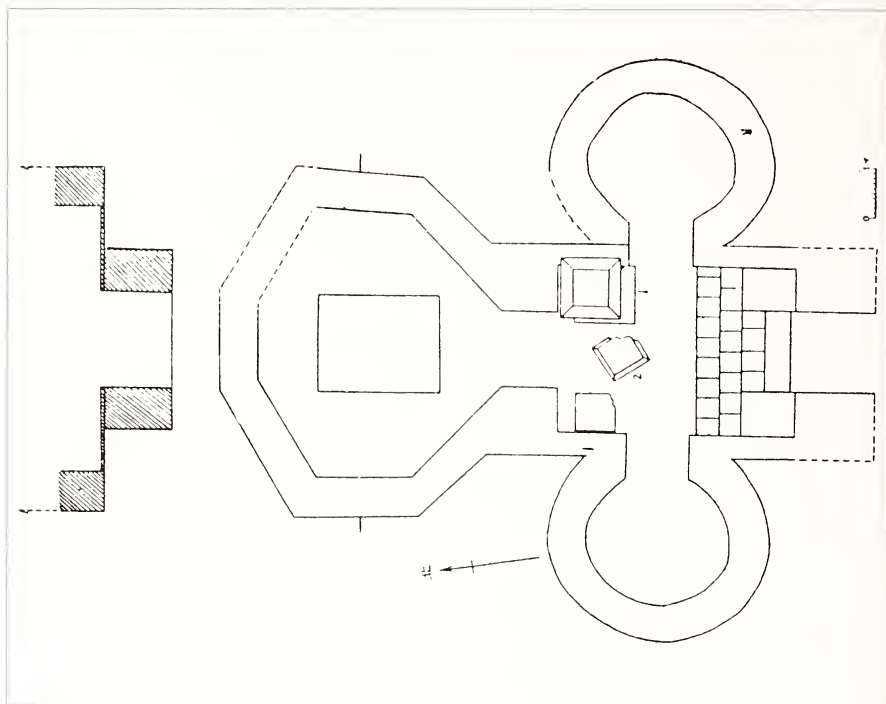
29 Plan of tomb Shi Li'ai, Xincheng County, Hebei, 1143. After Luo Ping and Zheng Zhaozong, "Hebei Xinchengxian Beichangcun Jinshi Shi Li'ai he Shi Feng mu fajue ji" (Excavation report on the Jin period tombs of Shi Li'ai and Shi Feng in Beichang Village, Xincheng County, Hebei), *Wenwu*, 1962, 12:646.

Predeceasing his father in his twenty-ninth year in 1112, Shi Feng was laid to rest in a stone coffin in a single-chamber pit. He was also buried with his wife, and two epitaphs were among the very few burial objects. The twelve calendrical animals were carved on the four sides of his epitaph.

In several ways, Shi Feng's tomb was more complex than the pit tombs described thus far. Its four stone walls were covered with white lime and then painted. The tomb had an entry at the south, on either side of which was a guard in official dress and holding a spear. On the other walls were daily life scenes beneath an open curtain on the east and a hanging curtain on the north. A coffin bed is believed to be painted at the bottom of the north wall scene.

A notice of a Jin tomb uncovered near the Altar of the First Crops in 1973 was published in 1977.[77] It was a vertical pit earthen tomb, nearly square at the base, which contained at least one stone sarcophagus. The sarcophagus was made of six pieces tenoned together, a form we have seen in Jin tombs in Heilongjiang and the Beijing region. A wooden box for cremated remains and some high-quality Song ceramics were inside the stone coffin.

Four kilometers south of Zhangjiakou 張家口 in Fangshan, five stone sarcophagus pieces were found in 1974.[78] It is possible they were from more than one unit. Found in addition was a lacquered coffin inlaid with a silver dragon on each side and vine and other decorative motifs. It is believed to have been an inner

coffin. The tomb also contained numerous pieces of jade. Excavators have suggested that the lacquer sarcophagus followed a description of sarcophaguses decorated in gold in Shen Gua's 沈括 (1031–95) *Mengxi bitan* 夢溪筆談 (Mengxi Jottings), written during the author's retirement in Zhenjiang, Jiangsu, from 1089 to 1093.[79] They further draw a parallel to mercury found in the tomb and a passage in *Da Jinguo zhi* 大金國志 (Record of the Great Jin State) that records the use of mercury in a tomb built in Henan.[80] Because of the amount of jade and a coin with a Song reign period, the tomb is believed to have belonged to an elderly woman of Han Chinese descent, probably the wife of an official who served Jin.[81]

Two Jin tombs uncovered in Tongxian 通縣 (district) of Beijing are among a rare few that have never been robbed.[82] In one, the six-piece stone sarcophagus whose parts were notched together links it to other Jin burials in the Beijing region. This tomb contained an identified occupant, Shi Zongbi 石宗壁 (1114–1175), who was moved to Tongxian for burial two years after his demise. Excavators believe the second tomb belonged to a relative. Although Shi Zongbi has no biography in *Jinshi*, his epitaph informs us that he rose through the ranks of Jin officialdom and received imperial gifts. The companion tomb contained precious objects including silver hairpins, suggesting its occupant was a female. An interesting feature of the second tomb was the placement of a dressed stone near each of the four corners.

Once established as the central capital, Zhongdu emerges as the desirable location for official burial, usually with family members. So far, only the vicinity of the first Shangjing capital has yielded as many Jin tombs, including those with funerary inscriptions carved in stone. In both cases, proximity to imperial burials for selected relatives, officials, or other servants of the Jin government probably indicated status or recognition of meritorious deeds, as it had in Han and Tang China.[83]

Two Jin tombs have been found in the Haidian 海定 district of Beijing, one prior to the establishment of the People's Republic and the other in 1985.[84] Each was a stone coffin tomb. Excavators at the 1985 site

believe a wooden coffin may have been inside the stone one. The first tomb uncovered had a funerary inscription, but one of the three characters of the occupant's name was missing. We know that the occupant, Zhang — zhen 張 □ 震, fought in wars against Liao in the 1120s and that he died between 1153 and 1160. The date of the tomb excavated in 1985 could be determined only as no earlier than the Jin reign periods Zhenglong (1156–60) and Dading (1161–89), because of coins found in it.

The Haidian tombs belong to a group of at least fourteen others, some of which have been mentioned already, excavated in the vicinity of Beijing.[85] Those with inscriptions have dates that range between 1127 and 1201, or approximately the first two-thirds of Jin rule of China. Most are simple pit tombs with six-piece stone coffins. Burial goods may include precious objects made of gold, silver, or jade, often decorated with Chinese symbols; those without such objects are usually assumed to have been robbed. At least a few coins and primarily Song-produced ceramics remain in almost all the tombs. One tomb retained wall paintings. The most complicated tomb had four rooms and a subterranean approach ramp. There is no evidence of aboveground mounds.

A majority of the Jin tombs in Hebei Province had stone epitaphs. Those of males record military deeds in service of Jin rulers in the decades of most intense fighting with Liao or Song and/or official service in later times. Wives buried jointly with these males and women interred in their own graves usually have associations with the Jin ruling family. Sarcophaguses in both Heilongjiang and northern Hebei were made of interlocking stone slabs. Some contained plain wooden or lacquered inner coffins. Some had coffin beds rather than inner coffins. There were also cremation tombs. Enough tombs have been excavated in groups in Heilongjiang and Hebei, especially with identifying funerary inscriptions, to know burial was in cemeteries and often they were family cemeteries.

Among the tombs in Heilongjiang, Jilin, and the vicinity of the Jin central capital, only one, that of Shi Li'ai, shows evidence of employment of structural patterns of a preceding dynasty (see fig. 29). Shi's

tomb could be that of a Liao occupant. Dated early in the Liao period, 959–86, tomb 7 at Yemaotai 葉茂台, Faku 法庫 County, Liaoning, has an 8.7-meter diagonal path leading to four squarish underground chambers, a central front one, two that joined it, and one in the back (fig. 30).[86] The configuration is middle range in terms of complexity for the Liao dynasty: even nonimperial Liao tombs could consist of nine underground chambers. Room shapes could be four-sided, circular, hexagonal, or octagonal, and it was rare for a Liao tomb not to have at least one room with a vaulted ceiling.[87] Different from Jin tombs with the possible exception of the Haidian tomb mentioned above, a stone sarcophagus was contained in a wooden one, the outer an exquisite model of a house or temple that followed prescriptions for timber-frame construction in the *Yingzao fashi*.[88] The stone sarcophagus from Yemaotai tomb 7 is made of six slabs, in the style of the numerous stone sarcophaguses from Jin tombs. Perhaps the common Jin form of sarcophagus, six

stone slabs joined together, was learned from Liao. If so, the Jin were not innovators even in this simple structure. In addition, the more architecturally challenging wooden structural models with which stone sarcophaguses were in some instances combined in Liao times[89] was abandoned.

If Liao outer wooden sarcophaguses had an impact on Jin burial containers, it seems to have occurred in the vicinity of Liao tombs with wooden sarcophaguses, but the form seems to have been transformed into the preferred Jin funerary material — stone. In addition to the stone sarcophagus of Wanyan Xiyi (see fig. 28) found in Jilin, a stone sarcophagus that replicated a building with a ceramic tile roof, pillars, and corner and intercolumnar bracket sets was uncovered in the tomb of Ma Ling 馬令 (d. 1184), identified by funerary inscription, in Chaoyang County, Liaoning, in 1961. Also in the manner of more Liao tombs than Jin ones, the brick walls of Ma Ling's tomb were covered with white lime to provide a painting surface.[90]
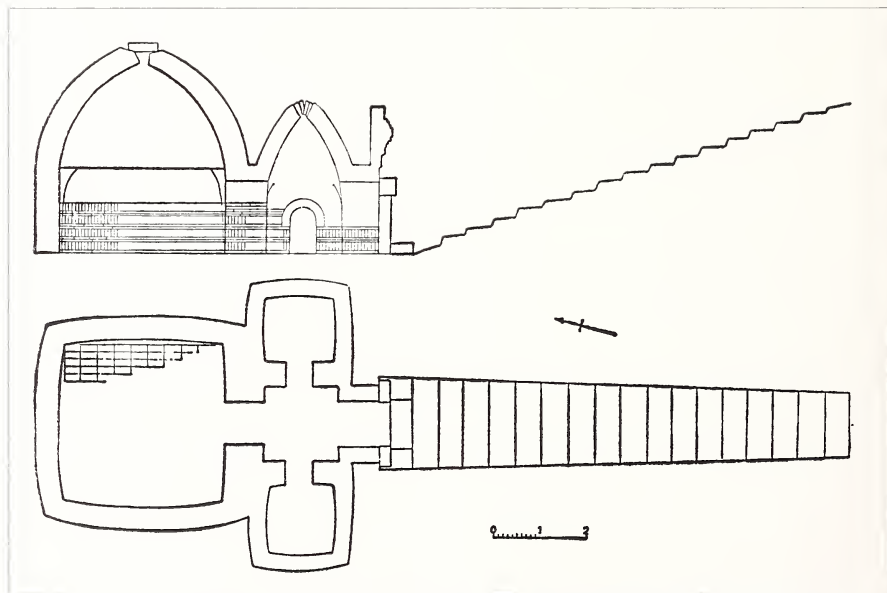
30 Plan of Yemaotai tomb 7, Faku County, Liaoning, ca. 959–86. After "Faku Yemaotai Liaomu jilüe" (Notes on a Liao tomb in Yemaotai, Faku County), *Wenwu*, 1975, 12:35.

So far, only in the occasional use of stone sarcophaguses that follow patterns of wooden architecture and death masks found in Da Fangshan do we find Liao precedents for Jin funerary practices. Even when correspondences occur, the Liao tombs in every case have more rooms of more varied shapes than any Jurchen burial. The famous couple, princess of Chenguo 陳國 and her husband Xiao Shaoju, offer both striking comparisons and contrasts with the prince of Qi and his wife buried in Juyuan approximately a century and a half later and with, we have reason to believe, the interred remains of the first Jin ruler, Aguda (fig. 31; see also fig. 27).[91] All royalty, the Jurchen exhibit little of their heritage in death: Wanyan Yan and his spouse lie clothed in exquisite silk probably produced in Song China. Aguda probably wore a face mask and wire headgear of precious metal, funerary garb whose origins can be traced to Liao and a full millennium earlier to peoples of North Asia. The high quality and extensive wardrobe of the prince of Qi and his wife in the simple one-chamber tomb suggest comparison with the exquisitely decorated ceiling and uninspired timber frame below it of the Main Hall at Jingtu. Similar, too, is the contrast observed between Khitan tombs with as many as nine or ten rooms and a variety of vaulted ceilings and the structure of the single-chamber tomb of the king of Qi and his wife or those in Jinnan with more elaborated interiors. Such is the contrast between the main halls of Liao monasteries such as Fengguosi, Shanhuasi, or Huayansi and the Jingtusi Hall.

Except for the frequency of stone coffins, it is difficult to isolate what is distinctive about Jin tombs. Simple pit tombs, multiple coffins, and family cemeteries, or at least burial with one's immediate family, are traceable through almost fifteen hundred years of Chinese history prior to the Jin dynasty. Just one example where all three are present is the three-tomb complex at Mawangdui 馬王堆.[92] The evidence of a lack of investment in funerary architecture made by Jin builders is overwhelming.

Even the stone coffins suggest that Jurchen builders may have looked elsewhere for funerary architectural precedents. The last kingdom centered in Jilin and

31 Remains of princess of Chenguo and her husband, Qinglongshan, Naiman Banner, Inner Mongolia, 1018. After *Liao Chenguo gongzhumu wenwuzhan* (Cultural relics exhibition from the tomb of the Liao princess of Chenguo) (Xian: Shaanxi History Museum, n.d.), n.p.

Heilongjiang, the Parhae (Bohai 波海), like Liao and Jin, ruled from a five-capital system spread through an empire. The Parhae empire extended beyond the two Northeastern Provinces to Russia on the east, Inner Mongolia and Liaoning on the west, and Korea to the south; and both the Parhae and Jurchen had ethnic ties to the Mohe. Following the construction practices of their Korean predecessors, Parhae tombs were primarily stone, both inside and in the formation of mounds aboveground, but wooden sarcophaguses were sometimes used.[93] Cremation burial was also employed, and sometimes, as we have seen among the Jurchen, the cremated remains were placed inside a coffin.

THE JIN CENTURY

Jin tomb builders and patrons of architecture surely were aware of architecture of the Song and Liao whom they conquered. Residents of the Jinnan region should have been more directly influenced by Song architecture, either because the region had been under Song control in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries or because some occupants of those tombs were ethnically Chinese. Yet whether for temples or tombs, the Jin consistently selected scaled-down, limited versions of the Liao and Song building traditions or reused buildings that survived from those periods. To the extent that China was a source for Jin architecture, it was overwhelming a source of decoration. This decorative aspect of Jin architecture is particularly emphatic because of the constricted spaces in which it occurs and because of the contrast between the undistinguished, even lackluster structure and its decoration.

The intense interest in wall and ceiling decoration as opposed to structure and mass is perplexing. The palatial halls painted on the walls of Mañjuśrī Hall of Yanshan Monastery (see fig. 11) suggest that such buildings were known in North China in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Yet the only extant multilevel buildings from Jin times are stele pavilions in Qufu 曲阜 (fig. 32), lacking ceilings, mezzanine levels, or any structural complexity characteristic of wooden architecture of Liao or Song China. Even allowing for pictorial hyperbole in the Yanshansi murals and the destruction of a majority of Jin buildings, the fact that not one extant structure even hints at the highest standards of the Chinese system documented in *Yingzao fashi* and surviving in Liao and Song architecture is hard to ignore.

Perhaps the intense interest in decoration signals a desire to decorate to perfection or achieve perfection in details. Facial features of sculpture in Jinnan tombs such as figures of filial piety or the occupant portrait in Macun tomb 4 or the tomb excavated in Nanli 南里, Qin 沁 County, in 1998, display expressive realism of an intensity that might be compared to the Jingtusi ceiling (fig. 33).[94] Yet sculptural realism in human faces

32 Stele pavilion, Confucian Temple, Qufu, Shandong, Jin period. Steinhardt photograph.

33 Occupant portrait, Macun tomb 4. After Cui Yuanhe, gen. ed., *Pingyang Jinmu zhuandiao* (Jin tombs with relief sculpture in Pingyang) (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin chubanshe, 1999), pl. 85.

is not new to Chinese art in the twelfth century. Its history may be traceable to statues buried with the First Emperor of Qin or the Western Han Emperor Jingdi (r. 157–141 B.C.), or entertainers excavated at various sites in Sichuan tombs of the Eastern Han dynasty (A.D. 23–220).[95] It may be challenging to document a continuous history, but the eleventh through thirteenth centuries is a period in which superb examples of sculptural realism are found. The so-called Yizhou *luohan*s are prime evidence of this tradition.[96] Perhaps it could be argued that the facial intensity of the *luohan* is exemplary of a broader-based intensity of detail characteristic of the Jin century. Perhaps the interest in sensitivity and detail should be viewed in the even broader context of twelfth- and thirteenth-century sculpture from Ningxia to Sichuan to Shanxi that includes images from the Xi Xia kingdom found among the ruins of a temple about forty kilometers east of Dalankubu 大蘭庫布, Eji'naqi 额濟纳旗, Inner Mongolia, and scenes of hell, human relationships, and passion at Baodingshan 寶定山 and elsewhere in relief sculpture from the Dazu 大足 region (figs. 34, 35).[97] The architectural context of the Xi Xia images is unknown, but at Baodingshan, cave surfaces are covered with the kind of elaborate decoration found in the Jingtusi Hall ceiling and Jinnan tombs. The validity of such a comparison thus further isolates Jin as a dynasty overwhelmingly lacking in original contributions to art or architecture.

The Jingtusi Hall and Jin architecture, more generally, suggest a legacy of mastery of carpentry and perhaps relief sculpture. They offer little insight into the patrons or builders of the halls and tombs except by contrast: lack of architectural grandeur is not characteristic of rulers, especially non-Chinese rulers who established empires in China. The fact that Jurchen rulers of China seem not to have viewed religious construction according to Chinese models as a means of imperial self-legitimization breaks with long-standing patterns of the use of imperial architecture and its symbolism in dynastic establishment and perpetuation, even beyond China,[98] and, perhaps disappointingly, supports assessments made by Herbert Franke,

that the Jurchens' acceptance of Chinese culture was "more passive than active."[99]

One can seek to explain the lack of powerful architectural symbols by financial concerns, as noted above, or by politics. One might also view the Jin lack of interest in past architectural models as intentional, indicative of self-confidence in their own means of empire formation at China's borders and a continuation of the strong opposition to Sinicization of Hailingwang. Further, one might view the Jin admiration of small-scale carpentry but without a desire to further improve or interpret prescriptions in the Song building manual *Yingzao fashi* as similar to an employment of Northern Song aesthetics by Jin painters and calligraphers who did not seek to create new styles.[100] Or one may posit that ten rulers in a period of 119 years, the movement of imperial tombs and a capital, two rulers so evil they were not awarded temple names, two murdered emperors, and two who witnessed only dynastic decline and collapse created so much political turmoil that there would have been little possibility of bold or original architecture. The political corruption and chaos of Jin may be impressive, but it was not unique. Rather, it was precisely against a backdrop of such turmoil that Chinese and non-Chinese occupants of the Chinese throne had sought out Chinese architecture and its symbolism to empower their reigns. With or without sufficient cause, justification, or explanation, predetermined or largely the result of circumstance, the Jin were distinct from all Chinese and non-Chinese dynasties that touched Chinese soil in their lack of enthusiasm for the monumental Chinese building tradition and its accompanying power-laden symbolism.

The Jin period may have had an impact on drama, and the humanization evident in relief sculpture in Jin tombs may be part of a broader-based intensity and realism in twelfth- and thirteenth-century art in China and at its borders, but the architectural legacy of Jin is single-chamber tombs and structurally simple, uninspired buildings. It is the legacy of a dynasty that, like its architecture, would not significantly impact China. ❖

34 Human sculpture found near Dalankubu. After Shi Jinbo, Bai Bin, and Wu Feng Yun, *Xi Xia Wenwu* (Xi Xia cultural relics) (Beijing: Wenwuu chubanshe, 1988), pls. 247, 248.

35 Detail of *Pregnancy,* from Parental Care Shrine, Baodingshan. After Bai Ziran, *Dazu Grottoes* (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1985), 94.

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NOTES

The first version of this article was presented at the Workshop on the History of Material Culture, Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, in December 2001. For reasons that will be clear below, I argued that the most elucidating way to study Jin architecture was as evidence of material culture. I thank the participants, in particular Yang Hong, Sun Ji, and Paul Katz, for very valuable comments on the article. A later version was read at the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies in April 2002. I thank Peter Bol, Susan Bush, Ellen Cooke Johnston, Jerome Silbergeld, Hoyt Tillman, and Timothy Wixted for helpful comments about this article.

1. The main source of information on the early history of Jingtusi is the Ming period record, *Yingzhou zhi* (Record of Ying Prefecture), the basis for Ma Liang, chief ed., *Yingxian zhi* (Record of Ying County) (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin chubanshe, 1992), in which information from the original record is found on pp. 557–58. The two twelfth-century dates, names of monks who supervised construction and rebuilding, respectively, Shanxiang and Shansong, and location of the monastery in the northeast of the prefectural town are recorded in Wang Xuan et al., *Shanxi tongzhi* (Comprehensive record of Shanxi) (1892), *juan* 169 (reprint, Taipei: Huawen shuju, 1969), 6:3250.

2. Ma Liang, *Yingzhou zhi*, 556. Wang Xuan et al., *Shanxi tongzhi*, lists twenty.

3. Fogongsi is discussed in a seven-line entry, as opposed to two lines for Jingtusi, in Wang Xuan et al., *Shanxi tongzhi*, 6:3250. The best study of the Timber Pagoda is Chen Mingda, *Yingxian muta* (Yingxian Timber Pagoda) (Beijing: Wenwu Press, 1980).

4. A description of the Jingtusi Hall approximately one paragraph in length is found in dictionaries of Chinese architecture and in a few studies of architecture in Shanxi Province, such as Chai Zejun, "Shanxi gujianzhu gaishu" (General discussion of ancient architecture in Shanxi), *Zhongguo gujianzhu xueshu jiangzuo wenji* (Lectures and essays on Chinese architecture) (Beijing: Zhongguo zhanwang chubanshe, 1986), 267; Chai Zejun, "Shanxi gujianzhu jishu" (Notes on ancient architecture in Shanxi), in *Chai Zejun gujianzhu wenji* (Collected essays on traditional architecture by Chai Zejun) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1999), 48–49. It is included in a list of buildings, but not discussed, in Chai Zejun, "Sanshinianlai Shanxi gujianzhu jiqi fushu wenwu diaocha

baogao jilue" (Research notes on an investigation of old architecture and its associated cultural relics in Shanxi over the last thirty years), *Wenwu ziliao congkan* 4 (1981): 145. The building is not discussed in Qi Yingtao et al., "Liangnianlai Shanxisheng faxian de gujianzhu" (Ancient architecture discovered in Shanxi Province during the last two years), *Wenwu cankao ziliao*, 1954, 11:1–96; or in Yang Zirong, "Lun Shanxi Yuandai yiqian mugou jianzhu de baohu" (On the preservation of Yuan and earlier timber-frame architecture in Shanxi), *Wenwu jikan*, 1994, 1:62–67, 58, although it is assumed to be included in Yang's count of Jin buildings.

5. The ceiling is recognized as one of the most important extant examples of *zaojing*. See, for example, Xiao Mo, *Zhongguo jianzhu yishu* (The art of Chinese architecture), 2 vols. (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1999), 1:453. Three illustrations are found on p. 455. It is also published in *Ancient Chinese Architecture* (Beijing and Hong Kong: China Building Industry Press and Joint Publishing Company, 1982), 103; and in Li Yuming et al., *Shanxi gujianzhu tonglan* (Panorama of ancient architecture in Shanxi) (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin chubanshe, 1986), 103–4, in which a small illustration of the hall is published also.

6. Yang Zirong, "Lun Shanxi Yuandai yiqian mugou jianzhu de baohu," 62. I am not aware of additional Jin buildings identified since Yang wrote his article.

7. Li Jie, *Yingzao fashi* (Building standards) (1103), *juan* 6–11, (reprint, Taipei: Taibei Yinshuguan, 1974), 2:23–3:46. An octagonal *zaojing* on which three of the caissons in the Jingtusi Hall may be based is illustrated in *juan* 29 (6:19). In his 1,260-page work, *Zhongguo jianzhu yishu*, Xiao Mo makes no mention of the hall.

8. On the origins of the Tungusic people from whom the rulers of the Jin dynasty emerged, the Jurchen/Jurched (in Mandarin, Nüzhen), see A. P. Okladinov, *The Soviet Far East in Antiquity: An Archaeological and Historical Study of the Maritime Region of the U.S.S.R.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965). Throughout this article I use Jurchen in reference to the dynasty's founders, rulers, and others known to be of Jurchen descent. Jin is employed as a period reference, as an adjective referring to buildings or other objects or features dated 1115–1234, or as a reference to the dynasty itself. For background on Jin history and civilization, I have found the following

works most useful (in alphabetical order): Chan Hok-lam, *Legitimation in Imperial China: Discussions under the Jurchen-Chin Dynasty (1115–1234)* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1984); Chen Shu, chief ed., *Liao-Jin shi lunji* (Essays on Liao-Jin history), 4 vols. (Shanghai: Shangjia guji chubanshe, 1985–86); Enen Tala and Su Ritai, *Zhongguo Beifang minzu meishu shiliao* (Art history of peoples of North China) (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1990); Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett, *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 6, *Alien Regimes and Border States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Jilin City Museum, *Jilin shiyi* (Historical remains in Jilin) (Changchun: Jilin Renmin chubanshe, 1984); *Liao-Jin shi lunwen ji* (Collected essays on Liao-Jin history) (Shenyang: Liaoning Renmin chubanshe, 1985); Mikami Tsugio, *Jindai Nüzhen yanjiu* (Research on the Jin dynasty Jurchen), trans. Jin Qicong (Harbin: Heilongjiang Renmin chubanshe, 1984); F. W. Mote, *Imperial China, 900–1800* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), 265–88; Tamura Jitsuzo, *Chūgoku seifuku ōchō kenkyū* (Research on the Chinese conquest dynasties), 3 vols. (Kyōto: Tōyōshi kenkyūkai, 1964–86), esp. vol. 3; Tao Jing-shen, *The Jurchen in Twelfth-Century China: A Study of Sinicization* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976), esp. 304–19; Hoyt C. Tillman and Stephen H. West, eds., *China under Jurchen Rule* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1995); Toyama Gunji, *Kinchō shi kenkyū* (Research on Jin history) (Kyōto: Dōbōsha, 1964); Wang Chengli, chief ed., *Liao-Jin Qidan-Nüzhen shi yiwenji* (Interpretive essays on Khitan-Jurchen history) (Changchun: Jilin wenshi chubanshe, 1990); Yao Congwu 姚從吾, *Liao-, Jin-, Yuanshi jiangyi*, vol. 3, *Jinchao shi* (Lectures on the history of Liao, Jin, and Yuan, vol. 3, Jin dynasty history) (Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1971).

9. For illustrations of these three buildings, see Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, *Liao Architecture* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), figs. 140, 84, 30, respectively.

10. Discussion as Liao-Jin has been the case in Chinese publications about Chinese architecture since the initial study of these buildings, Liang Sicheng and Liu Dunzhen, "Datong gujianzu diaocha baogao" (Report on the investigation of ancient architecture in Datong), *Zhongguo yingzao xueshi huikan* 4.3 (1934): 1–168.

11. All the Datong buildings are illustrated in Liang Sicheng and Liu Dunzhen, "Datong gujianzhu diaocha baogao."

12. For illustrations and discussion, see Chai Zejun and Zhang Chouliang, *Fanshi Yanshansi* (Yanshan Monastery in Fanshi) (Beijing: Wenwu Press, 1990).

13. As we shall see, not only did the Jin construct no building with fifty-four varieties of bracket sets or five exterior and four interior stories such as the above-mentioned Timber Pagoda, there was no pavilion as high as the Song Foxiang 佛香 (Buddha's Fragrance) Pavilion of 971 or with four porticoes such as Moni Hall of Longxing Monastery of 1052, or with a beam spanning eight rafters such as the Sage Mother Hall at the Jin Shrines, constructed 1023–32. Nor was there a building that anticipates the Temple to the Northern Peak in Quyang of 1253 or any of the thirteenth-century structures at Yonglegong. Illustrations of each of these are available in Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, ed., *Chinese Architecture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

14. On this monastery, see an initial notice in an article by Luo Zhewen, Du Xianzhou, and Zhang Zhengmo, in "Yanbei gujianzhu de kancha" (Investigation of ancient architecture in Yanbei [Northern Hebei]), *Wenwu cankao ziliao*, 1953, 3:35–56, esp. 37–42, 53–56; Chai Zejun and Li Zhengyun, *Shuoxian Mituodian xiushan gongcheng baogao* (Report on the restoration of the Amitabha Hall at the Jingtu Monastery in Shuo County) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1993); Chai Zejun, gen. ed, *Shuoxian Chongfusi* (Chongfu Monastery in Shuo County) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1996). It is also recorded in Wang Xuan et al., *Shanxi tongzhi, juan* 170, 6:3255.

15. The other two are discussed below.

16. Features of *diantang*, including plans, are illustrated in *Yingzao fashi, juan* 31. For an excellent discussion of *diantang*, see Chen Mingda, "Zhongguo fengjian shehui mujiegou jianzhu jishu de fazhan" (Development of Chinese timber-frame architecture of feudal society), pt. 2, *Jianzhu lishi yanjiu*, vol. 2 (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu kexue yanjiuyuan jianzhu qingbao yanjiusuo, n.d.). On *diantang*, see also Chen Mingda, ed., *Yingzao fashi damuzuo yanjiu* (Research on large-scale carpentry in the *Yingzao fashi*), 2 vols. (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1981), esp. 1:28, 114–24, 138, 203.

17. Zhang Yuhuan, "Shanxi Yuandai diantang de damu jiegou" (Large-scale timber-frame halls in Shanxi from the Yuan period), *Kejishi wenji* 2 (1979): 71–106, emphasizes the point that in Shanxi these are Jin-Yuan features.

18. Yao Congwu, *Liao-, Jin-, Yuanshi jiangyi*, vol. 3, divides the Jin dynasty into three periods, 1115–53, when the capital Shangjing was at its first site, about thirty kilometers southeast of Harbin in Heilongjiang (Acheng in the Qing period); 1153–1214, bracketed by the move of Shangjing to its second location, the site of the former Liao Zhongjing (central capital) in Ningcheng, near the Jilin–Inner Mongolia border and the sacking of the Jin central capital (Zhongdu) by armies of Chinggis Khan in 1214, an interval that includes the Shizong reign period (1161–90); and the last two decades, of decline, 1214–34. The year 1143 is just one year before the establishment of Jin control in the eastern part of the empire at Liaoyang 遼陽, site of the Jin eastern capital and former site of the eastern capital of the Liao, whom the Jin conquered.

19. In his seminal study of the Chinese timber frame "Zhongguo fengjian shehui mujiegou jianzhu jishu de fazhan," esp. 53–56, Chen Mingda selects Daxiongbao Hall of Fengguosi as his case study of a premier *diantang*. For more on this hall's structure, see Sekino Tadashi, "Manshū Gi-ken Hōkoku-ji Daiyūhōden" (Daxiongbao Hall of Fengguo Monastery in Yi County, Manchuria), *Bijutsu kenkyū* 13 (1933): 37–49; Yu Zhuoyun, "Liaoxisheng Yixian Fengguosi kancha jian kuang" (Brief look at the investigation of Fengguo Monastery in Yi County, Liaoxi [Liaoning Province]), *Wenwu cankao ziliao*, 1953, 3:85–88; Takeshima Takuichi, *Ryō-Kin jidai no kenchiku to sono Butsuzō* (Liao-Jin architecture and its Buddhist sculpture) (Tokyo: Ryubun shokyoku, 1944), 47–73; Du Xianzhou, "Yixian Fengguosi Daxiongbaodian diaocha baogao" (Report on the investigation of Daxiongbao Hall of Fengguo Monastery in Yi County), *Wenwu*, 1966, 2:5–13; Shao Fuyu, "Fengguosi" (Fengguo Monastery), *Wenwu*, 1980, 12:86–87; Steinhardt, *Liao Architecture*, 87–101.

20. On Daxiongbao Hall of Huayansi, in addition to Liang Sicheng and Liu Dunzhen, "Datong gujianzhu diaocha baogao," see Chai Zejun, "Datong Huayansi Daxiongbaodian mujiegou xingzhi fenxi" (Analysis of the timber-frame structure of Daxiongbao Hall of Huayansi in Datong), in *Zhonghua gujianzhu* (Ancient Chinese architecture), ed. Zhang Yuhuan (Beijing: Zhongguo kexue jishu chubanshe, 1990); Ding Mingyi, *Huayansi* (Beijing: Wenwu Press, 1980). Illustrations can be found in all these works.

21. Support for the later date (1140), at least for the bracket sets, is that they are of five-*puzuo* formation. Most Liao *diantang* have bracket sets of six *puzuo* or higher.

22. As mentioned above, Yang Zirong, "Lun Shanxi Yuandai yiqian mugou jianzhu de baohu," records sixty-five Jin buildings in Shanxi. He does not provide a list. Yang does write that this number is in contrast to four from Tang, three from the period of the Five Dynasties, three from Liao, sixty-two from Song, and 262 from the Yuan dynasty. One assumes all buildings listed by Yang as Song are Northern Song period, since the Jin controlled Shanxi after the fall of the Northern Song. Jin wooden buildings (some with later restoration) that provide my database for this study are Three Buddhas Hall of Cixiang 慈香 Monastery, Pingyao 平遥 County, Tianhui reign period (1123–34); the Main Hall of Jingtu Monastery, Ying County, 1124; Mañjuśrī Hall of Foguang Monastery, Wutai County, 1137; Daxiongbao Hall of Huayan Monastery, Datong, ca. 1060, rebuilt 1140; Amitabha Hall of Chongfu Monastery, Shuo County, 1143; Avalokiteśvara Hall of Chongfu Monastery, ca. 1140; Main Hall, Temple of the Sage Mother Wu Zetian, Wenshui 溫溪 County, 1145; Samantabhadra Pavilion, Shanhua Monastery, Datong, 1154; the Middle Hall, Two Immortals Daoist Monastery, Gaoping 高平, 1156–61; Mañjuśrī Hall, Yanshan Monastery, Fanzhi County, 1158; Hall of the Great Lord of the Eastern Peak, Temple to the Eastern Peak, Jincheng, 1161–89; Great Completion/Perfection Hall, Confucian Temple, Pingyao, 1163; the Offering Hall, Jin Shrines, Taiyuan, 1168; Great Ultimate Hall, Temple to the Northern Peak, Jincheng, 1178; the Front Gate, Xianyingwang (Fujun) Temple, Lingquan County, 1184; Hall of the Three Buddhas, Bu'er Monastery, Yangqu 陽曲 County, ca. 1195; Hall of the Jade Emperor, Taifu Daoist Monastery, Fenyang 汾陽 County, 1200; Zheng 正 Hall, Guanwang

關王 Temple, Dingxiang 定襄 County, 1208; the Front Gate and Three Buddhas Hall, Shanhua Monastery, Datong; Great Buddha Hall, Yanqing Monastery, Wutai County; Ten Thousand Buddhas Hall, Chongqing 崇慶 Monastery, Zhangzi 張子 County; and the Back Hall, Nanjixiang 南吉祥 Monastery, Lingchuan 陵川 County, all the above in Shanxi; two stele pavilions, Confucian Temple, Qufu, 1195, and Guandi 關帝 Temple, Guangrao 廣饒, in Shandong Province; and the Hall of the Three Purities, Fengxiang 豎香 Daoist Monastery, Jiyuan 濟源 County, in Henan.

23. On Mañjuśrī Hall, see the discussion in studies of architecture in Shanxi listed in note 4 above, including Chai Zejun, "Shanxi gujianzhu gaishu"; Chai Zejun, "Sanshinianlai Shanxi gujianzhu jiqi fushu wenwu diaochao baogao jilue"; Qi Yingtao et al., "Liangnianlai Shanxisheng faxian de gujianzhu"; Liang Ssu-ch'eng, A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture, ed. Wilma Fairbank (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1984), 86–87.

24. On tingtang, see Chen Mingda, Yingzao fashi damuzuo yanjiu, 1:28, 107–13, 202, 204.

25. In addition to the articles on architecture in Shanxi cited in note 4, some of these buildings are illustrated in Li Yuming et al., Shanxi gujianzhu tonglan. The Yanqing Monastery Hall is often discussed or illustrated in guidebooks to Mount Wutai. On Bu'ersi, see Li Xiaotao, "Bu'ersi Daxiongbaodian qianjian, baohu yu yanjiu" (Moving, preservation, and research on the Main Hall of Bu'ersi), Wenwu, 1996, 12:67–74. Yuanjue Hall of Baozangsi is discussed in Chai Zejun and Zhang Chouliang, Fanshi Yanshansi, 26–30.

26. They are the West Side Hall of Longmensi (925), Main Hall of Dayunyuan (940), Buddha Hall of Zhenguosi (963), Buddha Hall of Hualinsi (964), and Main Hall of Geyuansi (966). All but Hualinsi's Hall are in Shanxi Province and discussed in Chai Zejun, "Shanxi gujianzhu jishu." On the Hualinsi Hall, see Yang Binglun et al., "Fuzhou 福州 Hualinsi Dadian" (The Great Hall of Hualinsi in Fuzhou), Jianzhushi lunwenji 9 (1988): 1–32.

27. On tenth-century halls and ideas about why their timber frames are so humble, see Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, "Chinese Architecture, 963–66," Orientations 26 (February 1995): 46–52. Both the Hualinsi and Zhenguosi buildings are illustrated in the article.

28. Cost was also a factor proposed by Peter Bol as an explanation for the structurally simple Jin buildings, at the annual meeting of the Association of Asian Studies, Washington, D.C., in April 2002.

29. On the paintings of Yanshansi, in addition to Chai Zejun and Zhang Chouliang, Fanshi Yanshansi, see Fu Xinian, "Shanxisheng Fanshixian Yanshansi Nandian Jindai bihuazhong suohui jianzhu de chubu fenxi" (Early stages of analysis of Jin period wall paintings of architecture in the South Hall of Yanshan Monastery, Fanshi County, Shanxi), Jianzhu lishi yanjiu, vol. 1 (1982), 119–51.

30. On Pilu Hall and the other two buildings from Kaiyuan Monastery, see Liu Dunzhen, "Hebeisheng xibu gujianzhu diaocha jilüe" (Notes on the investigation of ancient architecture in western Hebei), Zhongguo yingzao xueshe huikan 6.4 (1935): 9–15. Interiors and exteriors of the other structures of Kaiyuansi can be seen in Steinhardt, Liao Architecture, figs. 6, 20, 23, 108, 111, 112, 120, 126.

31. For more on the Pavilion of the Revolving Sutra Cabinet and xiaomuzuo, see Helen Loveday, "La bibliothèque tournante en China: Quelques remarques sur son role et son évolution," T'oung Pao 86.4–5 (2000): 225–79.

32. The most extensive study of these tombs is Cui Yuanhe, gen. ed., Pingyang Jinmu zhuandiao (Jin tombs with relief sculpture in Pingyang) (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin chubanshe, 1999). For additional reports on Jin tombs, see Kaogu, 1984, 8; 1985, 8; Wenwu, 1978, 4; 1979, 8; 1983, 1, 11; 1985, 6; 1986, 12; 1988, 7; 1989, 10; 1990, 5; 1994, 12; 1996, 5; 2000, 5, 6; Wenwu jikan, 1990, 1; 1996, 3; 1997, 3, 4; 1998, 2, 3; 1999, 3. For a study of Jin tombs known before 1988, see Ellen G. Laing, "Chin 'Tartar' Dynasty (1115–1234) Material Culture," Artibus Asiae 49 (1988–89): 123–24. On relief sculpture in Jin tombs, see Enen Tala and Su Ritai, Zhongguo Beifang minzu meishu shiliao, 472–505.

33. I thank Helen Loveday for sending me a copy of a paper entitled "Aspects of Liao and Jin Wooden Architecture as Reflected in Funerary Decoration," presented at the Second World wide Conference of the Society for East Asian Archaeology in Durham, July 2000, in which she discussed this subject.

34. For illustrations, see Wang Jianqun and Chen Xiangwei, Kulun Liaodai bihuamu (A Liao period tomb with murals in Kulun) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1989), pl. 1, fig. 4.

35. Steinhardt, Liao Architecture, 299, 305–6 argues that bracketing in tombs of the consort clan, Xiao, was of higher rank according to the system in Yingzao fashi than the bracketing in tombs of the ruling family Yelü.

36. On the signs of the zodiac in Liao tombs, see Tansen Sen, "Astronomical Tomb Paintings from Xuanhua: Mandalas?" Ars Orientalis 29 (1999): 29–54.

37. This is not the place to survey the development of tomb decoration prior to Song. Two surveys with numerous illustrations are Luo Zhewen, Zhongguo lidai huangdi lingmu (Chinese imperial tombs through the ages) (Beijing: Waiwen chubanshe, 1993), which deals with imperial burials, and Zhongguo meishu quanji: Jianzhu yishu bian, vol. 2, Lingmu jianzhu (Universal compendium of Chinese art: Architectural art series, vol. 2, Funerary architecture) (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1991). Since the Jinnan tombs are not imperial, a representative tenth-century tomb that might be used for comparison is that of official Wang Chuzhi 王處直 in Quyang County, Hebei, discussed and fully illustrated in Wudai Wang Chuzhi mu (Wang Chuzhi's tomb of the Five Dynasties) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1998). As for Liao tombs, so far none with an interior that comes close to the elaboration in the majority of Jinnan tombs is known. This is true for tombs of royalty and people of presumed high rank such as the tombs uncovered in Baoshan with gold paint, one of which is dated 923 (published in "Nei Menggu Chifeng Baoshan Liao bihua mu fajue jianbao" [Brief report on Liao tombs with wall paintings in Baoshan, Chifeng, Inner Mongolia], Wenwu 1988, 1:73–94) or the tomb of the princess of Chengguo and her husband mentioned above (for more on the tomb, see Liao Chengguo gongzhu mu [The tomb of the Liao princess of Chenguo], [Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1993]). It is also true for some of the latest Liao tombs, including those closest to the border with Song such as the tombs in Xiabali, Xuanhua County, Hebei. For numerous illustrations of Xiabali tomb interiors, which show four- or five-puzuo bracket sets and simple lintels, see Xuanhua Liaonu bihua (Liao tombs with wall paintings in Xuanhua) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001).

38. On these tombs, see Su Bai, *Baisha Songmu* (Song tombs at Baisha) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1957); "Hebei, Jingxingxian, Shizhuang Songmu fajue baogao" (Excavation report on Song tombs in Shizhuang, Jingxing County, Hebei), *Kaogu xuebao*, 1962, 2:31–73; Li Quanshe, "Shanxi Wenxi Xiayang Song-Jin shiqi mu" (A Song-Jin period tomb in Xiayang, Wenxi, Shanxi), *Wenwu*, 1990, 5:86–88; Li Mingde and Guo Yitian, "Anyang Xiaonanhai Songdai bihua mu" (The Song period tomb in Xiaonanhai, Anyang), *Zhongyuan wenwu*, 1993, 2:74–79; numerous books on archaeology in the Luoyang region; Wang Jinxian, "Shanxi Huguan Xiahaolao Songmu" (A Song tomb in Xiahaolao, Huguan, Shanxi), *Wenwu*, 2002, 5:42–55.

39. And in the tomb at Xiaonanhai cited in note 38.

40. Tens of thousands of tombs constitute the database that verifies this statement.

41. Important studies of Jin and Yuan drama are Shih Chung-wen, *The Golden Age of Yuan Drama* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976); Stephen H. West, *Vaudeville and Narrative: Aspects of Chin Theater* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1977); Wilt Idema and Stephen H. West, *Chinese Theater, 1100–1450* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1982); J. I. Crump, *Chinese Theater in the Days of Khubilai Khan* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for Chinese Studies, 1990). On the representation of actors in tomb painting and relief sculpture, see also Robert Maeda, "Some Sung, Chin, and Yuan Representations of Actors," *Artibus Asiae* 41.2–3 (1979): 132–56; Xu Pingfang, "Songdai de zaju diaozhuan" (Brick carvings of drama from the Song period), *Wenwu*, 1960, 5:40–42.

42. J. I. Crump, *Chinese Theater*, has a reconstruction of the horse based on texts on p. 112. For illustrations in color, see Cui Yuanhe, *Pingyang Jinnu zhuandiao*, pls. 188–91.

43. Annelise Bulling proposed sweeping generalizations about representations of drama in Chinese funerary art in "Historical Plays in the Art of the Han," *Archives of Asian Art* 21 (1967–68): 20–38. The theory was challenged by Alexander Soper in "All the World's a Stage," *Artibus Asiae* 30.2–3 (1968): 249–59, Bulling's response to which was published in *Artibus Asiae* 31.2/3 (1969): 204–9. Thirty years of subsequent excavation have increased the verifiable number of representations of drama in Chinese funerary art, although it is still impossible

to know what proportion of curtained backgrounds were intended to represent stage sets. On this subject, see also Shanxi Normal Operatic Cultural Relics Research Institute, *Song, Jin, Yuan xiqu tulun* (Illustrated essays on operatic cultural relics of the Song, Jin, and Yuan) (Taiyuan: Shanxi Renmin chubanshe, 1987).

44. The report on this tomb is Yang Fudou, "Shanxi Yuncheng Xilizhuang Yuandai bihuamu" (A Yuan period tomb with wall paintings in Xilizhuang, Yuncheng, Shanxi), *Wenwu*, 1988, 4:76–78, 90.

45. On Yuan period tombs and wall paintings, see Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, "Yuan Period Tombs and Their Decoration: Cases at Chifeng," *Oriental Art* 36.4 (1990–91): 198–221.

46. Laurence Sickman brought this painting to the attention of the Western world in "Wall Paintings of the Yuan Period in Kuang-Sheng-Ssu," *Rêvue des Arts Asiatiques* 11.2 (1937): 53–67. On religion, ritual, and other implications of the Guangshengsi painting, see Anning Jing, *The Water God's Temple of the Guangsheng Monastery: Cosmic Functions of Art, Ritual, and Theater* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), esp. 144–99.

47. Plans of each tomb are found in publications about them already cited.

48. Jin capital cities are discussed in Chen Shu, *Liao-Jin shi lunji*; Enen Tala and Su Ritai, *Zhongguo Beifang minzu meishu shiliao*; Jilin City Museum, *Jilin shiyi*; 1984; *Liao-Jin shi lunwen ji*; Mikami Tsugio, *Jindai Nüzhen yanjiu*; Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1990), 128–36; Tamura Jitsuzō, *Chūgoku seifuku ōchō kenkyū*, esp. vol. 3; Wang Chengli, *Liao-Jin Qidan-Nüzhen shi yiwenji*; Yao Congwu, *Liao-, Jin-, Yuanshi jiangyi*, vol. 3. Periodical articles in Japanese are listed in notes to Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning*, 128–36.

49. Almost nothing but wall pieces survives from any of the cities. Remains of the second Jin Shangjing and the Jin central capital are housed in museums at the site in Ningcheng, Inner Mongolia, and at the Beijing Liao-Jin City Wall Museum, respectively.

50. The use of symbolism in Liao tomb construction compared to significantly less employment of it in Song tombs appears to be similar to a tendency observed in masonry pagodas of the two periods — Liao pagodas often faced with iconography and those of Song with orna-

ment. Representative Liao pagodas for this comparison are the southern pagoda in the Liao capital Shangjing in Balinzuoqi, Inner Mongolia; the Great Pagoda of Data Monastery in the Liao central capital Zhongjing, in Ningcheng, Inner Mongolia; the pagoda at Jiafu Monastery in Yi County, Liaoning, all published in vol. 2 of Sekino Tadashi and Takeshima Takuichi, *Ryū-Kin jidai no kenchiku to sono Butsuzō* (Liao-Jin architecture and its Buddhist sculpture) (Tokyo: Toho Bunka Gakuin Tokyo Kenkyujo, 1925). Northern Song pagodas, which are, by contrast, decorated but lacking symbolic or iconographic display, include Liaodi Pagoda of Kaiyuan Monastery in Ding County, Hebei; the twin pagodas of Luohan Monastery in Suzhou; and the pagodas of Tianqing Monastery and Yougou Monastery in Kaifeng. The Song pagodas are illustrated in Zhang Yuhuan and Luo Zhewen, *Zhongguo guta jingcui* (The cream of Chinese pagodas) (Beijing: Zhongguo kejishu chubanshe, 1990), 26, 81, 139, 141. For this reason, unless a dated inscription suggests otherwise, the pagodas studied by Sekino Tadashi and Takeshima Takuichi, *Ryū-Kin jidai no kenchiku to sono Butsuzō* were and still are dated Liao-Jin. On the city at Tongwan, see Dui Heng et al., "Liyong caihong waihangkong yingxiang dui Tongwancheng de zaiyanjiu" (Restudy of the city of Tongwan in the light of color infrared aerophotographic films), *Kaogu*, 2003, 1:70–77.

51. The point being made here is relevant to architecture in particular. Chinese ceramics and other goods are found in some of the Jurchen tombs discussed in the next section. The relation between Liao imperial aspirations and architecture is a theme in my *Liao Architecture*. I have also discussed the integral relationship between architecture and imperial goals of the Mongols in "The Plan of Khubilai Khan's Imperial City," *Artibus Asiae* 44.2–3 (1983): 137–58, and in "Imperial Architecture along the Mongolian Road to Dadu," *Ars Orientalis* 18 (1989): 59–95. On the association between Buddhist cave temple construction and imperial goals, see Alexander Soper, "South Chinese Influences on the Buddhist Art of the Six Dynasties Period," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 32 (1960): 47–65; Alexander Soper, "Imperial Cave-Chapels of the Northern Dynasties," *Artibus Asiae* 28.4 (1966): 241–70.

52. Jin tombs are discussed regionally in Ellen J. Laing, "Patterns and Problems in Later Chinese Tomb Decoration," *Journal of Oriental Studies* 16 (1978): 3–20; Laing, "Chin 'Tartar' Dynasty (1115–1234) Material Culture;" Qin Dashu, "Jinmu gaishu" (General discussion of Jin tombs), Liaohai wenwu xuekan 1988, 2:101–21.

53. The prince of Qi's biography is found in Tuotuo et al., *Jinshi*, 8 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju edition, 1974) (hereafter *Jinshi*), *juan* 73, pp. 1672–74. For the excavation report, see Hao Side, Li Yantie, and Liu Xiaodong, "Heilongjiang Acheng Juyuan Jindai Qiguowang mu fajue jianbao" (Brief report on the excavation of the tomb of the Jin dynasty prince of Qi in Juyuan, Acheng, Heilongjiang), *Wenwu*, 1989, 10:1–10, 45.

54. Zhu Qixin, "Royal Costumes of the Jin Dynasty," *Orientations* 21 (December 1990): 59–64.

55. Zhang Daixiang, "Songhuajiang xiayou Aolimi gucheng jiqi zhouyuan de Jindai mujiang" (A group of Jin tombs at Aolimi and its environs on the lower reaches of the Songhua River), *Wenwu*, 1977, 4:56–62.

56. Jing Ai, "Suibin Yongsheng de Jindai ping-minmu" (Commoner tombs of the Jin period at Yongsheng, Suibin), *Wenwu*, 1977, 4:50–55, 62.

57. Jing Ai, "Suibin Yongsheng de Jindai ping-minmu," 51.

58. Lin Xiuzhen, Zhang Taixiang, and Yang Zhijun, "Heilongjiangpan Suibin Zhongxing gucheng he Jindai muqun" (A walled city and group of Jin tombs in Zhongxing, Suibin, along the bank of the Heilong River), *Wenwu*, 1977, 4:40–49.

59. Lin Xiuzhen, Zhang Taixiang, and Yang Zhijun, "Heilongjiangpan Suibin Zhongxing gucheng he Jindai muqun," 42.

60. On Jin burial customs, see Jing Ai, "Cong chutu wenwukan Heilongjiang diqu de Jindai shehui" (Jin society in Heilongjiang seen through excavated materials),*Wenwu*, 1977, 4:27–39; Jing Ai, "Liao-Jin shidai de huozangmu" (Liao-Jin cremation burials), *Dongbei kaogu yu lishi* 1 (1982): 104–15; Li Jiancai, "Jindai Nüzhen muzang de yanbian" (Changes in Jurchen burial under the Jin), in Chen Shu, *Liao-Jin shi lunji*, 4:339–49. No criteria have been proposed for distinguishing between Jin and proto-Jin burials, or those of Jurchen and their non-Jurchen neighbors.

61. Xu Mengxin (1126–1207), ed., *Sanchao Beimeng huibian* (Collected documents on treaties with the North during the three dynasties [Liao, Jin, Song]), 4 vols. (Taipei:

Wenhai chubanshe edition, 1966), *juan* 3, sec. 3, p. 33.

62. *Wuzhu* 五銖 coins from the Han dynasty are found in tombs throughout China, including some in the Suibin River region dated to the Jin period. They are indicative of the occupant's wealth rather than an earliest possible date for the burial. On Jin currency, see Peng Xinwei, *Zhongguo huobi shi* (History of Chinese currency), trans. Edward H. Kaplan as *A Monetary History of China* (Bellingham: Western Washington University, 1973), 2:464–70; *A History of Chinese Currency* (Beijing: Xinhua shudian, 1983), 22–23.

63. For Wanyan Xiyi's biography, see *Jinshi*, *juan* 73, pp. 1684–86.

64. Because decisions at the time of death are personal, something like the use of a certain script can never be a foolproof means of identifying an occupant or dating a tomb. On a Jin tomb in which the funerary epitaph was carved in Khitan script, see Yan Wanzhang, "Hebei Xinglong Jinmu chutu Qidanwen muzhiming kaoshi" (Research on a funerary inscription in Khitan script excavated in a Jin tomb in Xinglong, Hebei), *Dongbei kaogu yu lishi* 1 (1982): 116–23.

65. Luo Ping and Zheng Zhaozong, "Hebei Xinchengxian Beichangcun Jinshi Shi Li'ai he Shi Feng mu fajue ji" (Excavation report on the Jin period tombs of Shi Li'ai and Shi Feng in Beichang Village, Xincheng County, Hebei), *Wenwu*, 1962, 12:650. Hailingwang was renowned for uncontrollable brutality. According to Franke, in Franke and Twitchett, *Cambridge History of China*, 6:239, he is described in Song and Jin sources as a "bloody monster."

66. On Wanyan Xiyi's tomb, see Dong Xuezeng, "Wanyan Xiyi jiqi mudi" (Wanyan Xiyi and his tomb site), in Jilin City Museum, *Jilin shiyi*, 34–40; *Zhongguo wenwu ditu ji: Jilin fence* (Atlas of Chinese Cultural Relics: Jilin Volume) (Beijing: Zhongguo ditu chubanshe, 1993), pls. 140–41.

67. As this article was going to press, excavation was ongoing at the Jin royal tomb site Da Fangshan in Fangshan County, 41.7 kilometers southwest of Beijing. One-lined tombs and stone coffins were excavated. As recorded in the texts, the tombs of Hailingwang and his four successors are among a total of at least thirteen royal tombs in an area of about sixty square kilometers. For more information, see http://news.sina.com.cn/s/2003-9-06/09477004895.shtml and Huang Xinchun, "Beijing Fangshanqu Jinling yizhi de diaocha yu fazhan"

(Investigation and excavation of Jin royal tombs in Fangshan District, Beijing) *Kaogu*, 2004, 2:26–40.

68. Information on Jin royal tombs is found in the biography of each ruler in *Jinshi* and Yuwen Mouzhao, *Da Jinguo zhi* (Record of the Great Jin state) (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan edition, 1967), *juan* 33, pp. 247–49. Summaries of the texts and the little information gathered from the sites are in Xie Mincong, *Zhongguo lidai diwang lingqin kaolue* (Research on Chinese imperial tombs through the ages) (Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1976), 119–21; Luo Zhewen, *Zhongguo lidai huangdi lingmu*, 118–21; Ren Changtai, ed., *Zhongguo lingqin shi* (History of Chinese royal tombs) (Taipei: Wenjin chubanshe, 1995), 254–61.

69. Luo Zhewen, *Zhongguo lidai huangdi lingmu*, 120, questions the date of the wall.

70. The only mention of the mask of which I am aware is Ren Changtai, *Zhongguo lingqin shi*, 261. Neither its original nor current location is provided in Ren's book.

71. According to a Southern Song description of the preparation of the corpse of the second Liao emperor, Deguang 德光 (d. 947), his face was covered with a death mask of gold and silver. The princess of Chenguo and her husband, Xiao Shaoju, jointly buried in 1018, also wore death masks of precious metal, as did an unidentified female buried in a tomb in Haoqianying. The engagement of Jurchen rulers in this funerary practice associates them with not only the Khitan but even earlier seminomadic peoples of North and Northeast Asia. On Liao death masks, see Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, *Liao Architecture*, 12, 291, 318–22, and relevant notes to those pages; Li Yiyou, "Lielun Liaodai Qidan yu Hanren muzang de tezheng he fenxi" (Special features and analysis of Khitan vs. Han burials in the Liao period), *Zhongguo kaogu xuehui diliuci nianhui lunwen ji* (Collected Essays from the Sixth Chinese Archaeology Conference) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1987), 187–95; Li Yiyou, "Liaodai Qidanren muzang zhidu gaishuo" (Introductory remarks on the burial system of Khitan in the Liao period), in *Nei Menggu Dongbuqu kaoguxue wenhua yanjiu wenji* (Research essays on archaeology and culture of Northeastern Inner Mongolia) (Beijing: Haiyang chubanshe, 1991), 80–102. Both articles are reprinted in Li Yiyou, *Beifang kaogu yanjiu* (Research on archaeology of the North), vol. 1 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1994). On the use of death masks by pre-Khitan peoples, see Nancy

Shatzman Steinhardt, "Liao Archaeology: New Frontiers on China's Frontier," *Asian Perspectives* 37.2 (1998): 224–44; Chinese History Museum and Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Cultural Commission, *Qidan wangchao* (Khitan dynasty) (Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue chubanshe, 2002), 21–23, 39.

72. For the report, see "Bejing Jinmu fajue jian-bao" (Brief report on Jin tombs excavated in Beijing), *Beijing wenwu yu kaogu*, 1983, 1:55–72.

73. These are discussed in "Beijing Jinmu fajue jianbao."

74. One can never be sure a symbol or motif is understood by someone who possesses it, but one assumes that these objects were recognized as Chinese. If their meanings were understood, the coin with the stork and turtle should have been selected because they were symbols of longevity.

75. Luo Ping and Zheng Zhaozong, "Hebei Xinchengxian Beichangcun Jinshi Shi Li'ai he Shi Feng mu fajue ji."

76. *Jinshi, juan* 78, pp. 1775–77.

77. Ma Xigui, "Beijing Xiannongtan Jinmu" (A Jin tomb near the Altar of the First Crops in Beijing), *Wenwu*, 1977, 11:91–94.

78. Zhang Xiande and Huang Xiudun, "Beijingshi Fangshanxian faxian shiguomu" (A stone coffin tomb excavated in Fangshan County, Beijing), *Wenwu*, 1977, 6:78–80, 71.

79. Zhang Xiande and Huang Xiudun, "Beijingshi Fangshanxian faxian shiguomu," 71.

80. Zhang Xiande and Huang Xiudun, "Beijingshi Fangshanxian faxian shiguomu," 71; Yuwen Mouzhao, *Da Jinguo zhi, juan* 31, p. 227.

81. Zhang Xiande and Huang Xiudun, "Beijingshi Fangshanxian faxian shiguomu," 71.

82. Liu Qingyi and Zhang Xiande, "Beijingshi Tongxian Tongjiao Jindai muzang fajue jianbao" (Brief report on Jin period burial in Tongxian, Beijing), *Wenwu*, 1977, 11:9–14, 6.

83. A famous second-century B.C. example is the tomb of Huo Qubing (d. 117 B.C.). As a reward for service of the empire, Huo was buried about two kilometers from the future site of Han Wudi's (d. 87 B.C.) tomb. Tang emperors engaged in the same practice at Zhaoling and Qianling, as evidenced not only by excavation but illustrations of the imperial tomb sites in Li Haowen (Yuan), *Chang'anzhi tu* (Illustrated record of Chang'an), *juan zhong*, and *Shaanxi tongzhi* (Record of Shaanxi), *juan* 6.

84. Qin Dashu "Beijingshi Haidianqu Nanxinzhuang Jinmu qingli jianbao" (Brief report on the investigation of Jin tombs in Nanxinzhuang, Haidian District, Beijing), *Wenwu*, 1988, 7:56–66.

85. Qin Dashu, "Beijingshi Haidianqu Nanxinzhuang Jinmu qingli jianbao," 64.

86. On Yemaotai tomb 7, see "Faku Yemaotai Liaomu jilüe" (Notes on a Liao tomb in Yemaotai, Faku County), *Wenwu*, 1975, 12:26–36. This is the tomb in which two silk paintings of the period were uncovered.

87. The simple pit Jin tombs, as far as we know, had flat ceilings. The tomb of Wanyan Xiyi, mentioned above, may be important evidence of the more widespread use of domed, vaulted, and lantern ceilings than is currently recognized among excavated Jin tombs in Heilongjiang, Jilin, and Hebei. Jin tombs in Shanxi, as noted above, had vaulted ceilings. An important early study of the development of Liao tomb structures is Xian Chunsong, "Zhaomeng diqu de Liaodai muzang" (Liao-period tombs in "Zhaomeng"), *Nei Menggu wenwu kaogu* 1 (1981): 73–79.

88. Cao Xun, "Yemaotai Liaomuzhong de guanchuang xiaozhang" (The small-scale "container" and coffin bed in a Liao tomb at Yemaotai), *Wenwu*, 1975, 12:49–62.

89. Other wooden sarcophaguses have been found in Balinzouqi. For an illustration, see Chinese History Museum and Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Cultural Commission, *Qidan wangchao*, 20.

90. Chen Dawei, "Liaoning Chaoyang Jindai bihua mu" (A Jin tomb with wall paintings in Chaoyang, Liaoning), *Kaogu*, 1962, 4:182–85.

91. On the princess of Chenguo tomb, see *Liao Chengguo gongzhu mu* (The tomb of the Liao princess of Chenguo) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe), 1993.

92. Almost every history of Chinese art or archaeology includes discussion of these very famous tombs and their contents.

93. On the Parhae, including their tombs and burial practices, see Okladinov, *Soviet Far East in Antiquity*, 170–201; Zhu Guoshen and Wei Guozhong, *Bohai shikao* (History of Bohai) (Ha'erbin: Heilongjiang Wenwu chubanshe, 1984); Sun Yuliang, *Bohai Shiliao quanbian* (Comprehensive notes on Bohai historical materials) (Changchun: Jilin wenshi chubanshe, 1992); Li Dianfu, *Dongbei kaogu yanjiu* (Research on archaeology of the Northeast), vol. 2 (Zhengzhou:

Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1994), 349–433; Johannes Reckel, *Bohai: Geschichte und Kultur eines mandschurisch-koreanischen Königreiches der Tang-Zeit* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995); *Liudingshan yu Bohaizhen* (Beijing: Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Sciences, 1997); Zhu Guoshen and Zhu Wei, *Bohai yiji* (Bohai traces) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2002), esp. 156–89. Two of the most important Bohai tombs excavated to date belong to princesses, that of Zhenhui excavated in 1949 at Liudingshan, Dunhua, Jilin, and discussed at length in *Liudingshan yu Bohaizhen*, and that of Zhenxiao, uncovered in 1980 in Helong County, Jilin, and discussed in "Bohai Zhenxiao gongzhu mu fajue qingli jianbao" (Brief report on the excavation of the tomb of Princess Zhenxiao), *Shehui kexue zhanxian*, 1982, 1:174–87. The other Bohai tomb group that has received considerable attention is in Beida. On these tombs, see "Helong Beida Bohai muzang qingli jianbao" (Brief report on a Bohai tomb group in Beida, Helong), *Dongbei kaogu yu lishi* 1 (1982): 200–208; Zheng Yongzhen and Qian Tailong, "Jilinsheng, Helongxian, Beida Bohai muzang" (Bohai tombs in Beida, Helong County, Jilin), *Wenwu*, 1994, 1:35–43, 49.

94. On the Nanli tomb, see Shang Tonglin and Guo Hailin, "Shanxi Qinxian faxian Jindai zhuandiao mu" (A tomb with brick relief sculpture excavated in Qin County, Shanxi), *Wenwu*, 2000, 6:60–73.

95. On the history of Chinese portraiture, see Jan Stuart and Evelyn Rawski, *Worshiping the Ancestors: Chinese Commemorative Portraits* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), esp. 38–46. On the issue of the earliest Chinese portraiture, see Ladislav Kesner, "Likeness of No One: (Re)presenting the First Emperor's Army," *Art Bulletin* 77.1 (1995): 115–32. Like the Mawangdui silk painting mentioned above in a comparison above, the Han tomb sculptures are widely published in studies of Chinese art. See, for example, Shaanxi Province Archaeology Institute, *Han Yangling* (Yang mausoleum of the Han) (Chongqing: Chonqing chubanshe, 2001); Robert Bagley, ed., *Ancient Sichuan: Treasures from a Lost Civilization* (Seattle: Seattle Art Museum, 2001), esp. 252–307.

96. On the Yizhou *luohan*s, see Richard Smithies, "A *Luohan* from Yizhou in the University of Pennsylvania Museum," *Orientations* 32.2 (February 2001): 51–57, with additional bibliography provided in this article. It is important to note in terms of the idea put forth in this paragraph that chemical analysis of the University of Pennsylvania statue conducted in 1999 suggested a date of twelfth century, or Jin period, for the sculpture.

97. On the Xi Xia sculptures, see Shi Jinbo, Bai Bin, and Wu Feng Yun, *Xi Xia wenwu* (Xi Xia cultural relics) (Beijing: Wenwu chu-banshe, 1988), 312–13; and on Dazu, see Bai Ziran, ed., *Dazu Grottoes* (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1985); Angela F. Howard, *Summit of Treasures: Buddhist Cave Art of Dazu, China* (New York: Weatherhill, 2001).

98. Besides Northern Wei, Liao, Yuan, and Qing, mentioned above, the formation of imperial architecture under the Achaemenids and adoption of aspects of their tradition by the Sasanians are examples of this phenomenon. On some of the West Asian cases, see H. P. L'Orange, *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World* (New Rochelle: Caratzas Brothers, 1982).

99. Franke and Twitchett, *Cambridge History of China*, 6:310.

100. I thank an anonymous reader for this suggestion. On Jin painting, calligraphy, and aesthetics, see Susan Bush, "*Clearing after Snow in the Min Mountains* and Chin Landscape Painting," *Oriental Art*, n.s. 11 (1965): 163–72; Susan Bush, "Literati Culture under the Chin (1122–1234)," *Oriental Art*, n.s. 15 (1969): 103–12; Susan Bush, "Chin Literati Painting and Landscape Traditions," *National Palace Museum Bulletin* 21.4–5 (1986): 1–24.

ABSTRACT

Jōfukuji, a Pure Land temple in Kyoto, owns a set of ten hanging scrolls depicting the Ten Kings, which were painted by Tosa Mitsunobu in the late fifteenth century. These pictures offer insight into the development of Ten Kings beliefs and imagery in East Asia and attest to the continued practice of gyakushu (predeath mortuary rites) in Japan. A close examination of the works strongly supports the idea that they are copies of another set at the Nison'in, painted about one hundred and fifty years earlier. Both sets were painted for members of the imperial court and show how such a project did not merely add a few fresh touches to a standard iconography but brought the cultural resources of the court to bear to aid in the salvation of their elite audiences.

Narrating the Salvation of the Elite

The Jōfukuji Paintings of the Ten Kings

Jōfukuji 浄福寺, a Pure Land temple in Kyoto, owns a well-known and admired set of ten hanging scrolls depicting the Ten Kings, the judges of the dead in East Asian Buddhism (figs. 1–10).[1] Highly reliable documentary evidence tells us that the paintings were produced for salvation rituals conducted by and for Emperor Go Tsuchimikado 御土御門 (1442–1500) during his lifetime and provide a secure attribution to Tosa Mitsunobu (d. 1521). At that time, Mitsunobu was the director of the Court Painting Bureau and the natural selection as painter in such a project. Somewhat less secure evidence supports a long-accepted argument that Mitsunobu produced the Jōfukuji set by copying a virtually identical one at the Nison'in 二尊院 (fig. 11), also in Kyoto, but consensus on this matter has weakened over the last decade. In this article, I will review primary sources and major scholarship on the Jōfukuji pictures, evaluate the main arguments in the recent controversies, and analyze distinctive aspects of the Jōfukuji and Nison'in pictures in relation to their circumstances of production and consumption. First, however, I will offer a brief introduction to the history and nature of Ten Kings belief and imagery and then to the Jōfukuji paintings themselves.

THE CULT OF THE TEN KINGS

The cult of the Ten Kings emerged in China around the first half of the tenth century out of the religious fusions produced by Buddhism's interaction with

Tosa Mitsunobu, *Byōdō Ō* from *The Ten Kings of Hell*, 1489, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 97 x 42.1 cm. Jōfukuji, Kyoto.

1 Tosa Mitsunobu, *Shinkō Ō* from *The Ten Kings of Hell,* 1489, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 97 x 42.1 cm. Jōfukuji, Kyoto.

2 Tosa Mitsunobu, *Shokō Ō* from *The Ten Kings of Hell,* 1489, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 97 x 42.1 cm. Jōfukuji, Kyoto.

preexisting Central and East Asian beliefs. Its teachings incorporate concepts of the afterlife from Buddhism, Chinese folk traditions, religious Daoism, and perhaps even Manicheism, which had spread to Central Asia and China.[2] There is very wide agreement that active

belief in the kings and the efficacy of their rites came into Japan in the Kamakura period. Textual source material probably first arrived in Japan in 1072, when the monk Jōjin 成尋 (1011–1081) began a sojourn in China that lasted until the end of his life. While there,

he sent back boxes of sutras and mentioned obtaining a Ten Kings sutra that first year in *San Tendai gotaizan ki* 参天台五台山記 (Record of visiting the Five Mountains of Tiantai).[3]

The cults of the Ten Kings and the bodhisattva Jizō 地蔵, redeemer of the lower worlds, are closely linked. The rise of their cults gave a particularly East Asian ritual form to tendencies in later Buddhist soteriology that allowed special offerings and ritual practices to overcome karmic destiny. Each king presided over one day in the standard Buddhist memorial calendar, one occurring every seven days after death for forty-nine days (known as the "seven sevens"), with three additional ones at the end of one hundred days, one year, and in the third year (see table 1). Proper ritual behavior, including offerings, could greatly affect the karmic balance upon which their judgments rested. Like faith in Jizō, belief in the efficacy of the salvific rites of the kings offered those whose karmic burden would normally merit rebirth in a lower realm of existence the hope of escape, perhaps even from a hell.

TABLE 1	Memorial Services: Ten Kings, and *Honji Butsu* (based on *Jizō Jūō kyō* 地蔵十王経 [Sutra of Jizō and the Ten Kings])	
7-Day 1	Shinkō Ō 秦広王 Qinguang Wang	Fudō Myōō 不動明王 Acalanâtha Vidyârâja
7-Day 2	Shokō Ō 初江王 Chujiang Wang	Shaka Nyorai 釈迦如来 Śākyamuni Tathâgata
7-Day 3	Sōtei Ō 宗帝王 Songdi Wang	Monju Bosatsu 本井牧子 Mañjusrî Bodhisattva
7-Day 4	Gokan Ō 五官王 Wuguan Wang	Fugen Bosatsu 菩賢菩薩 Samantabhadra Bodhisattva
7-Day 5	Enma Ō Yanluo Ō	Jizō Bosatsu 地蔵菩薩 Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva
7-Day 6	Hensei Ō 変成王 Biancheng Wang	Miroku Bosatsu 弥勒菩薩 Maitreya Bodhisattva
7-day 7	Taizan Ō 太山王 Taishan Wang	Yakushi Nyorai 薬師如来 Bhaiṣajyarāja Tathâgata
100 Day	Byōdō Ō 平等王 Pingdeng Wang	Kannon Bosatsu 観音菩薩 Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva
1 Year	Toshi Ō 都市王 Dushi Wang	Seishi Bosatsu* 勢至菩薩 Mahâsthâmaprâpta Bodhisattva
3 Years	Godō Tenrin Ō 五道転輪王 Wudao Chunlun Wang	Amida Nyorai 阿弥陀如来 Amitâbha Tathâgata

*The oldest versions of Jizō Jūō Kyō have Ashuku Nyorai 阿閦如来 instead.

As judges who took all such factors into consideration, the Ten Kings originally symbolized the promise of salvation as well as the threat of damnation. However, the general tendency over time was for the latter aspect to dominate the image of their courts; the visages of the kings became fiercer, and the space before them became sites of hideous inquisitional tortures and immediate punishments. A comparison of a sutra illustration from Dunhuang 敦煌 (fig. 12) and the corresponding scene in the Jōfukuji set (see fig. 2) provides a clear example. Such developments probably influenced the Western tendency to call the figures the "Ten Kings of Hell," even though their realm is actually distinct from the Buddhist hells and, as the intermediate site of immediate judgment and expiatory punishments, has much more in common with Christian Purgatory than with Christian Hell.[4] It is commonly referred to in Japan as *meifu* 冥府 or *meikai* 冥界 (the dark region [beyond death]), and the box inscription for the Jōfukuji set bears the title "Meifu Jūō no zu" (Pictures of the Ten Kings of the Dark Region). In this text, I will simply refer to it as the intermediate realm.

Despite the fearsome conception of the kings that emerged, their cult remained closely linked to that of Jizō, but in a special fashion. Each king came to be considered a manifestation of a *honji butsu* 本地仏 (original-ground buddha), a higher order being — but not always a Buddha — who in this case embodied the promise of salvation.[5] For example, Jizō came to be considered the *honji butsu* of the most important of the kings, Enma Ō 閻摩王 (also Enra Ō 閻羅王), the Sinicized version of the Indian Lord of the Underworld, Yama. In Japan, all of the kings had *honji butsu*, who were very frequently depicted with them as in the Jōfukuji scrolls.

The scriptural foundation of Ten Kings beliefs can be found in the *Yoshu Jūō shō shichi kyō* 預修十王生七経 (*YJSK*, Sutra on the Preparatory Cultivation of the Sevens of Life of the Ten Kings) and *Jizō Jūō kyō* (*JJK*, Sutra on Jizō and the Ten Kings).[6] Both are apocryphal sutras, texts in Chinese for which no known Sanskrit or Pali versions exist and that are believed to have been produced in East Asia to lend

3 Tosa Mitsunobu, *Sōtei Ō* from *The Ten Kings of Hell,* 1489, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 97 x 42.1 cm. Jōfukuji, Kyoto.

4 Tosa Mitsunobu, *Gokan Ō* from *The Ten Kings of Hell,* 1489, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 97 x 42.1 cm. Jōfukuji, Kyoto.

authority to local developments in Buddhism. Many Japanese scholars still accept the long-held position that *JJK* was actually written in Japan because it exists only in Japanese copies, which contain a scattering of local terms.[7]

Further support for this conclusion comes from the fact that only the *JJK* associates all the kings with *honji butsu*, which have long been seen as a distinctive element of Japanese iconography. However, direct pictorial evidence from China weighs heavily

against accepting the notion of Japanese origins of all elements of the text. Without question, belief in the *honji butsu* took hold and developed as a major element in the cult of the Ten Kings only in Japan. However, scholars have recently investigated more carefully the possible Chinese origins even of the *honji butsu* of the Ten Kings.[8] One key piece of evidence is the set of Ten Kings paintings with *honji butsu* at Shōmyōji 称名寺, which have long been accepted as Chinese in origin. The idea that the *honji butsu* alone might be later Japanese additions has been effectively refuted by Takeda Kazuaki's 武田和昭 close material and stylistic analysis, but he leaves open the possibility that the Shōmyōji version represents a special commission by Japanese monks; this is, after all, the only Chinese version in Japan with figures that are clearly individual *honji butsu* for each king. However, there are a number of Chinese and Korean paintings that have individual figures that would seem to be *honji butsu*, such as the figure of Jizō descending in the Enma painting in the set of Ten Kings owned by the Seikadō Bunkō. Even more intriguing, however, is a Song cave painting in which Jizō is flanked by the Ten Kings above whom are seated Buddha figures inside circles. The evidence for a Chinese antecedent seems overwhelming, even if that antecedent may have lacked some important features of the Japanese *honji butsu*.[9]

What is more, even before midcentury a number of scholars had begun to challenge the entirely Japanese origins of the *JJK* because certain images depicted in paintings from Dunhuang are found only in *JJK*, not in *YJSK*.[10] In their view, the few Japanese terms included in the only extant versions of the text must be considered minor intrusions. Resolving this controversy lies at the heart of any attempt to write a broad history of the later transmission of Ten Kings beliefs and images in East Asia, but my focus here is on images and ritual practices in Japan, so I will set the problem aside.

The scriptural foundation for actual Ten Kings practices can be found in the following passages from *YJSK*:

If there is a good son or good daughter, bhiksu or bhiksuni, upasaka, or upasika who cultivates in preparation the seven feasts of life, twice each month offering support to the Three Jewels, then whosoever provides for the Ten Kings will have their names revised and reports will be given; memorials will be sent up to the Six Ministries, the Boys of Good and Evil will send memorials to all the officials of heaven's ministries and earth's prefects, and it will be noted in the register of names. On the day one arrives, one will expediently attain assigned rebirth in a place of happiness. One will not have to dwell in intermediate darkness for forty-nine days, and one will not have to wait for sons and daughters to attempt posthumous salvation. As one's life span passes before the ten kings, if there is one feast missing, then one is detained before one king, remaining there continuously to undergo suffering, unable to emerge into birth, detained for the length of one year. For this reason you are admonished to perform this crucial service and to pray for the reward of rebirth in the Pure Land.[11]

The Buddha announced to [various beings mentioned]: "The Law is broad and forgiving. I allow you to be lenient with the compassionate and filial sons and daughters of all sinners. When they cultivate merit and perform sacrifices to raise the dead, repaying the kindness shown in giving birth to them and supporting them, or when during the seven sevens they cultivate feasts and commission statues in order to repay their parents' kindness, then you should allow them to attain rebirth in the heavens."[12]

The rites mentioned in the second passage — the sacrifices to raise the dead — are founded on the Buddhist principle of merit transferal from the living to the dead, known in Japan as *tsuizen* 追善. Believing that the dead appear before each presiding king in turn for judgment, the living would seek to affect the outcome in a positive way by transferring merit to the deceased. Holding the feasts, or offering services,

5 Tosa Mitsunobu, *Enma Ō* from *The Ten Kings of Hell,* 1489, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 97 x 42.1 cm. Jōfukuji, Kyoto.

6 Tosa Mitsunobu, *Hensei Ō* from *The Ten Kings of Hell,* 1489, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 97 x 42.1 cm. Jōfukuji, Kyoto.

according to the memorial cycle, and making special efforts to support Buddhism, such as commissioning Buddhist statues and copying sutras, added greatly (and, it seems, instantly) to one's special store of merit for such purposes. As the passage further indicates,

the sutras placed special emphasis on transfer from the children of the deceased, showing that the concept of filial obligation, important for so long in China, had its effect on the sutra and the cult of the Ten Kings.

However, the primary thrust of the Ten Kings sutras was not to reaffirm the selflessness inherent in Buddhist concepts of merit transferal or Chinese ideals of filial piety, but to promote more selfish practices. The very title of the *YJSK* shows the emphasis. *Yoshu*, or more popularly in Japan, *gyakushu* 逆修, were actions undertaken to increase one's own store of merit *in preparation for one's own death*.[13] The emphasis here is important. *Gyakushu* reaches beyond the acts of piety and kindness promoted by basic Buddhist teachings about *karma*, the effect of the totality of one's actions in successive incarnations upon the next. *Gyakushu* is an act of deliberate self-redemption that treats the self in advance as one of the honored dead so that it can receive an extraordinary infusion of merit through special rites and offerings. In other words, it is to that living self exactly what *tsuizen* is to the dead.[14]

The procedures of the *gyakushu* rites probably had several variations, but I have not yet found any detailed descriptions in original sources. The first passage above specifically mentions *yoshu* 預修 "feasts" (ritual offerings) to the Ten Kings to be performed every half-month over an indefinite period, presumably until one's death. However, the second passage suggests the possibility of a form of *gyakushu* even more closely linked to *tsuizen*. The text declares that *tsuizen* itself gains benefit for filial sons and daughters. Furthermore, a number of sutras well known in Japan propound the principle of the seven sevenths, according to which only one seventh of the merit gained from *tsuizen* actually went to the deceased and the rest to the living performer of the rites.[15] Early medieval Japanese *gyakushu* testaments clearly record a desire to obtain the "full sevenths."[16] It is possible, then, that a conflation of *tsuizen* and *gyakushu* occurred. Motoi Makiko makes exactly this argument based in part on her understanding of the title of the *YJSK*. She narrowly defines the "sevens of life" as precisely parallel to the most standard *tsuizen* rites that take place every seven days for forty-nine days.[17] In other words, the living perform the *tsuizen* rites themselves on their own behalf. However, her argument ignores not only the fact

that the sutra passage cited above clearly prescribes special semimonthly *gyakushu* rites but also that there are ten, not seven, kings who must be propitiated. Nonetheless, she may still be correct since religious ritual practice can certainly evolve away from the forms prescribed in scriptures. The pictures under discussion could easily have been used in either ritual pattern.

Four main types of Ten Kings pictures exist.[18] Types one and two, illustrated Ten Kings sutras (see fig. 12) and individual icons of Jizō attended by the kings, appeared first and are known best from tenth-century examples found at Dunhuang. A number of later Chinese, Korean, and Japanese examples of the latter show the continuing vitality of the type in East Asia. Type three comprises sets like the ones at Jōfukuji, which may include additional scrolls depicting Jizō and/or the messenger of the kings, who is described in the sutras. The earliest known examples of this type whose dates are widely accepted were produced in the thirteenth century in the Chinese trading port of Ningpo 寧波, a center for professional ateliers specializing in Daoist-Buddhist image painting. Type four includes a variety of pictures incorporating the Ten Kings with images of the Ten Worlds or just hell scenes on one or two wide scrolls.[19] In addition to images of the Ten Kings per se, pictures of the fifth king, Enma (or Enra), combined with Jizō or alone as *the* King of Hell, survive in some numbers. Some pictures of Enra come out of an entirely different tradition and present him as a *deva* rather than a king, emphasizing his nature as the East Asian version of Yama, Indian Lord of the Underworld.

The visualization of the immediate courts of the Ten Kings we see in the hanging scroll sets derives in large part from the earlier sutra illustrations. The two types present the same basic cast of characters: the kings with their attendants, court clerks who present evidentiary records, other functionaries who announce sentences, the dead, the demonic prison guards, and, occasionally, the living who present sutras and Buddhist images as *tsuizen* offerings. They also contain specific implements of judgment such as a scale (see fig. 4) and the karmic mirror usually

7 Tosa Mitsunobu, *Taizan Ō* from *The Ten Kings of Hell,* 1489, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 97 x 42.1 cm. Jōfukuji, Kyoto.

8 Tosa Mitsunobu, *Byōdō Ō* from *The Ten Kings of Hell,* 1489, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 97 x 42.1 cm. Jōfukuji, Kyoto.

found in the court of Enma (see fig. 5). Beyond these basics, most of the details, even in the sutra illustrations, reach well beyond the descriptions of the sutras and are profoundly East Asian. The kings sit in majesty, wearing Chinese crowns and robes of state. They are the center of a well-organized Chinese-style bureaucracy, seated behind tables with functionaries handling records and announcing judgment and petitioners appearing before them.[20] In the hanging scrolls and paintings derived from them, the kings

sit in even grander, courtlier settings on bentwood chairs covered by luxurious textiles in front of painted screens. They also have paper and writing utensils ready for inscribing their official pronouncements of justice.

The sutra illustrations and hanging scroll sets diverge more dramatically in what they include in the area in front of the kings. The former are perhaps more constrained by their textual sources and depict relatively little beyond the immediate process of inquisition and judgment. In striking contrast, the sets frequently include scenes of hideous, quite hell-like torture and immediate punishment. In some cases, the painters simply exaggerated the grim processes of justice found in mundane courts, but many pictures show scenes of suffering in the hells themselves. While I would not suggest a strict linear progression of development within the hanging scrolls sets, the scenes of hellish suffering within the context of the court of an individual king do not appear in the earliest pictures from Dunhuang.

The "hellification" of the area in front of the courts and, ultimately, the addition of the *honji butsu* in Japan, if not elsewhere, accommodated a long-term shift in the popular imagination of the afterlife. Trends in popular religious teaching in medieval East Asia, gaining particular impetus from around the tenth century in China and the thirteenth century in Japan, tended toward simplification. Steeped in Pure Land teachings and the sermons of preachers, lay people tended to conceive of an afterlife dominated by a simple binary opposition: damnation in underground hells versus salvation in a celestial paradise.[21] More complex Buddhist teachings on rebirth within the six paths and, especially, the nebulous promise of the ultimate release of Nirvana had much less power over their imaginations than did dramatically contrasting, repeated images of hellfire and golden palaces. They would quite naturally see the intermediate realm as being much closer to the former than the latter. In particular, the Buddha Amida had promised to receive the faithful at the moment of their deaths, so those who even appeared before the kings had missed the surest chance for salvation. Burdened as all are by a heavy weight of sin, the deceased in the realm of the kings were all too close to being cast down by their fierce judgment. On the other hand, popular faith readily accepted and combined numerous possibilities for escaping the damnation that seemed so inevitable. Most commonly, one looked to the mercy of the bodhisattva Jizō, who offered redemption even from hell itself. One also looked to the sorts of offering rituals central to the cult of the Ten Kings.

THE JŌFUKUJI AND NISON'IN SETS

The Jōfukuji version of the Ten Kings is virtually identical to that of the Nison'in. The two sets and their relationship have a long history in scholarship. Developments over the last fifteen years suggest the need for a review of its major parts.

In 1940, Tani Shin'ichi 谷真一 presented the basic research on the Jōfukuji paintings as part of his foundational study of the painter Tosa Mitsunobu.[22] He found considerable consistency in three types of documentation: an inscription on the underside of the lid belonging to the box in which the scrolls were (and are still) stored, inscriptions on pieces of silk pasted to the back of each scroll, and an entry in the diary of high ranking member of the nobility and cultural adviser to the court Sanjōnishi Sanetaka 三条西実隆. The box lid inscription dates to 1530, when Tani believed the scrolls were donated to the temple. The beginning states: "These pictures are from the Entoku 延徳 era (1489–1492). They are for the *gyakushu* rites of Emperor Go Tsuchimikado. He ordered the painter Tosa Fujiwara Mitsunobu 土佐藤原光信 to produce the copies. The monk Zenkū 善空 presided over the eye-opening (*tengan* 点眼)." The attached inscriptions, which appear to have been cut from older mountings, presumably for the same paintings, state the date they were received and then: "The eye-opening offering service ordered by the emperor ended. The picture had been produced for the emperor's *gyakushu* rites by copying. The monk Zenkū reverently recorded. The painter is Lieutenant of the Left Guards, Fujiwara Mitsunobu." The paintings of the first seven kings bear a date

9 Tosa Mitsunobu, *Toshi Ō* from *The Ten Kings of Hell,* 1489, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 97 x 42.1 cm. Jōfukuji, Kyoto.

10 Tosa Mitsunobu, *Godō Tenrin Ō* from *The Ten Kings of Hell,* 1489, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 97 x 42.1 cm. Jōfukuji, Kyoto.

of 1489.12.23 and the rest 1490.5.14. The entry in *Sanetaka-kō ki* 実隆公記 (Diary of Sanjōnishi Sanetaka) for 1489.9.18 notes: "I sent up the title text for the newly painted image of one of the Ten Kings. {It is by the brush of Lieutenant Tosa and is the deity (*honzon* 本尊) of the second seven days. It came down to me yesterday.}" Writing nearly two decades later in 1958, Umezu Jirō 梅津次郎 cited an entry in Sanetaka's diary on 1489.8.18 that states: "An order came down from the emperor commanding me to

send up a title for a newly painted Ten King [the one for the first seven days}."[23]

As has long been accepted, the combined evidence supports the following conclusions. The current director of the Court Painting Bureau, Tosa Mitsunobu, painted Ten King scrolls based on an unspecified model for use in *gyakushu* rites performed by the current emperor, Go Tsuchimikado. Sanetaka provided titles and Zenkū (d. 1492) conducted the eye-opening ceremony that invitalized the paintings as materializations of the divinities. Umezu's work further suggests that production of the scrolls occurred in sequence over a period of time.

That the Jōfukuji paintings of the Ten Kings were in some sense "copies" hardly comes as a surprise, since the needs and practices of religious art, including Japanese Buddhist paintings, do not allow for wholesale invention. In addition, the common root character meaning "copy," as the verb *utsusu* 写す, means anything from sketching parts to closely duplicating the whole. Many cases of "copying" really amount to no more than "sketching," using an existing painting as a loose model.[24] In this case, however, the box lid inscription contains the particular term *tōsha* 謄写, which usually denotes close duplication, involving even a very mechanical process such as tracing. If this later document can be trusted, the model for the Jōfukuji set had to have been nearly identical. Writing in 1958, Umezu Jirō tells how he searched for evidence of Mitsunobu's model as he read through Sanetaka's diary, and felt confident he had found it in the entry for 1489.5.7: "Further, at the Kurodō 黒堂 Palace, I saw paintings of the Ten Kings {ten hanging scrolls}. The brushwork was commendable. {[By] Yukimitsu 行光 of the Kasuga Painting Bureau, they are said to be at least a hundred and forty or fifty years old.} They are things that surprise the eyes."[25]

Three factors make the paintings mentioned by Sanetaka very strong candidates for being Mitsunobu's models. First is the timing. The viewing occurred only about three months before Mitsunobu probably began work on his own version. Second, Sanetaka was a key participant in the project for Go Tsuchimikado

as well as his primary adviser on cultural matters, and he clearly admired Yukimitsu's (dates unknown) paintings quite highly. Finally, there is good evidence that Tosa Mitsunobu himself could claim descent from Yukimitsu, who belonged to the Kasuga 春日 line, which had long, close connections with the court. In fact, Yukimitsu is frequently referred to as "Tosa Yukimitsu" in later histories. Umezu believed his theory to be proved when a virtually identical set of Ten Kings pictures were discovered at the Nison'in and appeared in *Kokka*.[26] He felt especially confident because the Nison'in was the home temple of Zenkū, the monk who served as Go Tsuchimikado's spiritual adviser and played so prominent a role in the rites connected to the Jōfukuji set. Umezu surmised that either the paintings were already in the possession of the Nison'in and recommended by Zenkū or given to the temple later as an expression of gratitude by the emperor.

Umezu's research and conclusions gained broad acceptance in the Japanese art-historical community as a major contribution to its understanding of the Tosa School. Not only did they strengthen the perceived connection between Mitsunobu and Yukimitsu and the Kasuga Painting Bureau, but they also provided the only surviving works strongly attributable to Yukimitsu. It was three decades later before any serious question was raised.

In 1989, Nakano Genzō 中野玄三 proposed a radical reinterpretation of the relationship between the two sets of paintings. After reviewing Umezu's work, he says of the Nison'in version:

It resembles the Jōfukuji version, which we must believe is separated from it by one hundred and forty or fifty years — its color and brushwork that much later in time, so closely that they cannot be told apart. Therefore, we may believe it correct to consider the Nison'in version a work of the Tosa School executed at about the same time as the Jōfukuji version. In other words, considering the fact that the offering service leader, Holy Priest Zenkū, seen in the inscriptions on the Jōfukuji versions, was an elder of the Nison'in, deeply

11 Attributed to Tosa Yukimitsu, *Shinkō Ō* from *The Ten Kings of Hell,* early fourteenth century, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 99 x 43 cm. Nison'in, Kyoto.

involved in the spiritual guidance of Emperor Go Tsuchimikado, we can believe that Mitsunobu made two sets of Ten Kings pictures, one for Go Tsuchimikado's *gyakushu* rites and the other as a donation to the Nison'in.[27]

This argument has the intrinsic weakness that it invents an entity, a second Mitsunobu scroll, not mentioned, or even implied, anywhere in the documents. It nonetheless offers an alternative interpretation of the two sets' similarity that takes into account the main facts. The decision of whether we should chose it over Umezu's rests on the visual evidence of the works themselves.

A casual inspection of the two sets easily confirms their basic similarity in composition and color scheme (see figs. 1, 11). Closer comparisons further show that tracing or some other mechanical means of reproduction was involved in the production of one or more of these sets. The paths of the major contour lines (motif outlines) coincide too exactly to allow any other conclusion,[28] and differences in minor contour lines (e.g., facial and drapery lines) would be no more than the inevitable result of finishing the work. The tracings merely provided the underdrawings for the pictures, and applications of mineral pigments to the motifs concealed much of the interior linear detail. When the painters applied the final ink lines they worked most freely where the underdrawing was least visible.

Such evidence of tracing would support the interpretations of either Umezu or Nakano, but the latter requires not only that the two works be virtually identical in their compositions and major contour lines but also that they show strong similarities in brushwork and color application. A close comparison of details of the demoness Datsueba 奪衣婆 from the first scrolls does not seem to support this view (figs. 13, 14). Different conditions of preservation make color comparisons difficult, especially in Japanese painting, where fugitive dyes and flaking-prone mineral pigments are involved. However, some important differences in technique can still be readily discerned, most noticeably in the use of vermilion as a sort of shading. The painter of the Nison'in picture applied it as relatively narrow lines that follow and even overlap the ink contours. Similarly, he applied rich red "shading" in the ear in only a small area. In contrast, Mitsunobu used broader, more dilute applications of vermilion along with washes of ink to

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12 Shokō Ō, detail from the *Illustrated Sutra of the Ten Kings,* hand scroll, ink and color on paper, 29 x 1281 cm. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

more softly model his forms. Nor does the brushwork seem as close as Nakano believes it to be. In painting the drapery lines of the garment hanging to the right of Datsueba's head (on our left), the Nison'in painter moved with greater care as he turned his brush, while Mitsunobu moved with more speed, allowing the brush to lift and sink more dramatically. The longer muscle contours, such as those along the inner edge of the upper right arm, show the Nison'in painter's concern for producing a sense of relatively natural variety and Mitsunobu's preference for smooth, complementary curves. Most dramatically different, however, are their treatments of the tree above. The Nison'in painter used heavier contours and many texture strokes as well as careful applications of wash, while Mitsunobu applied his ink washes more broadly and used considerably fewer texture strokes.

I do not see how Mitsunobu could have produced the two sets of paintings around the same time. Nor do I believe that the hands of assistants account for the small but nonetheless fundamental differences between them. The contrasts in basic techniques of brushwork, color application, and modeling in two sets of pictures otherwise nearly identical argue more persuasively that one is a close copy of the other produced at a significantly later date. Precise dating is very difficult due to the relatively primitive state of research on pictures such as these and the fact that techniques varied greatly within different painting lineages and genres. However, I can see nothing in the techniques used in the Nison'in pictures to deny their placement in the first half of the fourteenth century. In that case, the supporting evidence long ago presented by Umezu compels me to accept his theory as the best available.

THE TOSA PICTURES: A READING

The historical interpretation of the composition and iconography of the Jōfukuji pictures must begin with an acceptance of their probable status as almost identical copies of the Nison'in paintings. They do no more than re-present compositions determined a century and a half earlier. The fact that documents relating to production and consumption exist only for the copies, not for their models, complicates matters considerably. Historical interpretation seems then treacherous if it reaches beyond observations regarding respect for the past and continuity of religious belief and practice. To stop there, however, is to leave the pictures themselves unread, merely described. This is would be particularly regrettable since there are good reasons to believe that very similar circumstances prevailed for the Nison'in and Jōfukuji pictures, despite their separation in time. In one sense, a gulf of social and political history separates them, but history as a whole is not one gigantic linear progression led by political events, which leave a uniform period stamp on every element of culture. A subculture, especially one with the prodigious cultural resources of the imperial court, may react in a variety of ways to political change, including turning inward and looking to its own traditions. Furthermore, even if Yukimitsu was not director of the Court Painting Bureau at the time he painted the Nison'in set, he did regularly work for the court, and the technical and material quality of his paintings strongly suggests a provenance for them that is nearly, if not just as, elite as that of the later copies by Mitsunobu. If one accepts Umezu's arguments, Sanjōnishi Sanetaka, chief cultural adviser to the emperor Go Tsuchimikado a century and a half later, expressed great admiration for Yukimitsu's paintings and apparently approved them as models for an imperial project in his own day. While one of his reasons might have been their appeal to his aesthetic sensibilities, the paintings' pedigrees generally played a key role in determining their appropriateness as models. In the case of the imperial project, the most fitting would be a work commissioned at the highest levels of the court. As for function, memorial rites and, more particularly, *gyakushu* rites were the standard function of sets of Ten Kings pictures throughout the time in question. In sum, I believe that the basic circumstances of production and reception of the Nison'in set resembled those of the Jōfukuji set quite closely. What follows, then, will be a discussion of the Nison'in/Jōfukuji, or more simply, the Tosa paintings of the Ten Kings.

The Tosa paintings display the standards of Buddhist painting at the highest levels of patronage. The painting of the *honji butsu*, in particular, reveals the fine technical skill and the exacting application of techniques long used in painting deluxe icons. Although the face of each deity is quite small, little more than thumbnail size, an impressive amount of care was taken in the representation of details such as hair, hairline, eyebrows, eyes, and mouth. The hair is painted in azurite blue (*gunjō* 群青), with a green line of malachite (*rokushō* 緑青) to mark the hairline. Eyebrows, mustache, and other facial hair are depicted in at least two lines of color, rich black and malachite, running side-by-side. The upper eyelash is a simple line of rich black ink, and the lower, a line of grayish pigment. The pupil is a dot of rich ink surrounded by an iris of brown, gray, or another color. The lips are a flat application of vermilion, softened and given volume with a graded, translucent application of white. The treatment of the rest of the figure is equally meticulous and up to the highest technical standards for medieval Buddhist painting.[29]

The variety of sources from which the Tosa painters drew their iconography suggests project advisers with extensive knowledge of the material. As various scholars have already noted, the base is the Jin Chushi 金處士 (also Jin Dashou 金大受) version now split between the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, with faithful copies extant in Japan.[30] However, the Tosa compositions contain many additional elements, including ones drawn from sutra illustrations but seen very rarely, if at all, in Chinese or other Japanese hanging scroll sets of Ten Kings paintings. The "scale-of-justice" motif in the fourth scroll (see fig. 4) is one

13 Datsueba, detail from fig. 1.
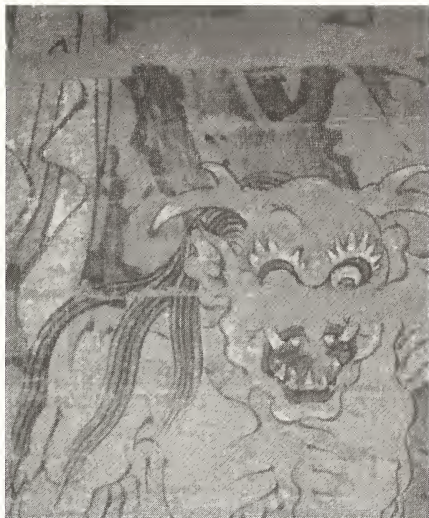
14 Datsueba, detail from fig. 11.

example that coincides precisely with its placement in the illustrations. (The scale weighs the sins of the deceased.) The Tosa pictures also follow the illustrations in having a single king in armor (see fig. 7), although he is the seventh scroll rather than the usual tenth.[31]

The scrolls vary somewhat in composition, but each follows the same basic scheme. The top third presents the *honji butsu*. The middle third presents the king seated in three-quarter view, slightly to left or right of center, along with subsidiary figures. The bottom third presents the scenes in which the deceased are subjected to punishment and torture, even hellish sufferings. The top third consistently stands apart from the others as a distinct zone or register marked off by clouds. It is only in the first and tenth scrolls that clouds mark off distinct registers below the kings, as well as above them (see figs. 1, 10). (The clouds in the sixth scroll mark off only one corner.) In all the others, overlapping of motifs and figures tends to unite everything below the *honji butsu* as a continuous scene in the king's court, even though the gaze and attention of the king himself do not leave

the immediate area around his table.

As in other sets, the representation of the kings inspires awe. Each is easily the largest, most central figure in the picture, as he sits in an ornate chair before a table (with one exception). Both articles of furniture are covered with textiles whose splendor is reminiscent of those in Zen abbot portraits but which probably derive from Chinese representations of rulers. The expressions of the kings vary, from dispassionate or furious when turned toward the deceased to reverent when turned toward a sacred offering. As in sutra illustrations and other hanging scroll versions, attendants, functionaries, and petitioners stand or kneel near their tables in various combinations. As always, there is an overwhelming sense of an efficient bureaucracy of justice that is not swayed by mercy and can only be turned aside by extreme effort. The scenes near the foreground and their relationship to the central depiction in the Tosa pictures are much more distinctive.

Scenes of the brutal treatment of the dead at the hands of demonic minions dominate the bottom third of each scroll. Leaving aside the first for special

discussion below, they fall into four rough categories. The first contains scenes of the inquisitorial process immediately before the king, which is severe but not utterly fantastic when viewed in the light of the grim history of criminal justice. It includes images of the dead being placed in yokes and dragged about to face judgment (see figs. 3, 5). The second contains scenes of extreme physical abuse, but not utter bodily destruction (see figs. 2, 4). The third includes images of fantastic forms of abuse and even utter bodily destruction that occur in the court immediately before the king, without separation by clouds (see figs. 7–9). The fourth consists of scenes of hellish torment that are set off by clouds (see figs. 6, 10). Scenes in the first two categories ultimately derive from the illustrations to the Ten Kings sutra, while those in both the third and fourth draw their imagery from depictions of hells in paintings of the six realms of existence (*rokudō e* 六道絵). In their pictorial and conceptual relationships to the courts of the kings, types three and four nonetheless differ in important ways. As suggested in the passage cited above, the former very likely represent the harsh suffering, even in the intermediate realm, of sinners who did not conduct all of the rites prescribed by the sutras. Therefore they merge seamlessly with the images of judgment before the Ten Kings. In contrast, those of the fourth type serve primarily as reminders of the worst, and all too common, result of the kings' judgments. Scenes of hellish torture belonging to both the third and fourth categories appear in sets produced in Ningpo, but not in combination as here. The Tosa paintings thus show the sort of compulsive inclusiveness often seen in Japanese adaptations of Chinese prototypes. One might compare this example to cases in which Japanese ink painters would frequently include in one picture motifs found in Chinese paintings of diverse themes, such as "visiting the hermit" and Li Bo seated by a waterfall,

It is in the upper register containing the *honji butsu*, however, that the Jōfukuji and Nison'in compositions depart most tellingly from others. When the deities appear at all, other compositions tend to constrain their visual impact in one or more of three ways: relatively small size, complete enclosure within a halo, and a position off to the side but still within the space dominated by the kings.[32] They operate visually as reminders of the identity of the *honji butsu* of each king. In this set, however, they are considerably larger, centrally placed in a comparatively open space, and seated on a cloud that trails vapor. They thus operate more fully as affectively potent representations of deities descending to offer salvation.

There is some question as to the identities of the kings and *honji butsu* in the Jōfukuji and Nison'in sets and therefore in the order of the paintings as well. Resolving the identities is a critical first step to any overall interpretation of the set. The problem begins with their lack of the usual inscribed cartouches that identify the king, his *honji butsu*, and the particular day of ritual observance and judgment over which he presides. Nor is the iconography of most kings and some *honji butsu* consistent enough to provide a guide. Even the association of specific kings with specific *honji butsu* varied considerably before the late fifteenth century, when the scheme of the *JJK* seen in table 1 came to dominate. However, it prevailed most quickly in Pure Land contexts, to which both Jōfukuji and the Nison'in belonged. Later temple labels also coincide with that order, so scholars have accepted it.

Controversy arises in identifying two of the kings and their *honji butsu*. Those who pioneered the study of the Tosa paintings typically identified them as I have, following the scheme of the Jōfukuji set (J1, J2, etc.), which was the first studied. However, Miya Tsugio 宮次男 and Nakano Teruo 中野照男 have offered an alternative, presumably based on the traditions of the Nison'in (N1, N2, etc.).[33] The only difference is a reversing of the identities of the sixth and tenth kings. An additional piece of visual evidence that causes them to adopt their scheme is the inclusion of the tiger and horse motifs in scroll N6/J10 (see fig. 10) because those motifs also appear in the sixth scroll of the Jin Chushi series. Following the *JJK* scheme, they then identify the Buddha-form *honji butsu* of that scroll as Miroku, the bodhisattva who is also the Buddha of the Future. Because the iconography of Buddhas varies greatly, it is difficult

to deny this possibility completely. However, the pose (mudra) and rays of colored light the figure emits are much more consistent with Amida, which the *JJK* associates with the tenth king. Furthermore, the pose and attributes of the *honji butsu* of N10/J6 (see fig. 6), which they identify as Amida, generally belong to Miroku in his Buddha form. I would argue then that Miya and Nakano were swayed by the greater age of the Nison'in set and that their identifications of the *honji butsu* are simply wrong. Nor can a good argument be made for ignoring the *JJK* order. Amida's attendant bodhisattvas, Seishi and Kannon, hold the eighth and ninth places in the sequence, and Amida, as their master, should follow them. Moreover, the tenth position represents the ultimate point in the sequence and the *honji butsu* of this should be Amida in a Pure Land context. Finally, N6/J10 is the only painting that shows no herding or torturing of the dead before the king, only suffering in a hell separated off by clouds. The obvious implication is that the process of judgment has reached its end, and the ultimate fate of the dead who remain lies between salvation, as represented by Amida, and damnation. For all those reasons, I believe it is safe to proceed with an analysis of the set based on the Jōfukuji identifications.

The sequence begins in dramatic fashion with a strikingly unusual composition in the first scroll (see fig. 1). The *honji butsu*, Fudō Myōō, rides his cloud above a drastically reduced depiction of the court of Shinkō Ō (Qinguang Wang), who sits facing to the left (all directions are from the viewer's perspective). On that side, two functionaries bring and present scrolls of evidence, while on the other, slightly forward, a demon holds several naked sinners by the hair. In the lower third of the picture is a separate scene effectively partitioned off by clouds. There, the dead cross the River Nai (in Japanese, Nagawa 奈河), sometimes called in English the "River of No Recourse." The majority of the dead are hurled into the serpent-infested water by a huge red demon. According to *JJK* and sutra illustrations, the dead cross this river in one of three ways depending on their merit. The best cross by bridge, the average ford at a shallow place, and

the worst swim a deep river. Very few sets of hanging scrolls even represent this scene, but sutra illustrations invariably do even if they do not always make a clear distinction between those who ford and those who swim. Here, certainly, a simpler contrast between a single, fully clothed rider on the bridge and the nearly naked swimmers and waders below prevails. Included among the latter is a female figure whose hair and visible facial features, along with her pale skin, suggest a Japanese woman of some status, probably a member of the court. Masako Watanabe has interpreted the contrast between her and the obviously more virtuous Chinese-appearing gentleman crossing the bridge as symbolic of the Japanese sense of the superiority of Chinese culture.[34] While this is certainly a provocative idea, I would prefer to interpret the figure of the woman later within the context of the whole series, especially since she, or virtually identical figures, appear in later scrolls. As related in *JJK*, the great demoness Datsueba (Old Woman Who Removes Clothes) waits at the other end of the bridge to fulfill the implications of her name when the dead approach her. According to the same text but not depicted, her companion, Ken'eō 懸衣翁 (Old Man Who Hangs Up Clothes), hangs the clothes on a tree, which actually serves as a scale to measure people's past actions. None of these elements are mentioned in *YJSK*, but the tree at least appears in some sutra illustrations from Dunhuang.

The most striking aspect of this composition is the great emphasis given to the River Nai scene and its inclusion on the first scroll at all. In the sutra texts and usually in the illustrations, the crossing of the river occurs in the section dealing with the court of the second king, King Shokō (see fig. 2), whose name actually means King of the First River.[35] In those cases, the geographic location of the river between the courts of the two kings often remains the same and the direction of movement is still away from the first king and toward the second.[36] In the Jōfukuji arrangement, its uncommon placement on the first scroll seems aimed toward producing a strong sense of a journey's start in its viewers, especially those engaged in the Ten Kings rites. The

actual textual descriptions of the passage through the intermediate realm in the sutras are extremely episodic, with little concern for a sense of narrative (or ritual) development. This pictorialization, with its replacement of most of the episode before the first king with the scene of crossing, gives the set a narrative beginning with affective force. As such it would set the tone for beginning a series of rites that trace the same steps as the spirits of the departed.

The composition of the first scrolls shows a keen awareness of this breach in the customary iconography for narrative and ritual ends: only in this picture do clouds separate the king so decisively from all the events occurring below him. Clouds also separate hell scenes from the courts in some Ningpo pictures, but the diagonal arrangement in the Tosa composition more closely resembles that seen in Japanese narrative hand scrolls. The clouds suggest temporal and spatial distance and, in this case, remind the viewer that the river crossing really belongs to another stage in the passage of the dead through the intermediate realm. In other words, the painters used clouds as they would have in narrative hand scrolls, to indicate a leap in narrative movement. Any painter who worked for the court, such as Yukimitsu and Mitsunobu, would be versed in such forms and pictorial usage. It is a powerful device that maintains the integrity of the textual sequence while allowing the placement of this striking scene of movement and transition from the realm of the living to that of the dead on the first scroll. Through this pictorial device, the opening of the series meets the requirements of both theology and ritual function. It is no coincidence that similar clouds serve a similar, if not so decisive, function in the last scroll separating real experience in hell from the final judgment of the last king.

The second king, Shokō Ō (Chujiang Wang), sits facing to the right (his left) beneath Shaka (Śākyamuni), who is posed in the earth-touching *mudrā* that evokes his moment of enlightenment and the potential of all Buddhists to achieve it. Nothing else identifies the king. To the right and farther back, a martial-looking attendant stands hooded and cloaked in a tiger skin holding a great ornate

sword, point down, before him. At the king's side, a functionary appears ready to read from or offer scrolls documenting the deeds of one of the deceased, toward whom he points. His odd grayness and a costume consisting of a shorter robe and boots distinguish him from most of the other functionaries. I will tentatively identify him as one of the Guseijin, two beings who reside on one's left and right shoulders from birth and record good and bad deeds. The report is obviously bad, as demons have proceeded to smash the sinner's arms on an anvil. Another of the dead, who has been yoked in a cangue, holds out a meager scroll as a demon drags him away by the hair. Such scenes are very difficult to interpret. His arms are not smashed, so perhaps even the little positive evidence he has to offer allows him to escape the worst tortures. The cangue was a common device for managing prisoners in medieval China and is a standard element in paintings of the courts of the Ten Kings.

The third king, Sōtei Ō (Songdi Wang) (see fig. 3), sits facing left beneath his *honji butsu*, Monju Bosatsu (Mañjusrî), who is easily identifiable by his chignons and sword. A boy attendant stands diagonally behind the king on the left holding a ceramic jar. On the same side two court functionaries examine documents, one crouched low to the ground carefully reading a scroll. In front and to the right of the king's table is a human figure dressed in bright red clothing. He acts in much the same manner as a demonic guard, tormenting a red-trousered Japanese lady by stepping upon her cangue. Obviously, he is neither attendant nor ordinary court functionary. His costume is even more distinctive than that of the gray-skinned functionary in the second scroll, marked by narrow sleeves as well as a short robe and boots. Once again, I will offer a tentative (but somewhat more confident) identification: this figure is probably one of the two Chinese star gods who play roles in the judgment of the dead, the Officer of Life Spans (in Japanese, Shimei 司命; in Chinese, Ssu-ming 司命) and Officer of Records (in Japanese, Shiroku 司録; in Chinese, Ssu-lu 司録). Together they keep records of the deeds of the living and determine their date of death accordingly. The former is generally depicted reading

from a scroll, and the latter, writing on a narrow wooden tablet. Since the figure in this picture holds a bundle of scrolls under his arm, he is probably the Officer of Life Spans. However, he and his companion are never depicted together in these scrolls, so there is no emphasis on their special characters and functions. Instead, each acts individually as a spokesman for the king in delivering pronouncements of judgment. Depicted in a role similar to that of a demon here, this officer figure is simply a servant of the court immersed in the machinery of purgatorial justice. The positioning of the lady closest to the king indicates that hers is the case under consideration, so the attention of the officer makes sense. Below and to the left, an actual demon pulls a woman of ordinary status away as a small, naked child pulls at her sash. This is one of the most commonly shared motifs among Chinese as well as Japanese sets of Ten Kings pictures. It illustrates no particular text that I know of, but is certainly a potent visual image. It encapsulates the horror of separation from family by death. It may also symbolize the more orthodox Buddhist notion that attachments to the world present impediments on the path to release from rebirth. Certainly, Buddhist doctrine often asserted the particular improbability (if not impossibility) of a woman achieving enlightenment because of her close connection to the incarnate world.

The bodhisattva Fugen (Samantabhadra) sails down from the left above the fourth king, Gokan Ō (Wuguan Wang) (see fig. 4), who faces to the right. An attendant on that side and to the rear holds a small display table bearing a bronze tripod, but no functionaries appear. Instead, a man and woman in ordinary white dress stand on an elevation of stone before the king. The former holds out a stack of books that emit wavy, colored rays of light. The king faces them with hands clasped in reverence, so the couple clearly bears an offering of commissioned sutra texts as prescribed in the Ten Kings sutras. Their relatively small size links them with the dead, but since they are fully clothed, they probably symbolize the living who make such offerings on behalf of the dead. As if to emphasize such necessity, the foreground area

is dominated by images of judgment and torture. On the right, a scale balances a bundle of scrolls against a weight, the former representing the record of the deceased, light or heavy depending on past actions. Though the scales are in balance, such a result is not sufficient to win the deceased release from the sufferings of the intermediate realm. As a sign of this outcome, one of the dead bends down and covers his head in anguish just in front of the scale as if his own grim fate has just been decided. A little further in the foreground, another of the dead crawls off to the left yoked in a cangue. Over to the right, a great red demon uses tongs to rip the tongue from another poor sinner tied to a post. Slightly behind him, another demon points to the scale as he looks in the general direction of the torture. One is tempted to see this as an adaptation of the old *iji dōzu* (different time, same picture) device of Japanese pictorial narration. In this case, however, the figures are clearly not identical, and represent the stages in an often-repeated process rather than a single narrative sequence: a frightened sufferer has his burden of sin revealed by the scale and grieves at his certain punishment, suffers torture, and crawls off on his way to the next round of judgment. The scene of offering behind could serve either of two somewhat contradictory functions: to remind the viewer of the means of escaping a similar fate or, in combination with the scene of torture, to show the inadequacy of even such offering if made by others after one's death. If the original compositions really were produced for a *gyakushu* ritual, as seems almost certain, then the latter explanation would make considerable sense.

The fifth king, Enma Ō (Yanluo Ō) (see fig. 5), sits beneath the bodhisattva Jizō (Kṣitigarbha). He faces obliquely left, where a single functionary holds out an open scroll. As is frequently the case, Enma's complexion is ruddy, and his clothes are predominantly red. Unlike those of his fellow kings, his table has no cover, nor does he have a scroll spread before him and brush at ready. The focus of judgment lies not in the usual bureaucratic process, but, as in the case of the fourth king, in a device. In the foreground, two demons drag the dead by their

hair before the karmic mirror. Instead of simple reflections, the mirror reveals the evil deeds of sinners, the most serious of which for the man held kneeling before it would appear to be killing another in battle. What is unusual and striking about the scene in the mirror is its overt Japaneseness: with warriors in early medieval Japanese armor fighting on a boat, it could be taken from an illustration of the Dan no Ura 壇ノ浦 episode from *Tales of the Heike*.[37] The next among the dead to come before the mirror is a/the Japanese lady in red trousers. Offset to the right between the zone of the king and that of the karmic mirror is the second of the star gods mentioned above, the Officer of Records (in Japanese, Shiroku; in Chinese, Ssu-lu). He can be identified by his dress and the narrow wooden tablet he holds before him.

The sixth king, Hensei Ō (Biancheng Wang) (see fig. 6), sits facing right beneath Miroku (Maitreya), the Buddha of the Future. An attendant to the rear holds a bundle wrapped in red, while to the side a functionary points to the scroll upon which the king is writing. Just before the table to the left, the Officer of Records reads from a scroll, his board tucked behind him in his sash. A pair of demons brings a group of the dead before the king, the one in the lead holding a clothed male figure by the hair with one hand and a/the Japanese lady with the other. In the lower left corner appears a standard hell scene separated off by clouds. In that scene, a male figure suffers for his lustful desires: he climbs a hill of blades to reach a beautiful Japanese court lady seated at the top, naturally impaling himself in the process. As a motif, the lady could have come directly from an illustration of the *Tale of Genji*. The scene serves as an ominous warning about earthly desires, whose placement immediately before the last of the traditional seven seven-day periods is particularly appropriate.

The seventh king in armor, Taizan Ō (Taishan Wang) (see fig. 7), sits beneath his *honji butsu*, Yakushi Buddha (Bhaiṣajyarâja Tathâgata), facing left. His appearance is another very distinctive feature of this set of scrolls. No such armored figure exists in Ningpo paintings or in other Japanese sets that I know of. As noted above, this type of representation does have

precedents in the illustration to the *JJK*, but always as the tenth king. A martial character seems to have been felt appropriate for that king, who had the task of driving the remaining dead off to their next incarnations. In the Tosa pictures, why then does the seventh king instead wear helmet and armor? The answer very likely lies in the special place he and the seventh seven-day hold in the history of ideas about the afterlife in East Asia. Before the advent of Buddhism in China, Taizan Fukun 太山府君 was Lord of the Land of the Dead. Even later, when Enma had largely usurped his place, he frequently appeared in representations of the new Lord of the Underworld as a special aide. More important, even though the mortuary calendar had expanded to include the hundredth day, first year, and third year services,[38] the forty-ninth day remained on some level the Day of Reckoning in Japanese Buddhism. It no longer stood invariably as the day on which the dead were sent to their next paths of existence, but it maintained its status as a time of special possibility for salvation, as long as one had met all the requirements. This martial Taizan Ō would be a suitable figure to drive those that remained behind onward to the eighth king to face much greater suffering.[39]

That understanding of the status of the forty-ninth day helps explain other details of iconography in the seventh scroll. A small female figure ascends on a cloud above two *torii*.[40] Dressed in regal Chinese garb and clasping hands in prayer, she probably represents those who achieve special salvation and need not face further time as an incarnated being, particularly in the underworld. In contrast, the demons below transform men into dogs as a suggestion both of the further suffering the dead who remain will encounter and of the likelihood of rebirth into a lower realm. The scrolls that immediately precede and succeed the seventh confirm its pivotal place. In the sixth, the dead confront a clear choice between salvation, as represented by one of the main saviors among the *honji butsu*, Miroku, and suffering in one of the Buddhist hells, as represented by the cloud-partitioned scene in the lower left corner. In the eighth and ninth scrolls, representations of

the most extreme torture and even utter bodily destruction suggest that only the virtually doomed remain in the underworld.

The eighth king, Byōdō Ō (Pingdeng Wang) (see fig. 8), sits beneath his *honji butsu*, the bodhisattva Kannon (Avalokiteśvara) facing right. Near the front right corner of his desk, two document-carrying functionaries face him, one from the side and the other from the front. Directly beyond them in the foreground, the fierce-looking Officer of Records reads from his tablet as two demons demolish sinners in a hellish foot mill. The tone of the series changes with this scroll from a sense of an ongoing process of judgment to simply the meting out of punishment. Even the second and fourth scrolls, with their scenes of brutal torture, did not show such utter bodily destruction, and the demons in them acted as jailers as well as torturers.

The ninth king, Toshi Ō (Dushi Wang) (see fig. 9), sits beneath the bodhisattva Seishi (Mahâsthâmaprâpta) facing left. On that side two functionaries stand with empty hands, in perhaps a further indication that all that is left of the process is a meting out of punishment. Immediately in front of the table, one demon casts sinners down into a caldron of flames, while two others torture a crouching figure with hot coals. In other words, the tone of this depiction is exactly the same as that of the previous scroll.

The tenth king, Godō Tenrin Ō (Wudao Chunlun Wang) (see fig. 10), sits beneath the Buddha Amida (Amitâbha), facing left. There, two functionaries present evidence from scrolls, while in front a demon holds a male figure by the back of his robe. That figure bears a single text in book form emitting wavy rays of light. To the right, a figure who may be the Officer of Lifespans holds a scroll and gesticulates. In the foreground is an area set off by clouds where a great tiger mauls one sinner while a fire-breathing horse gallops to the left in chase of two others. This sudden return to a more complex composition and renewed sense of the process of judgment is not surprising since this is the final court. Some few of the dead who remain may hold and receive enough merit to avoid

the lowest levels of incarnation. Amida also floats above as an ultimate source of salvation.

We might divide this series into two subsets of odd and even. Such an arrangement would very likely have occurred during actual use, with the former hanging on the viewer's right side of a central image, such as an icon of Jizō or even a portrait of the deceased. Such arrangements existed in lineage portrait groups and were not unknown in Ten Kings pictures, as seen in an example in the Powers collection.[41] As further confirmation, all of the kings in the odd-numbered Jōfukuji pictures face to their right and in none but the ninth, after the judgment of the Taizan Ō, do the dead confront truly hellish tortures. Thus, despite their subjection to the universal standard of harsh treatment at the hands of the underworld jailers, the dead in the odd-numbered scrolls pass through the first six seven-days in the intermediate realm without real suggestion of the threat of falling into hell. If the arrangement was similar to that in the Powers example, the sequence proceeded inward, with a sense of convergence. The two series becoming more similar as they draw together toward the final judgment makes good narrative and ritual sense.

What of the even-numbered kings? All of them face to their left except the tenth. Perhaps the last king's role in sending the dead off to one of the six paths may have resulted in an opening of the composition at the end. As noted above, this subset contains the most grotesque punishments common to Ten Kings imagery; it also contains the only images of *tsuizen*. In the fourth and tenth scrolls, small, fully dressed figures present offerings that give off rays of light. These surely represent the living with the sutras they copied, images they made, and rites they performed on behalf of the dead. It is significant, however, that the only clear sign of salvation comes on the other side without such displays. I would argue that the differences in iconography between the left and right groups derive from two trends in Ten Kings faith. First, the program of the odd-numbered scrolls suggests a continued emphasis on *gyakushu*, performing rites before death on one's own behalf, while that of the even-numbered ones shows the mingling of *tsuizen* beliefs with Pure

Land Buddhism's emphasis on salvation through divine grace. The best prepared among the dead, who are highlighted in the odd-numbered sequence, would reach salvation on the seventh seven day, while the less prepared, who are highlighted in the even-numbered sequence, must suffer greater punishments and depend on *tsuizen* and/or the grace of Miroku, or especially Amida.

The mingling of the cult of the Ten Kings and Amidist beliefs had long been a part of Ten Kings faith,[42] and the *honji butsu* of the final three scrolls are generally, as in this example, the deities of the Amida Triad. Actually, in the Tosa pictures, the saving power of Amida does not play as significant a role as one might expect. One must consider, however, that the Ten Kings rites were only one, and not the most important, of the salvation rituals of the Pure Land sects. The Ten Kings practices provided a special sort of insurance for a ritual-prone clientele unreflective on theological conflicts. Amida's grace found much clearer expression in more specialized images such as his Welcoming Descent.

CONCLUSIONS

I have noted four ways in which the Tosa scrolls stand out. First, among works produced in Japan, they are of exceptionally high quality. Second, the *honji butsu* have unusual prominence. Third, they contain motifs that are rarely, if ever, seen in hanging scrolls produced in medieval Japan. Fourth, the overall design of the set allows highly structured readings. All of these relate easily to the elite context from which the works came. The matter of material quality requires no further comment, but the other three do.

The increased prominence given to the *honji butsu* in these compositions strongly affects the reading of the pictures. If the kings represent the threat of suffering in the afterlife, their *honji butsu* represent the ultimate promise of salvation, and emphasizing them changes the soteriological import of the pictures in the latter direction. In addition, the vapor-trailing clouds upon which they ride suggest

movement, usually as a descent from a celestial realm. In paintings of the Buddha's Nirvana, for example, his mother rides down on such a cloud to witness the event. However, by Muromachi times, such clouds are more strongly associated with scenes of Amida and other deities descending to welcome the dead and convey them to a Pure Land. In other words, the hope of salvation receives special emphasis in these pictures. That these particular paintings belong to Pure Land contexts does not sufficiently account for this distinction. The majority of Ten Kings pictures produced in Japan belong to Pure Land contexts, so one might instead ask why more pictures did not do the same. I believe that the answer lies in the social rather than sectarian context for these pictures. Is there not simply a general tendency in religious art to stress the "carrot" of salvation to the higher classes and the "stick" of damnation to those below them?

Motifs in Tosa pictures come from a variety of sources and include some highly unusual ones. Some very likely come directly from hand scroll illustrations. Such gathering of visual material strongly suggests broad knowledge and research. It is not at all difficult to imagine a scholarly monk of high station contributing to the planning of such a set. After all, the results might affect the fate of an emperor or other elite member of the court in the afterlife.

A figural motif of particular interest is a/the woman in red trousers, who seems to be a person of high station. She has white skin; long, straight, lustrous black hair; and high, wide eyebrows. Such a figure is not unknown in Ten Kings paintings, but it seems to serve a particular purpose in this set. In a number of scenes, she plays standard roles, ones more often played by female figures who are clearly Chinese in appearance. However, she does not simply replace all Chinese female figures, since she does not do so in the most famous and common motif of a mother in canque being tugged at by her child (see fig. 3). Instead, she represents a woman of high station, a lady of the court. Tellingly, she does not appear in the last three scrolls, nor does she appear in scrolls two and four, all containing scenes with the most severe and hellish tortures before the kings. This noble

lady's passage through the first seven seven-days may therefore be seen as a strongly narrative subtheme of the set. A noble lady carries a burden of sin, as do all, but has a relatively easy passage though the intermediate realm. One might even read the woman ascending in the seventh scroll, despite her very different appearance, as the same figure, transformed into a goddesslike figure for ascension into salvation.

The subtheme of the lady suggests two different interpretive directions. The first is that the Nison'in version was actually produced for use in rites (*tsuizen* or *gyakushu*) performed for or by a noblewoman or female member of the imperial family. The second is that the female figure is simply one of a number of *yamato-e* elements to which a court audience would be especially attuned. Others would include the *emaki*-like structure of parts of the composition, the *torii*, the court lady seated at the top of a hill of blades (see fig. 6) to represent temptation, and the scene of killing shown in Enma's mirror (see fig. 5), which suggests an episode from *Tales of the Heike*. The first line of interpretation is certainly possible for the Nison'in pictures, but nowhere near provable. In the case of the Jōfukuji set, produced for an emperor a century and a half later, however, the basic function

of such *yamato-e* images would certainly be in accord with the second path of interpretation.

However much a lack of written records limits us in our attempts to fully understand the Jōfukuji paintings of the Ten Kings, the pictures themselves have much to say. The emperor and those around him lived with the fear of damnation just as common people did. They also shared many of the same images of it. At the same time, however, religious and cultural advisers, along with painters such as Mitsunobu, provided them with every aid to avoid not only damnation itself, but the fear of it as well. A deluxe set of Ten Kings scrolls served as both ritual implement and pious donation worthy of merit. An overall design to the set that matched its users in sophistication gave an added degree of confidence in its efficacy. An interweaving of especially familiar visual images — "Heike" warriors in the mirror, a "Genji" woman on the hill of blades, an *emaki*-like structure, and a lady in red trousers — provided the comforting assurance of familiarity. Most important, however, more prominent *honji butsu* shifted the balance from the threat of damnation to the promise of salvation. The elite could be assured of their distinction even in the pursuit of salvation. ❖

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NOTES

1. The standard short reference for the history of Ten Kings imagery in Japan is Kajitani Ryōji 梶谷亮治, "Nihon ni okeru Jūō zu no seiritsu to tenkai" 日本における十王図の成立と展開 (The formation and development of pictures of the Ten Kings in Japan), *Bukkyō geijutsu* 97 (July 1974): 84–95. Synopses of research on the history of early Jizō and Ten Kings beliefs appear on pp. 84–87. Two more thorough, fairly recent general treatments are a series of three articles by Miya Tsugio, "Jūō kyō e ni tsuite," "Jūō kyō e shūi," and "Jūō jigoku e" 十王地獄絵 (Pictures of the Ten Kings and Hell), *Bigaku to Bijutsushi (Jissen Joshi Daigaku)* 5 (1990): 81–118, 7 (1992): 1–63, and 8 (1993): 5–24; and Nakano Teruo, "Enma, Jūō zō" 閻摩十王像 (Images of Enma and the Ten Kings), *Nihon no bijutsu* 313 (June 1992): entire issue. Three scholars working in the West have written substantial studies of Ten Kings paintings in East Asia. Lothar Ledderose pioneered on the China side with "A King of Hell," in *Suzuki Kei sensei kanreki kinen ronbun shū* 鈴木敬先生還暦記念論文集 (Anthology of essays commemorating Professor Suzuki Kei's sixtieth birthday) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbun kan, 1981), 33–42, and offered more recently "The Bureaucracy of Hell," in *Ten Thousand Things: Module and Mass Production in Chinese Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), chap. 7. Masako Watanabe's very substantial master's thesis, "An Iconographic Study of 'Ten Kings' Paintings" (University of British Columbia, 1984) remains the fullest treatment in English of the overall subject of Ten Kings beliefs and imagery in China and Japan. It includes a discussion of the "Japanization" of Ten Kings imagery through an analysis of the version at the Nison'in. More recently, Masako Watanabe has developed selected aspects of her work in "Traveling across the Sea: Japanese Rakan and the Ten Kings of Hell," in *The Arts of Japan: An International Symposium*, ed. Miyeko Murase and Judith G. Smith (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000), 31–58. At the time of this writing, Cheeyun Lilian Kwon has not made her Ph.D. dissertation "The 'Ten Kings' at the Seikado Library" (Princeton University, 1999), available for order, but she has apparently offered a compelling revision of current notions of the chronology of Korean Ten Kings paintings.

2. The origins of the Ten Kings cult in China does not concern this study, but those particularly interested should refer to Sakai Tadao 酒井忠夫, "Jūō shinkō no kansuru sho mondai oyobi *Enra Ō juki kyō*" 十王信仰に関する諸問題および閻羅王授記経 (Various problems regarding the cult of the Ten Kings, along with *The sutra on King Enra becoming a Buddha*), in *Saitō Sensei koki shukuga ronbunshū* 斎藤先生古希祝賀論文集 (Anthology of essays celebrating Professor Saito's seventieth birthday) ed. Nakayama Kyūshirō 中山久四郎 (Tokyo: Tōkō Shoin, 1937), 611–56; Matsumoto Eiichi 松本栄一, *Tonkō ga no kenkyū* 敦煌画の研究 (Research on painting at Dunhuang) (Tokyo: Tōhō Bunka Gakuin, 1937), 368–416; Manabe Kōsai 真鍋広済, *Jizō Bosatsu no kenkyū* 地蔵菩薩の研究 (Research on the bodhisattva Jizō) (Kyoto: Sanmitsudō Shoten, 1960); Tokushi Yūshō 禿氏祐祥 and Ogawa Kan'ichi 小川貫弌, "*Jūō shōshichi kyōsan zukan no kōzō*" 十王生七経讃図巻の構造 (The structure of the illustrated scrolls of *The sutra and hymns of the Ten Kings and the sevens of life*), in *Chūō Ajia Bukkyō bijutsu* 中央アジア仏教美術 (The art of Central Asian Buddhism) (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1962), 255–96.

3. Cited in Motoi Makiko, "Jūō kyō to sono kyōju: Gyakushu, tsuizen butsuji ni okeru shōdō o chūshin ni" 十王経とその享受—逆修追善仏事における唱導を中心に— (The Ten Kings sutras and their reception: centered on the recitations occurring during advance rites and merit transferal rites for the dead), pt. 1, *Kokugo kokubun* 766 (June 1998): 25.

4. For a fuller discussion of this point, see Stephen F. Teiser, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994), 1–33. This study, its translations and notes, and its bibliography have been extremely helpful to my own work.

5. A more familiar use of the term *honji* in Japan is in the compound *honji suijaku*, or "original ground and local trace," used to convey the idea that *kami* are manifestations of Buddhist deities. The actual beliefs and practices involved are varied and complex and have been extensively studied. Some of the most recent work and an extensive bibliography appear in Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli, eds., *Buddhas and Kami in Japan: Honji Suijaku as a Combinatory Paradigm* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003). The introduction gives a very useful overview of the topic.

6. The longer name for *YJSK* is *Bussetsu Enra Ō juki shishu gyakushu shōshichisai kudoku ōjō jōdo kyō* 仏説閻羅王授記四衆逆修生七斎功徳往生浄土経 (The Sutra expounded by the Buddha to the Four Orders on the prophecy given to King Yama Raja concerning the Sevens of Life to be cultivated in preparation for rebirth in the Pure Land) and for *JJK*, it is *Bussetsu Jizō bosatsu hosshin innen Jūō kyō* 仏説地蔵菩薩発心因縁十王経 (The Sutra expounded by the Buddha on the causes of the Bodhisattva Jizō giving rise to thoughts of enlightenment and the Ten Kings). Both can be found in *Dai Nihon zoku zōkyō* 大日本続蔵経 (Great Japan continued collection of sutras) (1905–12; reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai Commercial Press, 1923), case 150, pp. 381–87.

7. Motoi Makiko, "Jūō kyō to sono kyōju," pt. 1, p. 27.

8. The most thorough discussion can be found in Takeda Kazuaki, "Jūsanbutsu no seiritsu sai kō (Okayama Mokuzanji zō Jūō jū honji butsu zu o chūshin to shite)" 十三仏の成立再考 (岡山・木山寺蔵十三十本地仏図を中心として) (A reconsideration of how the Thirteen Buddhas came into being, centered on the picture of the Ten Kings and Ten Honjibutsu belonging to Mokuzanji in Okayama), *Mikkyō bunka* 188 (October 1994): 41–45. A more cursory treatment appears in Yajima Arata 矢島新, "Gunma ken ka no butsuga kara: Numata shi Shōkakuji zō Jūō zu to Jūsanbutsu seiritsu no mondai" 群馬県下の仏画から—沼田市正覚寺蔵十王図と十三仏成立の問題— (From the Buddhist images of Gunma prefecture: The picture of the Ten Kings belonging to Shōkakuji in Numata city and the question of how the Thirteen Buddhas came into being), *Gunma kenritsu joshi daigaku kiyō (bigaku bijutsushi gaku hen)* 10 (March 1990): 63–77.

9. Takeda Kazuaki, "Jusanbutsu seiritsu no saikō," pt. 4, 41–45.

10. Matsumoto Eichi, "Tonkōbon Jūō zukan zakkō" 敦煌本十王経図巻雑考 (Various research on the illustrated scrolls of the Ten Kings sutras from Dunhuang), *Kokka* 621 (1943): 229–30; Ono Gemmyō 小野玄妙, "Tōmatsu godai Jō Sō no Bukkyō ga" 唐末五代趙宋の仏教画 (Buddhist painting of the late Tang, Five Dynasties, Jin, and Song), pt. 3, *Kokka* 516 (November 1933): 300; Kyoto National Museum, *Rokudō e* 六道絵

(Picture of the Six Paths of Reincarnation) (Kyoto: Kyoto National Museum, 1982), 64.

11. The translation is from Teiser, *Scripture on the Ten Kings*, 203–4. His notes to this section were also invaluable in the discussion of the passage that follows.

12. Teiser, *Scripture on the Ten Kings*, 209–10.

13. In this article, *gyakushu* refers specifically to Ten Kings rites self-performed in advance of one's death. However, *gyakushu* was not actually limited to Ten Kings rites but extended to rites associated with memorial portraits, rites memorialized in stone monuments called *itabi* 板碑, and the erection of one's tombstone in life. This is a complex topic I hope to address in a separate article. For portraits, see Quitman E. Phillips, *Practices of Painting in Japan, 1475–1500* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2000), 151. For stone monuments, see Kawakatsu Masatarō 川勝政太郎, "Gyakushu shinkō no shiteki kenkyū" 逆修信仰の史的研究 (Historical research concerning the cult of advance rites), *Ōtemamae joshi daigaku ronshū* 6 (November 1972): 147–65. For tombstones, see the text of the twentieth-century play by Okabe Kōdai 岡部耕大, "Gyakushu no tō: Mantetsu and Wako" 逆修の塔－満鉄と和子 (Tombstone erected in advance: Mantetsu and Wako), *Teatoro* 481 (March 1983): 220–48.

14. Motoi Makiko's textual study ("Jūō kyō to sono kyōju: Gyakushu, tsuizen butsuji ni okeru shōdō o chūshin ni," pts. 1, 2, *Kokugo kokubun* 766 [June 1998]: 22–33, 767 [July 1998]: 17–35) details the continued importance of both *tsuizen* and *gyakushu* in Ten Kings rites in medieval Japan.

15. For specific references, see Motoi Makiko, "Jūō kyō to sono kyōju," pt. 2, p. 32 n. 7.

16. Motoi Makiko, "Jūō kyō to sono kyōju," pt. 2, p. 18.

17. Motoi Makiko, "Jūō kyō to sono kyōju," pt. 1, p. 30.

18. Examples of all the types are illustrated and discussed in Miya Tsugio, "Rokudō e," *Nihon no bijutsu* 271 (December 1988): entire issue; Nakano Teruo, "Enma, Jūō zō."

19. Miya Tsugio suggests a three-part typology based on iconography with no regard to the number of scrolls: (1) sutra illustrations, (2) images of Jizō and the Ten Kings, and (3) images of the Ten Kings without Jizō and with hellish scenes. "Jūō kyō e ni tsuite" 十王経絵について (Regarding illustrations of the Ten Kings sutra), *Bigaku to Bijutsushi* (*Jissen Joshi Daigaku*) 5 (1990): 83.

20. This readily observed point is discussed with special emphasis in Ledderose, "Bureaucracy of Hell."

21. As evidence of this binary opposition, note that Paradise-and-Hell is a common theme in painting. (I use the term "Paradise," rather than the more theologically accurate "Pure Land" because the emphasis in popular religion, if not all medieval Buddhism, seems to be on the pleasures and wonders of the Pure Land rather than its efficacy as a site from which to attain Nirvana.)

22. Tani Shin'ichi, "Tosa Mitsunobu kō" 土佐光信考 (Research on Tosa Mitsunobu), pt. 2, *Bijutsu kenkyū* 103 (July 1940): 211.

23. Umezu Jirō, "Niso no Jūō zu: Yukimitsu to Mitsunobu no gaseki" 二組の十王図－行光と光信の画跡－ (Two sets of pictures of the Ten Kings: the painting traces of Yukimitsu and Mitsunobu), *Bukkyō geijutsu* 36 (October 1958): 34.

24. For more detailed discussion of "copying" in late fifteenth-century Japanese painting, see Phillips, *Practices of Painting*, 66–71.

25. Umezu Jiro, "Niso no Jūō zu," 32–35.

26. *Kokka* 786 (September 1957): 281–89.

27. Nakano Genzō, *Rokudō-e no kenkyū* 六道絵の研究 (Research on pictures of the Six Paths of Reincarnation) (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1989), 336.

28. The computer overlays I used in this analysis have not printed out clearly enough for reproduction here.

29. An excellent introduction to the techniques of Buddhist painting in Japan is Ariga Yoshitaka 有賀祥隆, *Butsuga no kanshō kisō chishiki* 仏画の鑑賞基礎知識 (Basic knowledge for the appreciation of Buddhist painting) (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1996), esp. 11–58.

30. See, for example, Kajitani Ryōji, "Nihon ni okeru Jūō zu," 84.

31. The stylistically quite different set in the Seikadō collection contains both the scale and armored-king motifs. In that case, however, the scale appears in both the fourth and the eighth scrolls, while the king in armor is the tenth as in the sutra illustrations. Recent research suggests that this set may be Korean but reflect the style and iconography of Northern Song pictures. Cheeyun Lilian Kwon, "'Ten Kings' at the Seikado Library."

32. See Nakano Teruo, "Enma Jūō zō," for various examples.

33. Miya Tsugio, "Jūō kyō e shūi" 十王経絵拾遺 (Survey of illustrations of the Ten Kings sutra), 62–63; Miya Tsugio, "Rokudō e," *Nihon no bijutsu* 271 (December 1988): 61–62; Nakano Teruo, "Enma, Jūō zō," 59–72.

34. Masako Watanabe, "Iconographic Study of 'Ten Kings' Paintings," 49; Masako Watanabe, "Traveling across the Sea," 47.

35. The hand scroll version owned by the Hōju-in 宝珠院 on Mount Kōya alone presents the river crossing just below and to the left of the first king, as in the Jōfukuji set.

36. Not all sutra illustrations adhere to this order, some placing even the second king to the right of the river. However, the *JJK* clearly says, "The second. After seven days they pass before the King of the First River. / The hymn goes: / During the second seven, dead people cross the River Nai." In other words, *after* the second week, during which they have crossed the river *toward* the second king, the dead arrive at his court. For illustrations of both types of sutra illustrations and the full translation of the text, see Teiser, *Scripture on the Ten Kings*, 85, 212.

37. In the early sutra illustrations, the sins revealed tended to be the killing of fowl or cattle in keeping with the Buddhist teaching that taking the life of any living thing was a grievous sin. The varieties of sins revealed in the karmic mirrors in different versions had considerable variety and suggest they were targeted to specific audiences. This will be the subject of a future study.

38. Takeda Kazuaki, "Jūsanbutsu zu no seiritsu ni tsuite: Jūichi son mandara zu kara no tenkai" 十三仏図の成立について－十一尊曼荼羅図からの展開－ (On the formation of the Thirteen Buddhas: their development from the Mandala of the Eleven Buddhas), *Mikkyō bunka* 169 (March 1989): 32.

39. The same general point has been made by Miya Tsugio within a larger attempt to identify "Japaneseness" in various certain Ten Kings images. Miya Tsugio "Jūō kyō e ni tsuite," 99.

40. Miya Tsugio cites a passage in *Jūō Sandan shō* 十王讃歎鈔 in which Nichiren 日蓮 mentions six *torii*, each a gate to a different path of existence. Miya Tsugio "Jūō kyō e ni tsuite," p. 99.

41. Illustrated in Miya Tsugio, "Rokudō e," 64; Nakano Teruo, "Enma, Jūō zō," 10, 11; John M. Rosenfield and Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, *Journey of the Three Jewels: Japanese Buddhist Paintings from Western Collections* (New York: Asia Society, 1979), 158–59.

42. Kajitani Ryōji, "Nihon ni okeru Jūō zu," 84–85.

The Madurai Nayakas and the Skanda Temple at Tirupparankundram

ABSTRACT

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a modest, early sacred site focused on an eighth-century cave temple at Tirupparankundram, in southern Tamilnadu, was transformed into a great Hindu temple, under the patronage of the Nayakas of nearby Madurai. The site is also important to local Muslims, and the shifting emphasis in the Hindu temple toward the deity Skanda may partly be explained through the increasing identification of Skanda with the local Islamic association of the site with both Iskandar (Alexander) and Sikandar Shah, the last ruler of the fourteenth-century Madura sultanate. This temple illustrates the planning emphasis throughout on the single axis of access directly inward, through successive increasingly sacred spaces to the cave shrine at the temple's heart. The Nayaka period expansion of the temple utilized the distinctive architectural composite column, allowing wider, higher, and more open halls, often with major sculptures of deities and royal images attached. Such royal portraiture and further evidence from inscriptions demonstrate that much of the temple was built under the patronage of the Madurai Nayakas, who were also important patrons of the region's festival ritual.

During the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries, a modest, early sacred site focused on a cave temple at Tirupparankundram in southern Tamilnadu was transformed into a great temple under the patronage of the Nayakas of nearby Madurai. The earliest surviving stone temples in Tamilnadu were excavated caves dating to the late sixth and seventh centuries, many under the patronage of the Pallava and Pandyan dynasties. The creation of structural temples in stone followed closely, by the tenth century becoming the dominant architectural form. Cave temples could only be created where there was a suitable outcrop of rock, which would thus determine both the site and the alignment. The gradual abandonment of this type of temple was undoubtedly affected by these limitations, not to mention the great expenditure of artistic energy required in excavating a temple rather than building it structurally. A structural temple could be built anywhere, on remote hills or in the many emerging urban centers. As temple construction became more closely connected with kingship and state formation, the limitation of available sites would have affected the patronage of cave temples. Furthermore, as correct

View along Sanniti Street, the axial approach to the temple from the north.

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alignment gained greater ritual importance, the flex-
ibility of positioning for a structural temple also made
it preferable to an excavated cave in a rock face.

But not all cave temples were abandoned. Some
gained great status as sacred sites and were developed
into much larger temples with additional *maṇḍapa*s
(columned halls), enclosing walls, subsidiary shrines,
and *gopura*s (pyramidal gateways) before the origi-
nal cave. The Skanda temple at Tirupparankundram
exemplifies this development. Throughout the Tamil
region, temples were extended over a very long period,
gradually becoming the vast complexes that dominate
the Tamil landscape today. The most prolific periods
for the expansion of temples at existing sites and for
the development of new ones were the Chola period
from the late ninth to the thirteenth century and the
late Vijayanagara and Nayaka periods in the sixteenth
and seventeenth centuries. The general scholarly
emphasis on the earlier periods of Tamil art has led,
however, to the major architectural expansion of
many temples in the later centuries being overlooked
or mentioned only cursorily in favor of more detailed
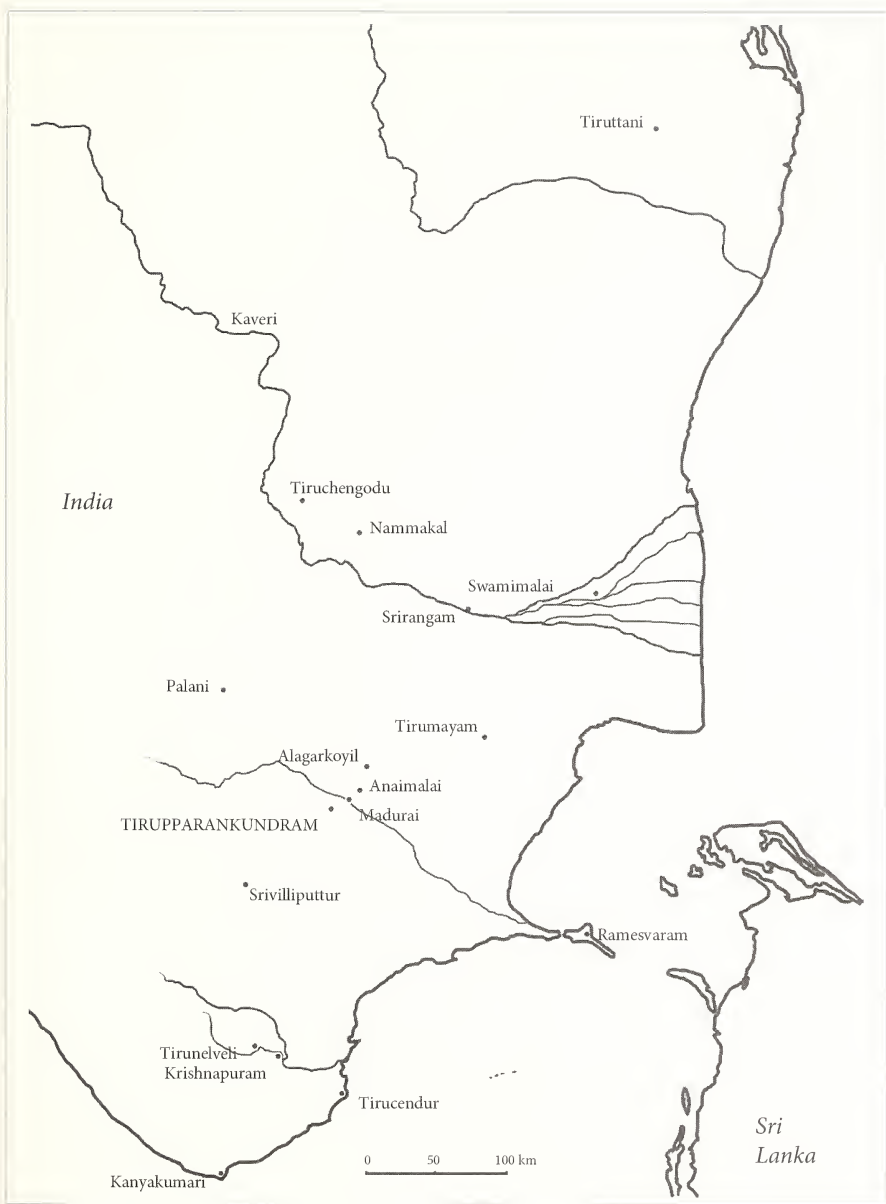discussion of the earliest phases.

The Skanda temple at Tirupparankundram offers a
good example of such scholarly emphasis. Its eighth-
century cave temple is mentioned more frequently
than the substantial temple that developed beyond
it over the course of the subsequent millennium,
especially in the period between ca.1550 and 1700. The
detailed description and analysis of a single temple
that follow will also illustrate the distinctive features
of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century art and archi-
tecture in Tamilnadu. Notable issues that this temple
illustrates are the historical pattern of architectural
development over the millennium from the temple's
foundation, highlighting the importance of the late
sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the planning
emphasis throughout on the single axis of access
directly inward through successive increasingly sacred
spaces to the cave shrine at the temple's heart; the
development of the architectural composite column
and wider, higher, more open *maṇḍapa*s; the distribu-
tion of figural composite columns, especially royal
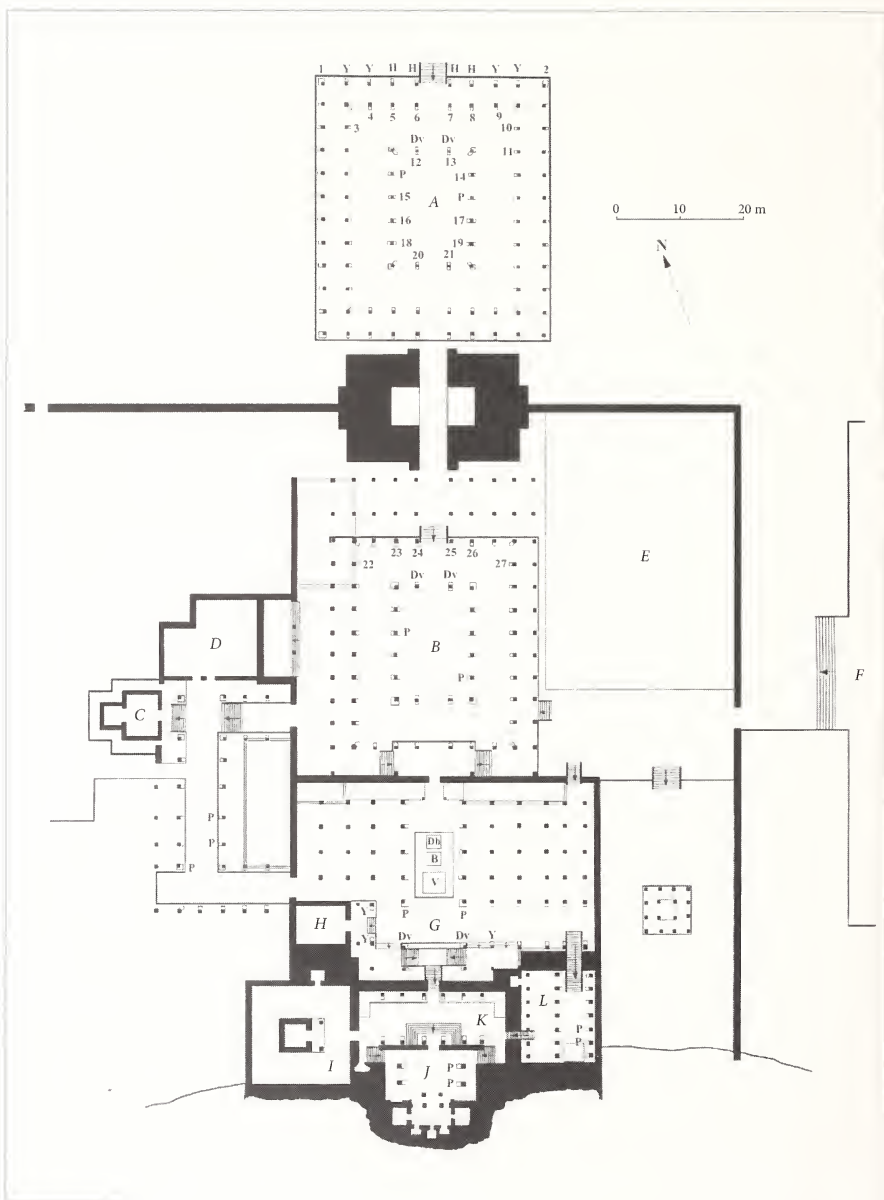portraiture; the evidence for patronage to the temple

by the Madurai Nayakas, from both inscriptions and
sculpture; and finally, the connections between archi-
tectural patronage and regional festival ritual.

THE SACRED HILL AT TIRUPPARANKUNDRAM

The hill of Tirupparankundram, literally "the sacred
hill of the great god," lies seven kilometers southwest
of Madurai in southern Tamilnadu (fig. 1). It is
now sacred to both Hindus and Muslims, whose
past interaction has had important implications
for the development of the site, as will be discussed
below. At the base of the hill is a large temple
dedicated to Skanda (Subramaṇya or Murukaṉ).[1]
Tirupparankundram is one of the six sites sacred
to Skanda/Murukaṉ in Tamilnadu, a sacred Tamil
geography clearly established by around the thirteenth
century. The others are Tirucendur on the southeast
coast, Palani to the west, Tiruttani in the north,
Swamimalai in the center, and the unspecific *kuṉṟāṭal*,
"every hill on which the god dances," meaning all
other shrines dedicated to Skanda in Tamilnadu.[2]
Skanda has a long association in Tamilnadu with
hills, and Palani, Tiruttani, and Swamimalai are,
like Tirupparankundram, also hill sites. To Hindus,
Tirupparankundram is known as Skandamalai,
"the Hill of Skanda." This is the spot that the deity
came to after his mythic battle with Cūraṉ, an *asura*
(demon), and where he married Devasenā, given
to him in marriage by Indra and the gods, after he
had proved his merit by winning the cosmic battle.
Tirupparankundram is one of the earliest historically
attested, large sacred sites of Skanda as Murukaṉ,
together with the coastal Tirucendur, an association
that is at least two millennia old, with references in
the Caṅkam poetry of the early centuries A.D.[3] The
fourth–fifth-century text, the *Tirumurukāṟṟupaṭai*
(Guide to Lord Muruku) by Nakkirar, is one
of the sacred hymns of the Murukaṉ tradition
and refers to the six sites of the god, including
Tirupparankundram.[4]

At the heart of the Hindu temple in the side of
the hill is an early cave temple, fronted by a *gopura*
and three large *maṇḍapa*s, all additions of the
sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that drama-

1 Map of South India.

Tiruttani

Kaveri

India

Tiruchengodu

Nammakal

Swamimalai

Srirangam

Palani

Tirumayam

Alagarkoyil

Anaimalai

TIRUPPARANKUNDRAM

Madurai

Srivilliputtur

Ramesvaram

Tirunelveli
Krishnapuram

Tirucendur

Sri
Lanka

Kanyakumari

0   50   100 km

BRANFOOT | *The Madurai Nayakas and the Skanda Temple at Tirupparankundram*

2 Plan of Skanda temple at Tirupparankundram.

A   Āstāṇa Maṇḍapa
B   Tiruvācci Maṇḍapa
C   Vināyakar (Gaṇeśa) shrine
D   Kitchen
E   Priests' school
F   Lakṣmītīrtha
G   Kampaṭṭaṭi Maṇḍapa
H   Shrine for *utsavamūrtis* of Skanda and Devasenā
I   Āvuṭaināyaki (Amman) shrine
J   Cave shrine and *ardhamaṇḍapa*
K   *Mahāmaṇḍapa*
L   Ṣaṇmukha (six-faced) shrine

Y   *Yāḷi*
H   Horseman
P   Portrait
Dh *Dhvajastambha*
Ba *Balipīṭha*
V   *vāhanas*
Dv *Dvārapāla*
PT Tirumala-type portrait

1. Cūraṇ
2. Skanda
3. Skanda
4. Naṭarāja
5. Standing goddess with lotus
6. Vyāghrapāda
7. Patañjali
8. Ūrdhvatāṇḍava
9. Kāli
10. Cūraṇ
11. Royal couple
12. God in *añjalimudrā*
13. God in *añjalimudrā*
14. God with sword
15. Divine marriage
16. Portrait of Mangammal
17. Standing Śiva
18. Standing Viṣṇu
19. Standing goddess with lotus
20. Dancing Gaṇeśa
21. Durgā Mahiṣāsuramardinī
22. Four-armed goddess
23. Mīnākṣi (or Tāṭāṭakai)
24. Sundareśvara as a sow
25. Vyāghrapāda
26. Patañjali
27. Sundareśvara with tigress
28. Īśāna

tize the approach to the main shrine (fig. 2).[5] The planning principles of all later South Indian temples are based around a single main axis of entrance for an approaching devotee and exit for deities during festival processions, with a lesser emphasis on the remaining cardinal directions, that suggest the expansion from the center of divine energy, and a concentric plan, with a series of layers along these axes. The Hindu temples of Tamilnadu are primarily experienced through movement, that of both devotees and deities. The whole structure of the temple at Tirupparankundram stresses the first planning principle, emphasizing the gradual approach of the devotee inward and upward, from light to dark, from open space to increasingly confined space, to the final destination at the very heart of the temple in the small cave temple in the side of the sacred hill itself.

The cave temple is on the north side of the rock, and this position determines the whole alignment of the temple. As a worshiper approaches the temple along Sanniti (shrine) Street, the long straight road that extends southward to the main entrance, the main structure one sees is the large *gopura* with a *maṇḍapa* in front of it against the backdrop of the hill (fig. 3). The large *maṇḍapa* entered first, the Āstāṇa Maṇḍapa, is wide and open and now contains shops and small shrines (*A* in fig. 2). The worshiper goes through this *maṇḍapa* and the gateway of the *gopura* and then proceeds up a short staircase to another open *maṇḍapa*, the Tiruvācci (or Tiruvāṭsi) Maṇḍapa (*B*). The direct line of approach is disrupted at the south end of this *maṇḍapa* by a staircase approached from the sides and exits either side, leading to further shrines and the kitchen (*C, D*) on the west, and to a school for priests and a tank (*E, F*) on the east. As the worshiper enters the third *maṇḍapa*, the Kampaṭṭaṭi Maṇḍapa (*G*), it gets much darker, for the sacred heart of the temple is being approached. Another steep staircase leads to the *mahāmaṇḍapa* (*K*) and *ardhamaṇḍapa* built before the cave shrine (*J*), the focus of the whole temple. The worshiper approaching this temple complex from the north thus proceeds along the straight main road toward the temple, drawn forward by the *gopura*, then enters a series of
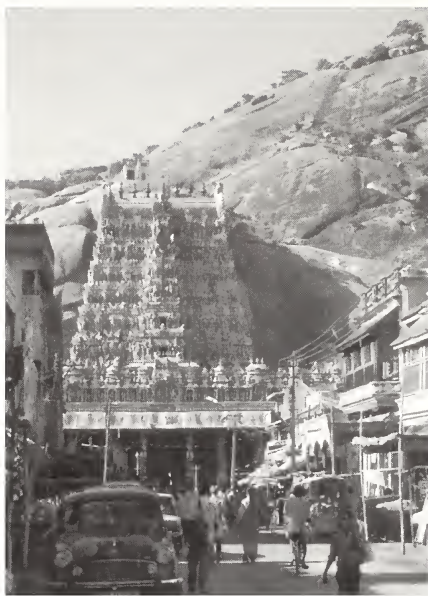
3 View along Sanniti Street, the axial approach to the temple from the north.

*maṇḍapa*s that become progressively darker and more enclosed as he or she climbs the steps to the cave and *darśana* (vision) of the deity. Overall the path from the road to the cave climbs about ten meters.

PANDYAN CAVES AND THE EARLY TEMPLE

There are approximately forty known excavated cave temples in the Pandyan region of southern Tamilnadu dating to the eighth and ninth centuries, and many are in the Madurai region itself. At Tirupparankundram there are two on the west and southwest sides, in addition to the most important one on the north side of the hill. Only some of these early cave sites remained the focus of worship in later centuries, as has the main cave temple here. Similar Nayaka period expansions to an early cave temple are found at Anaimalai, Nammakal, and Tirumayam.[6]

The main cave temple at Tirupparankundram consists of a rectangular chamber with two columns

at the entrance and five smaller excavated chambers leading off it, three across the rear wall and one in each of the sidewalls.[7] Each chamber along the rear wall is around one meter deep and one and one-half meters high, with sculpted reliefs of deities on the rear walls like many other Pandyan period cave temples in southern Tamilnadu. The distribution of deities is indicated in figure 4. Notable is the presence of Durgā in the central chamber with Skanda to her right and three other shrines dedicated to Viṣṇu, Gaṇeśa, and Śiva. *Dvārapāla*s (door guardians) are placed at the sides of the entrance to each of the flanking shrines to Viṣṇu and Śiva. Within the Śiva shrine is a *liṅga* with a Somāskanda relief on the rear wall. The layout suggests that the ritual emphasis given to the off-center shrine to Skanda was later than the cave's original dedication. A large gilded *prabhāvalī* (halo) now surrounds the opening to the Skanda shrine; the image within has a golden canopy above and holds a golden spear (*vēl*) in one hand. Additional sculpted reliefs are located on the exterior walls of the cave (see fig. 4).

The date of this cave temple's excavation is suggested by two inscriptions. The first, on one of the cave's columns and in Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters, is dated in the sixth year (ca. 771) of the Pandyan king Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ (alias Jaṭila Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṉ, r. ca. 765–815). It refers to repairs to the temple and tank by Śāttaṉ Gaṇapati and the excavation by his wife of shrines to the goddesses Durgā and Jyeṣṭhā.[8] The latter is probably the relief below the main cave of the goddess seated with her son and daughter (fig. 5). The Durgā of the inscription may refer not to the relief of the goddess in the main cave but to the large recessed relief about two and one-half meters wide and one and one-half meters high, similarly below the main cave on the west side, of Annapūrṇā, seated with twenty additional figures on each side (fig. 6).[9] The second inscription on the lintel of the doorway of the Durgā shrine records the installation of the image of Gaṇapati (Gaṇeśa) in *Kali* 3874 by one Sāmanta Bhima in the Śiva temple excavated by him. This gives a date of 773.[10] Neither inscription makes it certain to whom the cave was dedicated in the eighth century, nor do either refer directly
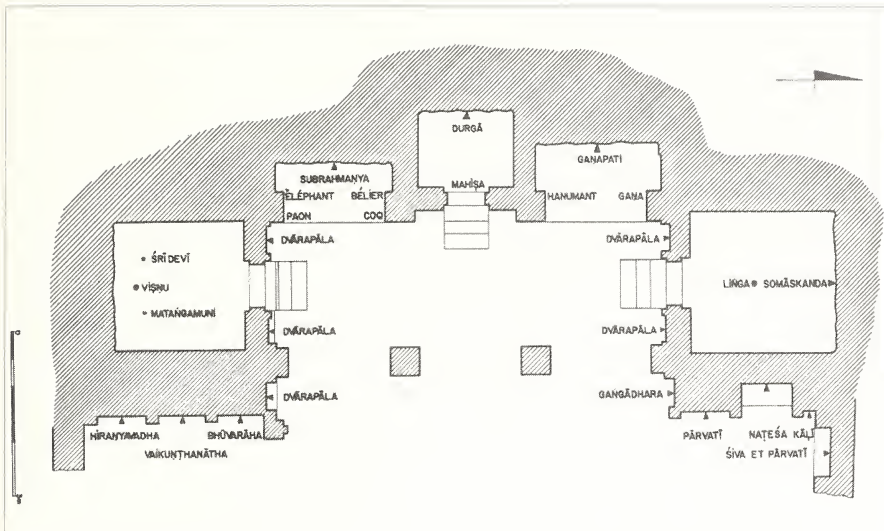
4 Plan of cave temple. Adapted from Françoise L'Hernault, *L'Iconographie de Subrahmanya au Tamilnad* (Pondicherry: Institut Français d'Indologie, 1978), plan 2.

to the excavation of the complete cave temple. However, the inscriptions do provide the latest date by which the cave was substantially complete. Only three Pandyan period cave temples have such dated inscriptions. The other two are the Śiva cave at Malaiyadikkurichi near Tirunelveli dated ca. 670 and the Viṣṇu/Narasiṃha cave at Anaimalai, nine kilometers northeast of Madurai, dated ca. 770. Another member of the same family mentioned in the first inscription at Tirupparankundram excavated the cave at Anaimalai.[11]

For about the next eight hundred years little was added to this small cave shrine. Structural enclosed columned halls — an inner *ardhamaṇḍapa* (*J*) and outer, larger *mahāmaṇḍapa* (*K*) — were probably added in the twelfth or thirteenth century. Little of these halls survives today, however, apart from fragments of the wall of the present *mahāmaṇḍapa* on which partial and misplaced, largely thirteenth-century Pandyan inscriptions survive, for the whole *mahāmaṇḍapa* was rebuilt in the late sixteenth or seventeenth century.[12]

5 Relief of Jyeṣṭhā and daughter. © French Institute of Pondicherry/École Française d'Extrême-Orient.

6 Relief of Annapūrṇā. © French Institute of Pondicherry/Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient.

The only notable addition to the eighth-century cave shrine before the great expansion of the late sixteenth century is the small goddess shrine to Āvuṭaināyaki on the west side of the present *mahāmaṇḍapa* in a small square, enclosed room (*I*). It consists of a *vimāna*, the main shrine unit, and small porch in the center of the room. From the late eleventh or twelfth century goddesses began to take on a greater ritual and architectural importance in Tamil temples, reflected in the construction of separate goddess shrines within the expanding temple complexes.[13] By the late twelfth century it had become standard practice for a Tamil temple to have a separate shrine for one or more consorts, housed in separate shrines, and often within their own series of concentric enclosures or *prākāra*s.

The *vimāna* of this modest shrine has a molded base (*adhiṣṭhāna*) and a straight wall, articulated by six shallow pilasters on each side, arranged as three pairs. The flat stone roof of the whole chamber completely obscures the *vimāna*'s superstructure from within. At the center of the south, west, and north sides of this east-facing shrine is a shallow niche, each framed by the halves of a split-pilaster that support a *kīrtimukha* ("face of glory") in low relief over the top.

Like so many niches in southern Tamilnadu, these are too shallow to contain an image; they are conceptual only. The date of a Tamil Drāviḍa temple may be suggested by formal features such as the composition of the base, the articulation of the wall and its pilasters or engaged columns, and the form of the bracket capitals under the curved eave. The forms of this shrine described, together with the simple molded base or *adhiṣṭhāna* with a three-sided *kumuda* and a plain *jagatī*, and the bevel-edged bracket capitals all suggest a twelfth or thirteenth century date (see fig. 11). Three inscriptions on the east enclosure wall around this shrine refer to gifts of land to this goddess shrine (*tirukkāmakkōṭṭam*): one is dated to the forty-second year (1309) of the Pandyan king Māravarman Kulaśekhara I (r. 1268–1312).[14] The *paḷḷiyaṟai*, the bedchamber for the temple's god and goddess, on the north side of this room is a later addition.

DURGĀ, SKANDA, AND ISKANDAR

The transformation of this temple from a modest cave shrine in the side of the hill in the eighth century to the great temple complex seen today involved not only architectural development but the shifting ritual emphasis on to Skanda (Murukaṉ). The distribution of deities in the main cave shrine with the goddess Durgā at the center and the absence of any direct reference to Skanda as the presiding deity in the inscriptions suggest that the ritual emphasis toward Skanda is a late development. Furthermore, Fred Clothey has cast an element of doubt on whether the present site of Tirupparankundram is the same as that associated with Skanda/Murukaṉ in the premedieval literature; the site at Anaimalai the other side of Madurai fits the description in the fourth–fifth century *Tirumurukārrupaṭai* more accurately. Was this a Durgā temple originally?

The emphasis placed upon Skanda at the temple at Tirupparankundram may be dated to the twelfth to fifteenth centuries. It is partly related to the rising status of Skanda/Murukaṉ as an independent deity throughout the Tamil country in this period. But

more specifically it may be explained with reference to the changed political conditions of the late fourteenth and fifteenth century in the Madurai region, with the overthrow of the short-lived Islamic Madura sultanate and the reestablishment of Hindu *dharma* by the generals of the newly founded Vijayanagara empire.

In the period from the seventh to ninth centuries, Skanda is almost always the son of Śiva in both literature and iconography, depicted as a smaller figure with Śiva and Pārvatī in a Somāskanda panel. The sculpted reliefs of Skanda independent of both Śiva and Pārvatī at Tirupparankundram and Anaimalai are therefore iconographically noteworthy, even in a cave with other deities. Only a few temples dedicated primarily to Skanda are found before the twelfth to fifteenth century, when their numbers increase and the deity's iconography becomes more varied. The enhanced status of Skanda/Murukaṉ in fifteenth-century Tamil devotion is reflected in the *Tiruppukāḻ* (Divine Praise) by Aruṇakiri (ca. 1370–1450), a huge poetic work in praise of the deity.[15] The spread of Skanda temples from the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries may also be partially explained by the incorporation of previously marginal social groups into mainstream Tamil culture. The worship of Murukaṉ by marginal hill dwellers is referred to in the early Caṅkam literature. The period from the fourteenth century, when the early Tamil deity Murukaṉ is clearly identified with the Sanskritic Skanda, is characterized by extensive internal migration of just such groups and the extension of the agricultural frontier to previously marginal areas.[16]

This broad cultural change throughout the Tamil country may explain why Skanda became the presiding deity at Tirupparankundram. But this site had become of great importance to the Muslim communities of South India in the fourteenth century, as both the capital of the Madura sultanate and subsequently the location of a Muslim shrine to the fallen warrior-heroes of this short-lived Islamic regional power.

Muslim traders were present on the coasts of southern India from around the ninth century and had penetrated inland even before the raids from

1310 on by the Khalji and Tughluq generals of the Delhi sultanate.[17] These raids led to the rule from ca. 1334 through the middle of the fourteenth century of the Madura sultanate (or sultanate of Ma'bar) over southern India until its overthrow by the Vijayanagara generals in ca. 1377. At the summit of the hill at Tirupparankundram is a Muslim *dargah* (shrine) over the grave of Sultan Sikandar Shah, the last ruler of the Madura sultanate from ca. 1372 to 1377.[18] The present *dargah* structure probably dates to the seventeenth or eighteenth century, judging by the architectural features such as the columns that are in the same form as contemporary Hindu temples, though the sacred status of the site among the Tamil Muslim community is undoubtedly earlier (fig. 7). Local tradition refers to Sikandar and his army being surrounded and defeated on this hill at Tirupparankundram by the Vijayanagara forces; graves of Sikandar's courtiers and generals are found down the hill from the *dargah*. Madurai is usually understood to have been the Madura sultanate's capital. However, Mehrdad Shokoohy suggests that the fourteenth-century traveler Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's description of the town, situated below a fortified hill around six kilometers from the river, more accurately applies to Tirupparankundram.[19]

To Muslims, the sacred hill at Tirupparankundram is Iskandarmalai, "the Hill of Iskandar." Susan Bayly has identified five types of Sufi cults and Muslim devotional traditions in South India that intersect with Hindu forms of worship and sacred landscape.[20] The first group focuses on biblical figures, such as Adam, Daniel, Solomon (Sulaiman), Jesus, and the Virgin Mary. Sulaiman has been venerated by Deccani and South Indian Muslims, and indeed across the Islamic world, as a divinely empowered hero-king from the age of the prophets, and this emphasis on kingship is even more pronounced in the second category of Tamil Muslim cult traditions identified by Bayly.[21] These are built up around kings and warriors from more accessible eras, and Iskandar is one of the most widely revered in Tamilnadu.

Iskandar is the Persian name for the Macedonian king Alexander the Great, who defeated the

7 *Dargah* of Sikandar Shah.

Achaemenid Persian empire in 331 B.C. and whose conquests from Greece to Northwest India are still commemorated across the Muslim world. In the eastern Islamic world — in Persia, Central Asia, and India — Alexander was regarded not just as an alien conqueror but also as a heroic king and a philosopher. His historical and legendary exploits are narrated in a number of Persian literary classics, including Firdausī's *Shāhnāma* (Book of Kings) (completed ca. 1010), the *Iskandarnāma* (Book of Iskandar) in Niẓāmī's *Khamsa* (Quintet) (ca. 1190–1200), and Jāmī's *Khiradnāma-yi Iskandarī* (Alexander's Book of Wisdom) (ca. 1485).[22] Cultural contact between Persia and southern India in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was maintained both via the Delhi sultanate of North India and through the Deccan sultanates. Iskandar is depicted in many Persian, Central Asian, and Indian paintings from this period.[23]

Many Islamic rulers in Persia, Central Asia, and India identified themselves with Iskandar as an ideal king. In India certain Muslim rulers appear to have

developed this identification further, considering themselves to be continuing Alexander's planned invasion of the subcontinent. The clearest statement of this ideology is to be found in the figure of the Khalji sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad (r. 1296–1316), who considered himself a "second Alexander" (Iskandar al-Ṣānī). He is quoted by the historian Baranī in his *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz-Shāhī* (History of Firuz Shah) as saying, "I will go out myself into the world, like Alexander, in pursuit of conquest, and subdue the whole habitable world"; this was proclaimed in the *khutba*, the Friday sermon.[24] The greatest Persian poet of the Indian subcontinent, Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī (ca. 1253–1325), wrote both an account of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's conquests and a *Khamsa*, the fourth book of which was devoted to the world-conquering Alexander. Barbara Brend states that it is "probable that in laying his work before the sultan, Khusrau intended to flatter him and, in the guise of entertainment, to offer him advice on the proper conduct of an Alexander."[25] ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's claim to be a "second Alexander" is also

clearly stated in his inscriptions, both on buildings in and around Delhi, such as the Alai Darwaza in the Qutb complex, and on the numerous gold and silver coins from his reign.[26]

The third of Bayly's types of cult are associated with companions or contemporaries of the Prophet. The fourth type is based around the burial places of historical warriors of the fourteenth century in Tamilnadu, returning the emphasis in this cult to the motifs of invasion and conquest found in the Iskandar cult. Tirupparankundram's great status in Tamil Muslim sacred geography is accounted for by the overlapping of both the Iskandar cult, known across Persia, Central Asia, and Islamic India, and the local, Tamil cult of Sikandar Shah, the last ruler of the Madura sultanate, who died fighting on the site of his capital and whose *dargah* lies at the top of the hill. But this sacred association is enhanced by the subsequent Tamil Hindu identification of the site with the similarly named warrior deity, Skanda.

When did the figure of Iskandar arrive in southern India, and when did the hill at Tirupparankundram come to be known as Iskandarmalai? It was during the reign of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn that raids from North India to the Deccan and as far south as Madurai began, starting in 1310, and led to the foundation of the Madura sultanate in 1334, with its capital at Tirupparankundram or Iskandarmalai. The arrival of Iskandar as a cult figure in the far South of India thus seems to be directly associated with the invasions of the Khaljis and subsequently the Tughluqs in the early fourteenth century. The tradition of Iskandar, or Sikandar as he is known in India, as a precursor king is extremely strong in Tamilnadu, according to Bayly,[27] and by the eighteenth century he was widely identified with the Tamil warrior-deity Murukaṉ or Skanda. But this process can be traced to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is in this period that the site undoubtedly acquired its name of Iskandarmalai through its associations with ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, the "second Alexander" who initiated the Islamic invasion of the deep South of India and the last ruler of the Madura sultanate who died and is enshrined on the hill itself.

It is highly probable that the Hindu temple at Tirupparankundram fell out of use during the period of Islamic rule in the Madurai region, even if it was not systematically destroyed. Following the overthrow of the Madura sultanate in the late 1370s by the generals of Vijayanagara, temples that had been sacked or desecrated throughout the Tamil country were reconsecrated for worship, an act central to the political rhetoric of the Vijayanagara invaders from the Deccan.[28] The reopening of the temple at Tirupparankundram in the late fourteenth century provides both a historical moment and an explanation for the later ritual emphasis on Skanda within the cave temple: Iskandarmalai became Skandamalai. The rising status of Skanda as a warrior-deity throughout the Tamil country, and specifically here at Tirupparankundram, post-fourteenth century, may therefore be seen as a defiant reaction to the overthrow of the Turkic invaders from the North. Sheldon Pollock has similarly suggested that the cult of Rāma, its role in the ideology of Hindu kingship, and the expression of this doctrine in temple worship became important only from the twelfth century, precisely in reaction to the rise of Islamic power in northern India.[29] Iskandar, Sikandar Shah, and Skanda have all become intertwined at Skandamalai.

ARCHITECTURAL PATRONAGE UNDER THE MADURAI NAYAKAS

While the fifteenth century may have seen Skanda take on greater ritual importance at the temple, this trend was not reflected in any significant architectural activity until the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the site was transformed under the patronage of the Madurai Nayakas. This period coincides with the proliferation of Tamil literary works of Skanda devotion, including a Tamil version of the *Skanda Purāṇa* (Ancient Book of Skanda).[30] Despite the rhetoric of the Vijayanagara rulers restoring worship to temples in the late fourteenth century and the long period of Vijayanagara rule over the Tamil country into the early sixteenth century, few temples were founded or even added

to in a substantial way in this period. It is only from the middle of the sixteenth century that there is a boom in temple construction throughout the Tamil country, coinciding with the rule and patronage of the Nayakas, the "little kings" and regional successors to the Vijayanagara empire. In the Madurai region, this expansion of temple building activity can be seen not only within Madurai itself but also at nearby temples, such as at Alagarkoyil and here at Tirupparankundram.

The modest site was transformed in the 1580s with the construction of a seven-story *gopura* and an enclosure wall that both defined the extent of the sacred area and prominently marked the axis of access to the main cave shrine. The date of this expansion is known from two similar inscriptions, one in Tamil and one in Telugu, the main languages in which inscriptions were written in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Tamilnadu, on the walls of the *gopura*'s gateway.[31] Both state clearly that Virappa, son of Krishnappa (r. 1564–72) and the third of the Madurai Nayakas who reigned between 1572 and 1595, built the *gopura* and compound wall in *Śaka* 1505 (1583–84). This is a notable example of clearly documented Madurai Nayaka patronage of temple architecture. Their patronage of temple construction in Madurai itself is clearly established, spreading from the mid-sixteenth century right through the seventeenth century; it was not the special interest of any single king despite the emphasis on Tirumala Nayaka (r. 1623–59) given in some literature.[32] This interest is clearly evident at the Mīnākṣī-Sundareśvara temple complex at the center of the city with sustained royal patronage in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the period when the temple expanded to its present extent. It was similarly during the reign of Virappa that the four huge outer *gopura*s of the Mīnākṣī-Sundareśvara temple complex were built in their present form, all visible from Tirupparankundram seven kilometers away.

Outside Madurai, however, the evidence for Madurai Nayaka patronage is much thinner and more fragmentary. While the broad patterns of temple construction in the regions ruled by the Madurai Nayakas suggest these rulers' active involvement in architectural patronage, the detailed evidence is not so forthcoming. A study of Madurai Nayaka architectural patronage in the period of their rule in southern India from ca. 1530 to 1736, for example, would be an inadequate way of studying the temples in the geographical area of their empire, from the Kongunadu region in the northwest of Tamilnadu, to Ramesvaram in the southeast and Kanyakumari at the southernmost tip of the subcontinent. Apart from this example at Tirupparankundram in 1583–84, examples of the patronage of temple architecture by the Madurai Nayakas include a new temple at Krishnapuram near Tirunelveli in the 1560s, additions to the Ardhanārīśvara and Kailāsanātha temples at Tiruchengodu near modern Erode between 1590 and 1670, the Gopālakṛṣṇa temple built in the Raṅganātha temple complex at Srirangam in ca. 1674, and — from sculptural rather than epigraphic evidence — the Āstāna Maṇḍapa in ca. 1690–1700 at Tirupparankundram discussed below.[33] The geographical distribution of these temples suggests the extent of Madurai Nayaka rule.

The *gopura* at Tirupparankundram is a typical example of the period. A recurring theme in Indian temple architecture is the conception of the main shrine as being composed of multiple images of smaller shrine forms or aedicules arranged in rows and stories to build up a towering superstructure. This theme was originally commented upon by James Fergusson, the first historian of Indian architecture, in the 1870s, who remarked that "everywhere . . . in India, architectural decoration is made up of small models of large buildings."[34] This idea has been examined by Adam Hardy, who has persuasively demonstrated that Indian temple architecture, both southern Drāviḍa and northern Nāgara, "depends for its visual structure, its expression and its meanings, on the combination and interrelation of images of shrines."[35]

*Gopura*s are similarly conceived, for they are formally composed like a main shrine or *vimāna* split in two, with a series of embedded aedicules or miniature buildings arranged in an ascending

8 Upper basement story of the *gopura*. The staggered gateway with relief latticed window is on the left, the *śālā*-aedicule is in the center, and the corner *kūṭa*-aedicule and intermediate *pañjara*-aedicule are on the right. All three aedicules have secondary aedicules of the same form embedded within them.

series of *tāla*s or stories. In this example at Tirupparankundram there are seven. The stone basement itself is formed of two stories, with an enlarged subbase. The first *tāla* consists of the upper section of the basement and the roof forms above, made from brick and plaster (figs. 8–10); the second and remaining *tāla*s are embedded within the whole form and are indicated by the roof forms alone in the same sequence as the first *tāla*. The aedicules are each distinguished by their roof form: square-roofed *kūṭa*s, horseshoe-arched *pañjara*s, and rectangular, barrel-vaulted *śālā*s. The arrangement of each of the first six *tāla*s beneath the capping, long, barrel-vaulted *śālā* roof is typical for such a large *gopura*: a corner square *kūṭa*-aedicule, intermediate *pañjara*-aedicule, and long *śālā*-aedicule placed alongside the staggered gateway beneath the pronounced *mukhaśālā*, the projecting central spine of the superstructure. In figure 10 the staggered gateway and the projecting

aedicules (*S, P, K*), each defined by engaged columns, are indicated at the bottom. A straightforward classification of *gopura*s is to identify the sequence of aedicules across one side of the basement and the number of *tāla*s above. The formal composition of this *gopura* at Tirupparankundram is similar to other late sixteenth-century *gopura*s in the Madurai region, such as the outer four of the Mīnākṣī-Sundareśvara temple also constructed during the reign of Virappa.

Embedded within and projecting from each primary aedicule is a similar, smaller, full secondary aedicule of the same type, described as "full" because each comes complete with its own *adhiṣṭhāna* and *upapīṭha* (subbase) that overlays the *adhiṣṭhāna* and the wall zone of the primary aedicule (fig. 11; see also fig. 8). Thus there is a smaller secondary *kūṭa*-aedicule within and overlaying the primary *kūṭa*-aedicule, and so on. This secondary aedicule is a stylistic feature of the Nayaka period, for while early Tamil temples

9 Elevation of the *gopura* at southwest corner showing both lower and upper stone stories of the basement.

10 Diagram of a *gopura*.

may have a secondary aedicule emerging from the primary one, these do not have base moldings of their own. Blind latticed windows in high relief also appear on the rear section of the gateway, a reminder of the *vimāna* origin of *gopura*s where windows may illuminate the passageway around the *garbhagṛha* (main shrine) as they do, for example, at the mid-sixteenth-century Kūṭal Aḻakar temple in Madurai.[36] The paired columns supporting *śālā*s in the three recesses between each primary aedicule of this *gopura* at Tirupparankundram similarly connect it to others of this date in the region.

If one is skeptical of this mode of formal analysis, seeing what are here described as aedicules more simply as projections and recesses of the wall, then a significant formal feature suggests that this approach, this "way of seeing," is appropriate. The formal distinction between each aedicule is emphasized not only by their prominent projection but also, in typical Nayaka period fashion, by varying the base moldings and engaged column types between aedicules. Though such variation in base moldings and engaged column forms between aedicules appears in some earlier temples, with perhaps two or three base molding or engaged column types, it is almost standard practice in Nayaka period design with the distinctive use of up to five variations. The great variety of base moldings across a Nayaka period *vimāna* or *gopura* means that the method used to classify earlier temples by a single profile of their base that remains largely consistent across cannot be meaningfully used.[37] This tendency demonstrates the continued inventive use of the Tamil Drāviḍa tradition of architecture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
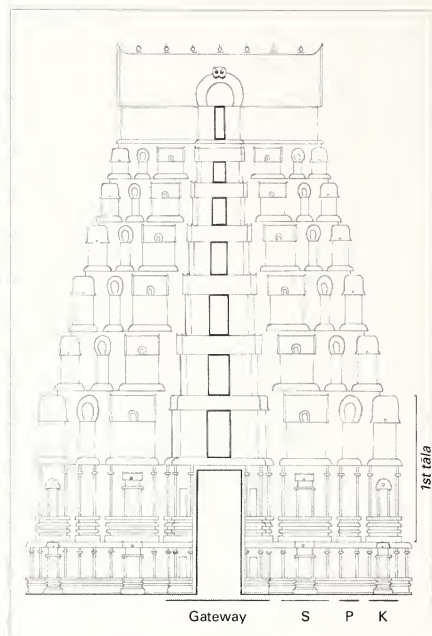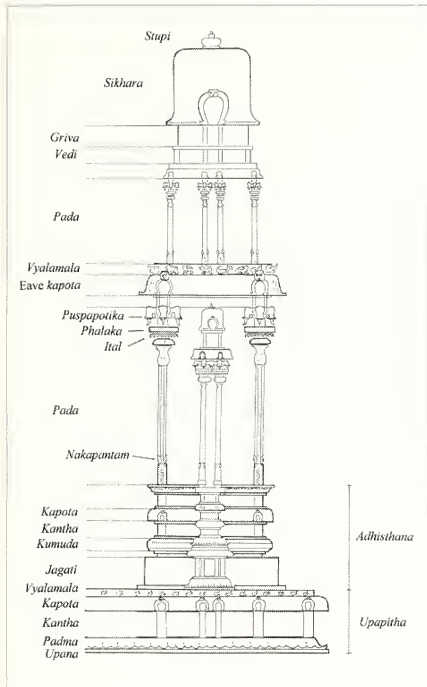
11 Diagram of a Nayaka period primary *kūṭa*-aedicule with a secondary *kūṭa*-aedicule embedded within it.

The Tirupparankundram *gopura*'s engaged columns all vary between aedicules in this manner: those of the rear wall and the primary *kūṭa*-aedicules are octagonal; the secondary *kūṭa*- and *pañjara*-aedicules' engaged columns and the rear gateway section's are round; the primary *pañjara*- and secondary *śālā*-aedicules are sixteen-sided; the primary *śālā*s' engaged columns are deeply fluted; and the front section of the gateways' engaged columns are deeply fluted with a narrower strip between flutes. All have square bases with *nākapantam*s, the upward-turned leaf or cobra hood detail at the corners of the base that appears from the thirteenth century. The *kumuda* of the *gopura*'s base similarly changes profile, and the *kapota* (see fig. 11) moves from center to top between aedicules. The lower story of the basement

follows the layout of the upper story, as usual, though only with projections underneath each upper secondary aedicule. The only niches in the *gopura* are in the secondary *śālā*-aedicules of the lower story, and they are empty. Like so many Nayaka period niches that are either too narrow or too shallow, they may never have been intended to contain stone images of deities.

The interior of the gateway has a deep central recess on two levels corresponding with each story of the *gopura*'s basement, as is usual; these are the vestiges of the *garbhagṛha* conceptually split in half. On either side of the four monolithic jambs are three pilasters made up of tiers of *kapota*s, a downward-curved molding, supported by pairs of pilasters framing a recessed panel or *kaṇṭha*; at the top is a seated elephant (rather than the more usual lion or *siṃha*) and *puṣpapotikā* or flower bracket capital supporting the horizontal slabs of the roof. Bands of intertwining foliage forming circular frames containing *gaṇa*s (dwarf), *vyāla*s (mythical lion-faced animal), and *siṃha*s in relief run up the four doorjambs and across the beams. At the base of the two outer, north jambs are the usual figures of women standing on *makara*s (aquatic monster), holding the two intertwining creepers that coil round above, that are a common feature of Nayaka period *gopura*s (fig. 12). These women appear first in the gateways of fifteenth-century *gopura*s in the Deccan, following the adoption of the Tamil Drāviḍa tradition as the imperial form for the Vijayanagara empire. The *makara*s are initially separately placed in front of the women, and only from the early sixteenth century in both the Deccan and Tamilnadu do these women stand upon the *makara* holding the creepers emerging from the *makara*s' mouth that swirl above them both. This later iconography suggests that these women are to be identified as the river goddess Gaṅgā, who stands on her *makara* vehicle or *vāhana* and with her counterpart Yamunā features on the jambs of earlier temple doorways in northern India. It is not at all clear that these women should be so specifically identified: the initial separation of the woman and the *makara*, and the absence of Yamunā's vehicle,

12 Gateway of the *gopura* with woman holding creeper on northwest jamb.

the tortoise, suggest an alternative meaning. Neither of the river goddesses are found on the doorjambs of earlier temples in Tamilnadu. The appearance of such women in Tamil *gopura*s in the sixteenth century is an example of a Deccan Vijayanagara period innovation in the Tamil Drāviḍa tradition, exported back south again to become a standard feature of the seventeenth-century *gopura*.

PATRONAGE AND PORTRAITURE

The inner two jambs of the *gopura* have high-relief images of kings with the hands placed palms together before their chest (*añjalimudrā*) on the same scale in place of these women, greeting all who pass through the gateway (figs. 13, 14). A striking feature of the arts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in southern India is the prevalence of royal imagery.[38] Images of

kings and courtly figures are depicted in a variety of media — stone and bronze sculpture, miniature ivories, and painted textiles — alongside the more familiar images of the multitude of Hindu deities. Approximately life-size, stone figures of royalty are widespread in temple complexes of this period. They are distinguished by their great size, attention to detail in dress and anatomy, the uniform standing posture with hands in *añjalimudrā*, the gesture of respect or greeting, and their location in festival-related structures or along processional routes in temples. Though the *gopura*'s gateway is a route for both devotees going inward and deities exiting a temple on procession, this position is generally unusual for such royal images, which are more often found in corridors and in festival *maṇḍapa*s.

Identifying royal images with specific kings is difficult given the general paucity of associated inscriptions in this period; of the more than 120 examples of life-size portraiture from this period seen by the author in the Tamil country, not one had an associated inscription alongside directly identifying the subject. There are indeed far fewer inscriptions visible on any Nayaka period structure compared with those of the earlier Chola period from the late ninth to thirteenth centuries.[39] However, it seems probable that one of these two figures is a portrait of Virappa, attested in the adjoining inscription dating the *gopura*; the other may be his immediate predecessor Krishnappa. The two standing male figures are very similar, depicted about 120 centimeters high. These are now rather worn and damaged; the west figure's right arm is broken. Both are naked to the waist and wear a necklace, wristbands, and jeweled belts with a dagger on the outer or north hip over a long, ankle-length cloth. The key distinguishing feature of these figures is the tall, conical cloth cap with a rounded top of both royal figures. While the figure's decorated cap on the east side curves slightly forward with thin fillets falling in front of his ears (see fig. 13), the figure on the west is clearly wearing the straight, conical cloth *kuḷḷāyi* (see fig. 14). This is a form of cap worn by South Indian kings only from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. As Phillip Wagoner has

13 Royal portrait on southeast *gopura* jamb.

14 Royal portrait on southwest *gopura* jamb.

demonstrated from evidence at Vijayanagara and elsewhere in the Deccan, it is derived from a Persian form of headwear, the cloth *kulāh*.[40]

These two figures may also be compared with those in the Puṭu Maṇḍapa (New Hall) built by Tirumala Nayaka in ca. 1630. These include ten groups of portrait images possibly of all the Madurai Nayakas with their queens up to and including the building's patron.[41] These have long fascinated scholars and visitors to Madurai, and rightly so. They are located in the center of the Puṭu Maṇḍapa, five groups on each long side, each king facing into the central space of this festival *maṇḍapa* with between one and four attendant queens at their sides. All but one of the figures of kings are approximately life-size and look down on the viewer. The queens are all on a scale smaller than the scale for the kings, emphasizing the priority of representing authority over realism. All the figures are barefooted, standing with their hands

in *añjalimudrā*, dressed in fine clothing and jewelry, and with daggers on their hips. All wear headwear of varying types. The detail of the ornament, particularly of textile patterns in delicate relief, is very finely executed. Some of these figures have traces of paint, which though recent and deplored by some scholars such as D. Devakunjari, for detracting from the sculptural artistry, undoubtedly reflects an original scheme.[42] The paint suggests an attempt to enliven the sculptures with the living presence of the king, a situation enhanced by the figures' prominently carved eyes.

The whole set is often said to represent Tirumala and his nine predecessors from the first Nayaka, Vishvanatha (r. 1529–64) on, the sequence starting in the southeast and moving clockwise to the northeast corner with Tirumala (r. 1623–59). It is difficult, however, to securely establish the identity of all the other figures. As A. V. Jeyechandrun has noted,

naming Tirumala's predecessors is not a subject on which the sources agree.[43] J. H. Nelson in 1868, relying principally on William Taylor's *Oriental Historical Manuscripts* published in 1835, gives a list of nine Nayakas from Vishvanatha to Tirumala; Sathyanatha Aiyar's history of the Madurai Nayakas published in 1924, however, gives of only seven.[44] The first article devoted to the study of these portrait sculptures by Henry Heras in 1925 aimed not to discuss them from an art-historical point of view but to use them as historical evidence to demonstrate the Madurai Nayakas' genealogy and to show that there were ten Nayakas up to Tirumala's accession in 1623, not Sathyanatha Aiyar's seven. Heras found inscriptions above each statue giving their names, but these are no longer extant.[45] Given the paucity of inscriptions from the Nayaka period generally and associated with portrait sculpture specifically, it is doubtful that any identifying inscriptions with these sculptures can have been original.

Naming the Nayakas of Madurai in chronological order is complicated by different sources that give multiple names for the same person, similar names for different Nayakas, and the possibility of overlap in rule or dual reigns, a standard practice for the Nayakas' predecessors, the Pandyans, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The scholarly consensus has three rulers from 1529 to 1595 (Visvanatha [1529–64], Krishnappa [1564–72], and Virappa [1572–95]), and three more from ca. 1601 up to and including Tirumala on his accession in 1623 (Muttu Krishnappa [1601–9] and Muttu Virappa [1609–23]), leaving a six-year gap between 1595 and 1601 with one, three, or four Nayakas. Given the complexity of clearly identifying each portrait image in the Puṭu Maṇḍapa as depicting a specific named king, it is not possible to relate the two in the Tirupparankundram *gopura* with two in the Puṭu Maṇḍapa and come to a clear identification. What can be achieved, however, is comparing the distinctive style of and changing patterns of headwear of the portraits in the Puṭu Maṇḍapa over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth century to the two late sixteenth-century Tirupparankundram images. The images of kings on the south side of the Puṭu

Maṇḍapa representing the earlier Madurai Nayakas up to around the end of the sixteenth century are mostly wearing the tall, conical *kuḷḷāyi* associated with the Vijayanagara rulers (fig. 15). The last few portraits of Tirumala and his early seventeenth-century predecessors are, however, wearing a tighter, rounded cap that falls to one side. This discussion of headwear as an indication of specific identity, and indeed date, will be returned to when discussing further portrait images at the heart of the temple.

SITE HISTORIES AND ARCHITECTURAL SCULPTURE

The *gopura* served a dual function: it created a monumental gateway into the sacred area of the temple complex that devotees could see from a great distance as they reached their pilgrimage destination, and at the same time it clearly defined with the wall the greater extent of that sacred zone in front of and to either side of the cave shrine at the base of the hill. Two phases of further development of the temple in the following seventeenth century led to the infilling of the space between the *gopura* and the cave shrine with a series of ascending and increasingly enclosed *maṇḍapa*s, and then in the last decades of the seventeenth century the further extension of the main axis northward with the construction of another large open *maṇḍapa*. It is not possible to determine the exact sequence in which inner two *maṇḍapa*s, the Tiruvācci (*B* in fig. 2) and the Kampattaṭi (*G*), were built, but a mid-seventeenth-century date, perhaps 1620–60, would be appropriate. This discussion will move inwards with the movement of the worshiper toward the cave shrine, but the order of discussion is not intended to imply that this was the sequence of construction.

Until around the early to mid-seventeenth century, moving through the *gopura* led into a large open space bounded by the *prākāra* walls with the cave shrine up on the hillside opposite. Then the large Tiruvācci Maṇḍapa was built, conceived as a freestanding structure but functioning as a corridor leading worshipers inward to the cave shrine. The basic layout is of a freestanding *maṇḍapa* with a molded base,

15 Royal portrait in Puṭu Maṇḍapa, Madurai, south side.

very like that of both *vimāna*s and *gopura*s, now visible only on the north and east, and concentric rows of composite columns supporting a stepped flat roof, highest at the center (fig. 16).[46] The composite column (or pier) is a notable feature of later Tamil Drāviḍa architecture, an adaptation of the simple column form present in the earliest rock-cut caves and structural temples of the Tamil tradition.[47] The simple column form is cubical at top and bottom, and thus square in section, with chamfered sides in the middle creating an octagonal section. Later examples retain a cubical middle and have octagonally chamfered sections above and below; thus they are divided vertically into five parts, of square then octagonal section (square-octagon-square-octagon-square). From the sixteenth century on, the octagonal sections are normally chamfered into sixteen sides with a band around. While the number of parts generally remains consistently five, the height of the column

can be varied by elongating the lowest and topmost sections, the central part usually remaining cubical no matter how tall the whole shaft. All composite columns and many simple columns have a molded base beneath this core shaft, sculpted from the same monolith. They support a series of separately sculpted capital elements stacked one upon another, which in the Nayaka period include the *puṣpapotikā* (flower-bud bracket capital) and the seated *siṃha* (lion), and ultimately the horizontal beams of the stone roof.[48]

What distinguishes the composite column from the simple column are additional columns emerging from the same monolith; on the plan in figure 2 composite columns are indicated by rectangles with the core column filled in black, the additional column(s) left white. This scheme is the basis for substantial variation, for composite columns may have several smaller columns, sometimes carved fully in the round on one or more sides of the core column, which I describe as "detached" though they are still joined top and bottom to the core monolith. Composite columns may also have an attached figure up to 2.5 meters high of a deity, a mythical *yāḷi* (lion-headed animal), a mounted cavalryman, or a portrait. This figural composite column is a distinctive Nayaka period development in Tamilnadu, from modest beginnings in the architectural sculpture of early sixteenth-century temples at Vijayanagara. The increasing use of composite columns rather than simple columns led to much higher, wider, and open *maṇḍapa*s than in earlier temple architecture in Tamilnadu, such as these examples at Tirupparankundram.

The central section of the Tiruvācci Maṇḍapa at Tirupparankundram is framed by two concentric aisles, similar to the layout of the Puṭu Maṇḍapa at nearby Madurai built ca. 1630.[49] The composite columns are all of similar type, with the usual five-part core column on a base with attached square columns. Composite columns usually delineate processional routes by facing into them; the attached columns and capitals are on the inside. The central composite columns here are double, with attached columns facing both inward and outward; the outer rows of composite columns face inward only, those at

16 Interior of Tiruvācci Maṇḍapa.

the corners face diagonally (see fig. 2). The outermost columns frame the central space and the corridor around it; at the north end the columns are not placed on the *maṇḍapa*'s basement but are unusually situated in the space between it and the *gopura*. The structure of the capitals of these composite columns also emphasize the center and surrounding frame as the flat ceiling increases in height toward the center in a series of steps: the outermost ring has only lateral *puṣpapotikās*, the middle ring adds a seated *siṃha* and *puṣpapotikā* facing inward, and the highest central section adds a detached beam running between each capital in between these two elements (see fig. 17; see also fig. 16).

Stairs at the north end by the *gopura* lead into the Tiruvācci Maṇḍapa. They have balustrades with horses pulling chariot wheels, a motif seen in other Tamil temple structures from the twelfth century and later, though these are not part of the original

conception of the *maṇḍapa*.[50] Facing the worshiper entering the *maṇḍapa* are two *dvārapālas* attached to the composite columns of the central section. Six further figural composite columns are located either side of the north staircase facing inward. These are notable for depicting local Madurai myths. The best-known place history in the Madurai region especially associated with the Mīnākṣī-Sundareśvara temple is the *Tiruviḷaiyāṭarpurāṇam* (The Story of the Sacred Games), written by Parañcōti around the early to mid-seventeenth century, and using a number of earlier sources. In sixty-four episodes or "games" (in Tamil, *viḷaiyāṭal*; in Sanskrit, *līlā*), Śiva's appearance in Madurai is described. The best-known event is his marriage as Sundareśvara (the Beautiful Lord) to the local Pandyan warrior-princess, Tatāṭakai or Mīnākṣī. Other myths describe how Śiva saved the city of Madurai from various threats.

Many events in the *Tiruviḷaiyāṭarpurāṇam* are depicted in the composite column sculptures of the Mīnākṣī-Sundareśvara temple in Madurai, particularly in the thousand-column Maṇḍapa and the Puṭu Maṇḍapa; a complete set of small panels of all sixty-four *līlā*s are placed just beneath the ceiling of the Kiḷikkattu Maṇḍapa on the west side of the Golden Lily tank. Like the contemporary Puṭu Maṇḍapa, the figural composite columns of the Tiruvācci Maṇḍapa include Īśāna and Mīnākṣī (or Tatāṭakai) with three breasts facing each other, though these images are much smaller than the Puṭu Maṇḍapa's sculptures at only around one meter in height. Another depicts Śiva as a sow clutching six piglets to his/her breasts with six further piglets around the base (fig. 18). This depiction relates to a myth in the *Tiruviḷaiyāṭarpurāṇam* (chapter 45), when Śiva saved twelve piglets from starvation after a king had hunted down their parents. In a previous life they had been cursed by an ascetic to be reborn as pigs but in compensation would have the lord of Madurai as their mother. The king hunting the boar and sow appears on the side of the composite column's base in relief. In the subsequent chapter the piglets grow up, develop human bodies, and become chief ministers to the Pandyan king. A number of the pig-headed ministers stand in *añjalimudrā*
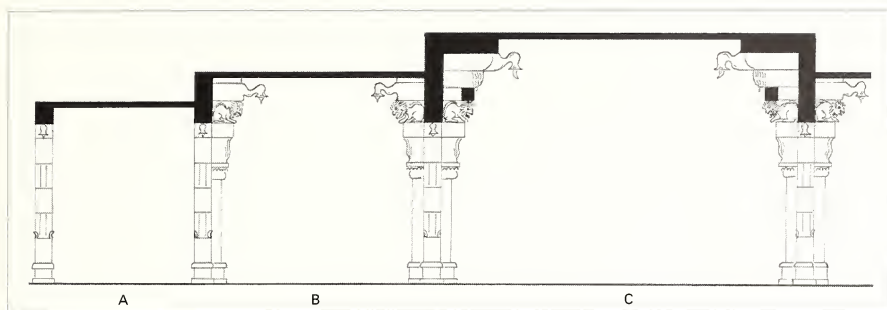
17 Section of a Nayaka period open *maṇḍapa* from exterior (A) to the highest central aisle (C). In A the ceiling rests upon a single *puṣpapotikā* (flower-bud bracket capital); in B there is an additional lateral puṣpapotikā and a seated *siṃha* (lion); in C a detached beam (black square) and another block with foliate edge is placed between the seated *siṃha* and the additional lateral *puṣpapotikā*.

18 Sundareśvara (Śiva) feeding piglets in Tiruvācci Maṇḍapa.

beneath the royal hunter on the right side of the composite column. Two small male portrait images in *añjalimudrā* face into the central section. At the south end of this *maṇḍapa* a high basement with the usual sequence of moldings on the north side and stairs on each side leads up through a small doorway to the next Kampaṭṭaṭi Maṇḍapa. The Tiruvācci Maṇḍapa is now partially enclosed with later infilling walls on east and west, but it was originally open-sided and lighter.

On the east side a short staircase leads past the northeast corner of the enclosed Kampaṭṭaṭi Maṇḍapa to a gateway through the *prākāra* wall leading to the tank. To the north of this path is a modern building used as a school for training priests, founded in 1992, and opposite it is a small, square, sixteen-column *maṇḍapa* with two small portrait images attached to the central columns around the platform where images of deities would be placed during a festival. This tank on the east side of the temple, the Lakṣmītīrtha, is square with steps at the center of each side (fig. 19). It is used for ritual bathing by devotees rather than as a *teppakkuḷam* (festival water tank) for the celebration of a float festival (*teppotsava*). The temple's festival tank with the distinctive central *maṇḍapa* lies farther away to the northwest. On the west side of the Tiruvācci Maṇḍapa a corridor leads round past the temple kitchens, storerooms, and a Vināyakar (Gaṇeśa) shrine to the open space of the west side of the *prākāra* and a side entrance to

the Kampattaṭi Maṇḍapa. Several of the composite columns in this side corridor have very worn male portrait images in *añjalimudrā*, each about one meter high, attached to them.

ENTERING THE SACRED HEART OF THE TEMPLE

The walled enclosure, smaller size, and interior darkness of the Kampattaṭi Maṇḍapa (*G* in fig. 2) distinguish it from the two outer ones, the Āstāṉa (*A*) and Tiruvācci Maṇḍapas (*B*). It is not an independent structure, acting more just as an infill of columns and corridors, yet it marks a clear entrance into the sacred core of the temple.[51] The composite columns of this *maṇḍapa* form a T-shaped section running between the outer entrance from the Tiruvācci Maṇḍapa to the inner staircase leading to the *mahāmaṇḍapa* and across the front of these stairs to a plain shrine for the two *utsavamūrti*s (festival images) of Skanda/Murukaṉ and Devasenā on the west side (*H*). The north-south axis is disrupted as is usual in Tamil temples, however,

by the *dhvajastambha* (flagpole), *balipīṭha* (sacrificial altar), and three *vāhana*s (animal vehicles) — Nandi for Śiva, a peacock for Skanda, and a rat for Gaṇeśa — so worshipers must move around this fenced area. The ceiling in this *maṇḍapa* is very high. The columns and composite columns are all the usual Tamil Drāviḍa five-part type, with alternating cubical and chamfered sections, but with exceptionally high basements beneath to ensure the even proportions of the four upper parts of the core columns. The roof is raised along the T-shaped section with seated *siṃha* and *puṣpapotikā* capitals, but no detached beam. At the intersection in front of the *vāhana*s high-relief, life-size male portrait images on the composite columns face inward toward the main shrine, and *dvārapāla*s face outward toward approaching worshipers. Two staircases lead steeply upward from this *maṇḍapa* to the *mahāmaṇḍapa* in the center directly before the cave shrine and to a Ṣaṇmukha (six-faced, Skanda) shrine in the southeast corner of this temple complex, built against the rock face (*L*).

19 Lakṣmītīrtha and *gopura* from the east.

Within the Ṣaṇmukha shrine (L) an aisle of composite columns leads from the staircase on the north side to a small shrine against the south wall containing metal images of Skanda/Murukaṉ and his two wives, Devasenā (Devayāṉai) and Vaḷḷi. An additional shrine to Centilāṇṭavar (Murukaṉ at Tirucendur) is in the northwest corner; metal images of the Nāyaṉmārs, the sixty-three Tamil Śaiva poet-saints, are placed on a platform all along the west wall. The main shrine is a recent addition, however, for originally there was just a throne platform for festival rituals at the south end of this dark room. This original arrangement is clear not only from the modern materials used to make the shrine but also because one of the two life-size, royal portrait images (P) attached to composite columns alongside is now obscured by the shrine.

These male figures are standing in añjalimudrā as usual. They are approximately 160 centimeters high but are raised on bases 68 and 55 centimeters high, and so their raised hands are at eye level. The two are very similar, bar slight differences in their headdress – the tight-fitting, turbanlike hat worn by royal figures in southern Tamilnadu only from the early seventeenth century.[52] Both have a sharply defined nose, mus-tache, and eyes. They wear heavy earrings composed of four large beads that have stretched their earlobes; a hole through the stone has been created by the sculptor to realistically suggest the earrings' weight. A long, three-string necklace reaches down over their round, well-fed stomachs that bulge over a jeweled belt. Thick bands and bangles are placed around upper arms and wrists. They are naked to the waist as usual, but wear an ankle-length cloth delineated with finely patterned foliate decoration.[53] Two smaller male portraits are placed on the sides of the columns. They are placed on the east side of this room to face both the throne platform, now a shrine, upon which portable images of deities would have been placed during festivals, and also the staircase from the mahāmaṇḍapa and the main cave shrine at the heart of the temple. Though there are no associated inscriptions, they are very like the pair identified as of the Madurai Nayaka Tirumala, and perhaps his

brother Muttu Krishnappa, in the Tirumala Maṇḍapa at Alagarkoyil just north of Madurai (fig. 20).[54] These examples, and indeed two further examples in this temple at Tirupparankundram (fig. 21) together with others provisionally identified as Tirumala at Srivilliputtur, Srirangam, and Tiruppuvanam, are best-termed "Tirumala-type," as it cannot be certain that they are both Tirumala. Their similarity with the figure in the Puṭu Maṇḍapa at Madurai undoubtedly of this well-known king suggests, however, that such an identification is reliable. As discussed above, the distinctive difference in headwear of these images compared with the two late sixteenth-century examples in the gopura means that there is no reason to believe these images should be associated with the only Nayaka inscriptions at the site, dated to 1583–84 in the gopura.
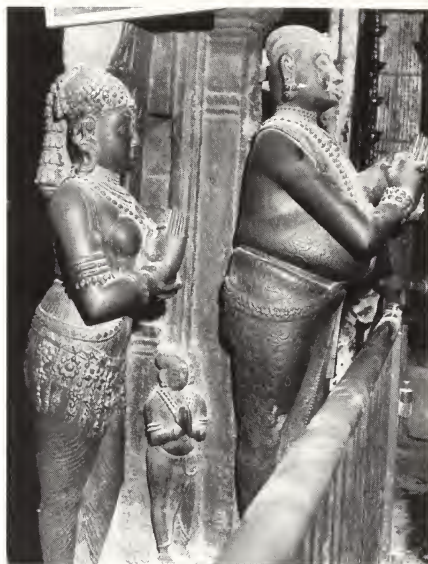
As suggested above, the mahāmaṇḍapa (K in fig. 2) may have been built in the eleventh or twelfth century, but the present structure is substantially a seventeenth-century reconstruction. Composite columns with two attached columns on the north and south sides support a six-meter-high ceiling; a platform against the north wall has metal images. As the worshiper enters from the Kampattaṭi Maṇḍapa, small doors on three sides lead eastward to the Ṣaṇmukha shrine, to the Ammaṉ shrine, and paḷḷiyaṟai on the west and upward again to the ardhamaṇḍapa directly in front of the eighth-century cave shrine. This small, enclosed space is now very hot and dark, lit only by oil lamps. Four seventeenth-century composite columns support this small structure, with two further columns aligned with the two eighth-century columns of the cave shrine. The ardhamaṇḍapa is chiefly notable for the two royal portrait groups alongside the entrance to the cave on the east side (P). These are again of the Tirumala-type, very similar in dress, size, and anatomy to the two in the Ṣaṇmukha shrine described above, and they are roughly life-size (see fig. 21). They face inward toward the worshipers and priests before the shrine, and the deities present there. As at Alagarkoyil and in the Puṭu Maṇḍapa, these royal portrait images are not alone but are accompanied by their queens; here the

21 Tirumala-type portrait image with queen in front of cave, Tirupparankundram. © French Institute of Pondicherry/École Française d'Extrême-Orient.

20 Tirumala-type portrait image, Tirumala Maṇḍapa, Alagarkoyil.

inner king is accompanied by two queens, one on each side. The outer queen is on an extended basement attached to the side of the composite column in order that she can turn to face the main shrine with her hands in *añjalimudrā*, rather than outward toward the worshipers, as the queens do at Alagarkoyil.

The last major addition to this temple complex was the Āstāṉa Maṇḍapa in front of the *gopura*, but in the final decade of the seventeenth century (*A* in fig. 2). The long approach through the *gopura*'s gateway, the Tiruvācci and Kampattaṭi Maṇḍapas, the *mahāmaṇḍapa* and the *ardhamaṇḍapa*, to the cave shrine was thus extended with another grand entrance *maṇḍapa*. The structure of the Āstāṉa Maṇḍapa is very like that of the Tiruvācci Maṇḍapa, a freestanding structure now adjoining the *gopura* with

an interior space surrounded by two concentric aisles. The whole *maṇḍapa* is raised on a high basement with an *upapīṭha* and *adhiṣṭhāna*, the former now largely buried. A deeply curved eave runs across the front and a short distance along the sides with a row of brick-and-plaster roof forms, alternating *kūṭas* and *śālas*, above. Originally the *maṇḍapa* was open on all sides, though now shops selling religious paraphernalia and infilling walls between the composite columns make it feel more enclosed. The northern composite columns at the front have huge attached figures: rearing *yāḷis* and horsemen in the center, and at the corners large male deities holding bows standing in open aedicules attached to the front of the corner composite column (fig. 22). These two are Skanda at the northeast and Cūraṉ, the demon killed by him, at the northwest. This mythic event is celebrated each year on the tenth day of the fourteen-day *brahmotsava* in the Tamil month of Paṅkuṉi (March–April). Thus, for the devotees approaching the temple along Sanniti

Street these figural composite columns of the Āstāna Maṇḍapa greet them, with the superstructure of the *gopura* soaring above against the backdrop of the rock, "the Hill of Skanda."

The interior of this *maṇḍapa* is dominated by the central space emphasized by the highest roof and its inward-facing figural sculpture (fig. 23). Like the Tiruvācci Maṇḍapa, the Āstāna Maṇḍapa's flat roofs ascend from the outer concentric aisle toward the center by means of additional capital elements (see fig. 17). The central space with the highest ceiling thus has a seated *siṃha*, detached beam, and *puṣpapotikā*, many of the latter having parakeets attached to the points. The addition of lifelike birds, cats, snakes, or monkeys in high-relief or fully in the round to column capitals, eaves, or walls is a distinctive feature of later sixteenth- and seventeenth-century temples in Tamilnadu. The whole structure is supported on large composite columns, all of similar five-part core columns on bases with one or more attached columns depending on their location: set diagonally for the inner side of corner composite columns, for example, or with three attached columns set on the outer

23 Interior of Āstāna Maṇḍapa.

22 Front of Āstāna Maṇḍapa with large figural composite columns of *yāḷis* and horsemen.

sides of corner composite columns. The composite columns' attached columns demark the central space and the concentric aisle around it as locations for the movement of worshipers and the deities in procession, while the outermost aisle is just a frame. The stress on these spaces is emphasized by the figural sculpture attached to many of the composite columns, framing the central space and facing toward the shrine and the deities coming in procession from the north end of the *maṇḍapa*. As worshipers enter the *maṇḍapa* on the main central axis, they are greeted by a pair of *dvārapāla*s, as in the Tiruvācci Maṇḍapa (fig. 24). Though from an artistic or technical viewpoint these are not among the finest figural composite column sculptures in Tamilnadu, there are three particularly noteworthy sculptures amid the generally Śaiva subject matter indicated on the annotated plan (see fig. 2).

At the center of the west side is a large divine marriage scene, very similar to the more familiar scenes in the Puṭu Maṇḍapa and Kampattaṭi Maṇḍapa of the Mīnākṣī-Sundareśvara temple at Madurai, but here the marriage is of Skanda and Devasenā with Indra, Devasenā's father, in attendance (fig. 25). Opposite this scene is a royal portrait group, which, together with many of the architectural features described, suggests a late seventeenth-century date for the Āstāna Maṇḍapa (fig. 26). The portrait group is unusual, consisting of a queen flanked by a smaller male figure half her height, both in *añjalimudrā*; usually if a queen is accompanying a king, then the male figure is larger and more prominent. On the basis of a ceiling painting in the Mīnākṣī-Sundareśvara temple at Madurai with Tamil and Telugu labels alongside a very similar depiction of these two figures at the divine marriage of Mīnākṣī and Sundareśvara, the sculptures in the Āstāna Maṇḍapa are identified as Queen Mangammal, who ruled as regent from ca. 1689 to 1706, and her grandson Vijayaranga Chokkanatha of Madurai (fig. 27).[55]

Another figural composite column sculpture on the east side of the *maṇḍapa* depicts a courtly couple embracing, the man standing behind the woman and pulling her long plait; another similar couple in high relief is sculpted at the northwest corner of the Tiruvācci Maṇḍapa (fig. 28). With a broad view of the South Asian artistic tradition, both chronologically and geographically, one could identify these as a *mithuna*, a loving man and woman, much like those seen on a wide range of temples across India. But *mithuna* imagery is not common or prominent in the specific context of Tamil sculpture in any period, and is certainly not a prevalent feature of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century architectural sculpture, except on a modest scale among the brick-and-plaster images that cover the superstructures of some *vimāna*s and *gopura*s.[56] Such depictions of a courtly or royal couple are very unusual in public architectural sculpture in this period, when kings and queens usually appear in attitudes of devotion either before shrines, as in the cave shrine at Tirupparankundram or more usually on the major routes taken by deities in procession

24 *Dvārapāla* at entrance to Āstāna Maṇḍapa.

during festivals. This public proclamation of identity as a devoted worshiper of the deities, expressed through life-size stone architectural sculpture in temple settings, contrasts with a notable theme in the decorative arts from the Nayaka period. For images of kings in ivories, both fully round figures up to thirty centimeters high or in reliefs from boxes or combs, used in more private domestic or courtly settings, and on painted textiles, royal couples are depicted in erotic poses often in palace settings.[57] There is then not just a contrast in scale and artistic medium between architectural sculpture and these decorative arts, but a difference in the public identity of the king as the devoted worshiper and the private representation of his erotic identity. The iconography of these composite column sculptures at Tirupparankundram is thus unusual in the context of Nayaka period architectural sculpture.

25 Composite column with divine marriage of Skanda and Devasenā, Āstāna Maṇḍapa.

ARCHITECTURE, PATRONAGE, AND FESTIVAL RITUAL

Compared with many Tamil temples of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Skanda temple at Tirupparankundram is striking for the very clear single axis of approach. All the main structures of this temple guide the approaching worshiper inward and upward to the core of the temple, the earlier cave shrine. The Nayaka period architects were clearly concerned with defining both the sacred area of the temple complex with enclosure walls and a *gopura*, and the approach to the most important shrine through a series of *maṇḍapa*s. Both the alignment of the temple and the angle of approach are determined by the original site of the excavated cave, a limitation not present for temples on open sites. The awareness of correct alignment is, however, suggested at Tirupparankundram by the *teppakkuḷam* (festival tank) about five hundred meters to the northwest of the temple, where there was no limitation on its location and thus it is more accurately aligned with the cardinal points (fig. 29). This tank is for use during the annual *teppotsava*, when, on one day in the year, the deities are placed on a *teppam*, a floating temple, and pulled several times around the water-filled tank during the day and night of the festival. As usual, this *teppakkuḷam* is square, with steps at the center of each eighty-meter-long side. A low wall frames the tank with small, seated bulls and peacocks at the corners; rows of triangular holes on

the inner side are for oil lamps, lit for the nighttime circumnavigation. At the center of the tank is a sixteen-columned pavilion, termed a *nīrāḷi maṇḍapa*. A small shrine and attached *maṇḍapa* face toward the tank on the west side.

The construction of the temple's *maṇḍapa*s also stresses their architectural function as corridors or, better still, as galleries to move through. This temple is striking for the relative absence of specifically festival-related structures, such as *utsavamaṇḍapa*s. Processions and the temporary placement of deities in prescribed locations, especially in *maṇḍapa*s, are key features of temple festivals. Festival *maṇḍapa*s are a major feature of Tamil temples from the twelfth century on. They have previously been named hundred- or thousand-column *maṇḍapa*s on account of their approximate size, or as *kalyāṇamaṇḍapa*s referring to some *maṇḍapa*s' function as a location for the celebration of a divine marriage festival. Given that the divine marriage of a god and goddess is only one of the many types of festival celebrated in *maṇḍapa*s of this form, they are better termed more generally festival or *utsavamaṇḍapa*s than specifically *kalyāṇamaṇḍapa*s. Festival *maṇḍapa*s are columned halls characterized by pronounced central aisles that are wider with a higher ceiling than the aisles to either side, and they are often framed by figural sculpture, leading to a throne platform for the temporary placement of deities at one end.

The relative absence of specifically festival-related structures in this temple does not, however, suggest that no festivals take place in the temple: processions take place both within the temple and outside its boundaries around the town. Short processions related to one-day festivals, such as on full moon or new moon days, go out as far as the Kampattaṭi Maṇḍapa, going clockwise around the *vāhana*s, *balipīṭha*, and *dhvajastambha*. During the major festivals that occur in most of the Tamil months each year, processions go to the Tiruvācci and Āstāna Maṇḍapas, the central areas of which are used for the temporary display of the *utsavamūrti*s. Āstāna indeed means a court or place of royal audience, a suitable setting for the festival of divine royalty. A

26 Composite column with Mangammal and Chokkanatha, Āstāna Mandapa.

27 Ceiling painting of Mangammal, Mīnākṣī-Sundareśvara temple at Madurai.

swing (*ūñcal*) and a marriage (*kalyāṇa*) festival take place in the Tiruvācci Maṇḍapa, for example, with temporary decorations including banana fronds tied to the columns, an appliqué cloth suspended from the central ceiling, and a wooden structure erected for the enthronement of the deities. Such temporary structures were undoubtedly an essential element of festival ritual prior to the creation of permanent, stone festival *maṇḍapa*s, especially from the sixteenth century on. A constant theme in the development of South Asian architecture is the translation of temporary structures made from impermanent materials, such as cloth, clay, and wood, into more permanent features in durable materials, such as stone or metal.

Deities from the temple also go in procession outside the temple's precincts: Skanda/Murukan̲ and Devasenā go to the *teppakkuḷam* for the one-

day float festival in early Tai (January–February), clockwise all around the sacred hill on a *tēr* (*ratha*) on the penultimate day of the fourteen-day Paṅkun̲i *brahmotsava* (March–April) (fig. 30), the day following their marriage within the temple, and during the month of Cittirai (April–May) Murukan̲ and Pavaḷa Kan̲ivan̲i Perumāḷ (Viṣṇu) travel the seven kilometers to Madurai for four days to attend the wedding celebrations of Mīn̲ākṣī and Sundareṣvara. These two deities return the favor by attending Murukan̲ and Devasenā's wedding on the twelfth day of the Paṅkun̲i *brahmotsava*.

Patronage by the Madurai Nayakas at Tirupparankundram is clear from the inscriptions in the temple's *gopura* and the portrait sculpture of Mangammal in the Āstāna Maṇḍapa, and probably from the two portraits in the *gopura* and the four Tirumala-type portrait sculptures in the inner

28 High-relief sculpture of loving couple, Tiruvācci Maṇḍapa.

sections of the temple. The Madurai Nayakas were active patrons of architecture in the Madurai region, in Madurai itself and at both Tirupparankundram to the southwest and Alagarkoyil to the north. Stylistic features of the *maṇḍapa*s and the *gopura* connect Tirupparankundram with similar temples built in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries at these sites, together with similar portrait sculptures usually identified as Tirumala.

The connections among the temples of Madurai, Alagarkoyil, and Tirupparankundram that have been suggested here through an analysis of the architectural and sculptural forms are further supported by the festivals celebrated in each temple that create one vast sacred, royal space whose focal point is the Mīnākṣī-Sundareśvara temple in Madurai.[58] The Madurai Nayakas' patronage was not confined to architecture: the development of festival rituals, which had such a striking impact on the layout of these temples and their use, was also an arena for patronage by kings and others. Tirumala is regarded as the founder of the great Cittirai festival, uniting two different festivals, one at the Vaiṣṇava temple at Alagarkoyil with another at the Śaiva Mīnākṣi-Sundareśvara temple in order to promote the unity of the Madurai region and its people, a festival in which the deities of

29 View over temple with Lakṣmītīrtha (right), flat roofs of Tiruvācci and Āstāṉa Maṇḍapa, the *gopura* and the *teppakulam* (top left).

30 Festival procession with *ratha* (*tēr*) before the Āstāna Maṇḍapa.

Tirupparankundram are also involved.[59] The festival celebrations that connect these temples in the present are expressed architecturally in the great expansion of building activity at all these sites in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the emphasis of this architectural activity is precisely on the dramatization of those festivals.

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CONCLUSION

By focusing on the "life history" of the Skanda temple at Tirupparankundram, a number of important themes in the development of Tamil temple architecture over a thousand years have been illustrated and explored. From a modest, but important example of rock-cut architecture and sculpture in the eighth century, the temple expanded over the subsequent millennium into the major temple seen today, much of it built in the culturally dynamic period in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This development involved not only architectural expansion but a shift in dedication from Durgā to Skanda in the fourteenth or fifteenth century. This shift in dedication was due, at least in part, to the association of the site with the development of an overlapping Tamil Muslim cult to Iskandar and Sikandar Shah, the last ruler of the local Madura sultanate, the capital of which was probably at Tirupparankundram and not nearby Madurai. This Hindu temple also illustrates the planning emphasis throughout on the single axis of access directly inward, through successive increasingly sacred spaces to the cave shrine at the temple's heart. The Nayaka period expansion of the temple utilized the distinctive architectural composite column, allowing wider, higher, and more open *maṇḍapa*s, often with major figural sculptures of deities and royal images attached. Such royal portraiture and further evidence from inscriptions demonstrate that much of the temple was built under the patronage of the Madurai Nayakas, who were also important patrons of the region's festival ritual. Thus, from only a small cave temple in the eighth century, the temple at Tirupparankundram expanded into a much larger temple complex in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the layout and design of which illustrate the artistic vitality of this important period in Tamil art and architecture. ❖

NOTES

1. Hindu deities have many names, some
   local to a region or a particular temple and
   some pan-Indian. In Tamilnadu, the pan-
   Indian deity Skanda is more often named
   Subramaṇya in Sanskrit or Murukaṉ in
   Tamil. Murukaṉ is the name for an ancient
   Tamil deity who came to be identified with
   the Sanskrit deity Skanda, an association
   that dates back to fourth or fifth century
   A.D., if not earlier. I have generally used
   Skanda to name the deity here but have
   retained the name Murukaṉ in some places
   to emphasize the Tamil context of the dis-
   cussion. Skanda, Subramaṇya, and Murukaṉ
   are, nevertheless, considered to be the same
   deity.

2. Fred Clothey, The Many Faces of Murugan:
   The History and Meaning of a South Indian
   God (The Hague: Mouton Publishers,
   1978), 116, 124–27. Some Tamils, however,
   locate Skanda/Murukaṉ's sixth abode at
   Palamutircholai, a hill above the Alakar
   temple at Alagarkoyil near Madurai.

3. George L. Hart, The Poems of the Ancient
   Tamil: Their Milieu and Their Sanskrit
   Counterparts (New Delhi: Oxford University
   Press 1975; reprint, 1999), 22; Kamil V.
   Zvelebil, Tamil Traditions on Subramaṇya-
   Murugan (Madras: Institute of Asian
   Studies, 1991), 84. Clothey, Many Faces of
   Murugan, 125, injects a note of caution in
   assessing these sources, however, indicating
   that "there is at least some question whether
   the present site is the same as that associated
   with Murukaṉ in the pre-mediaeval litera-
   ture." I will return to this issue below.

4. Clothey, Many Faces of Murugan, 66,
   218 n. 47. Clothey suggests that the
   Tirumurukāṟṟupaṭai, though substantially of
   fourth–fifth-century date, has eleventh–
   twelfth-century portions. An introduc-
   tion and translation is in J.V. Chelliah,
   Pattupattu: Ten Tamil Idylls (Madras: South
   Indian Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing
   Society, 1962), 331–61.

5. The enclosure wall extends forty meters
   farther on the west side and is built up to the
   rock face. The Lakṣmītirtha on the east side
   is square.

6. The literature on Tamil cave temples in
   general and in Pandyanadu in particular
   includes P. Z. Pattabiramin, Sanctuaires
   Rupestres de l'Inde du Sud, vol. 2, Tamilnadu
   et Kerala (Pondicherry: Institut Français
   d'Indologie, 1975); D. Devakunjari, Madurai
   through the Ages: From the Earliest Times to
   1801 A.D. (Madras: Society for Archaeological,
   Historical and Epigraphical Research,
   1979), 105–13; Odile Divakaran, "Some
   Characteristics of the Early Brahmanical
   Caves in the Pandyan Country," in
   Kusumanjali: New Interpretations of Indian
   Art and Culture, ed. M. S. Nagaraja Rao
   (Delhi: Agam Kala Prakasham, 1987), 173–78;
   R. Nagaswamy, "Some Contributions of the
   Pandya to South Indian Art," Artibus Asiae
   27 (1964–65): 265–74, who discusses two of
   the earliest Pandyan caves at Piḷḷaiyarpatti
   and Kunnakkudi; C. Sivaramamurti,
   Kalugumalai and Early Pandyan Rock-
   Cut Shrines (Bombay: N. M. Tripathi,
   1961); P. R. Srinivasan, "Sculptures in the
   Two Rock-Cut Vaisnava Cave Temples
   at Namakkal," Artibus Asiae 24 (1961):
   107–16; Vidya Dehejia, The Namnakal Caves
   (Madras: State Department of Archaeology,
   Government of Tamilnadu, 1969). The latter
   two publications provide a detailed analysis
   of the caves and sculpture at Nammakal,
   but with little discussion of the later Nayaka
   period temples expanded from them at the
   site. The cave at Tirupparankundram merits
   similar treatment in the larger context of
   Pandyan art, but the emphasis here is on
   the architectural transformation of the site
   in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries
   to illustrate the key artistic themes of the
   Nayaka period.

7. For the main cave at Tirupparankundram,
   see Devakunjari, Madurai through the Ages,
   106–10; and Sivaramamurti, Kalugumalai
   and Early Pandyan Rock-Cut Shrines, 32–34,
   pl. 23.

8. Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy,
   no. 37 (1908): 70. The full text of the inscrip-
   tion is translated in Indian Antiquary 22
   (1893): 67–68.

9. For a description of this relief, see
   Devakunjari, Madurai through the Ages, 109.

10. Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, no. 143
    (1951).

11. G. Venkata Rao, "Two Anaimalai
    Inscriptions," Epigraphia Indica, 8 (1905–6):
    317–21.

12. Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy,
    nos. 238–50 (1941). Nos. 251–59 (1941) are
    further fragmentary twelfth- or thirteenth-
    century Pandyan inscriptions that have
    been built into the later structure. It is pos-
    sible that the thirteenth-century temple
    extended as far as the present entrance to
    the Kampattaṭi Maṇḍapa, perhaps with just
    a small doorway through an enclosure wall,
    though the columned, enclosed structure
    seen today is substantially a seventeenth-
    century construction.

13. Burton Stein, "Devi Shrines and Folk
    Hinduism in Mediaeval Tamilnad," in
    Studies in the Language and Culture of South
    Asia, ed. Edwin Gerow and Margery D.
    Lang (Seattle and London: University of
    Washington Press, 1973), 75–90.

14. Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy,
    nos. 337–39 (1918). For Māṟavarman
    Kulaśekhara I's chronology, see N.
    Sethuraman, The Imperial Pandyas:
    Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology
    (Kumbakonam: Raman & Raman, 1978),
    97–101.

15. See Kamil Zvelebil, The Smile of Murugan:
    On Tamil Literature of South India (Leiden:
    E. J. Brill, 1973), 237–46.

16. Hart, Poems of the Ancient Tamil, 22; Burton
    Stein, "Circulation and the Historical
    Geography of Tamil Country," Journal of
    Asian Studies 37.1 (1977): 7–26; Burton Stein,
    Peasant State and Society in Medieval South
    India (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1980;
    reprint, 1994), 368, 443–51.

17. On the development of Muslim society
    and the religious tradition in Tamilnadu,
    see Susan Bayly, Saints, Goddesses, and
    Kings: Muslims and Christians in South
    Indian Society, 1700–1900 (1989; reprint,
    New Delhi: Cambridge University Press,
    1992), Susan Bayly, "Cult Saints, Heroes,
    and Warrior Kings: South Asian Islam in
    the Making," in Religion and Public Culture:
    Encounters and Identities in Modern South
    India, ed. Keith E. Yandell and John J. Paul
    (Richmond: Curzon Press, 2000), 193–210;
    Mehrdad Shokoohy, Muslim Architecture of
    South India: The Sultanate of Ma'bar and
    the Traditions of the Maritime Settlers on
    the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts (Tamil
    Nadu, Kerala and Goa) (London and New
    York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003).

18. Shokoohy, *Muslim Architecture of South India*, 57–65; Mehrdad Shokoohy, "Architecture of the Sultanate of Maʿbar in Madura, and Other Muslim Monuments in South India," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, ser. 3, 1.1 (1991): 31–92, esp. 36–42, 67–74.

19. Shokoohy, *Muslim Architecture of South India*, 31.

20. Bayly, *Saints, Goddesses, and Kings*, 104–50.

21. Bayly, *Saints, Goddesses, and Kings*, 108–10.

22. Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis, *Persian Myths* (London: British Museum Press, 1993), 56–59; A. J. Arberry, *Classical Persian Literature* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1958; reprint, 1994), 43, 126, 448; Norah Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting* (London: British Library, 1983), 251–56.

23. See Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting*, figs. 60, 61; Oleg Grabar and Sheila Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History: Illustrations of the Great Mongol Shahnama* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

24. Quoted in *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians: The Muhamamdan Period*, ed. H. M. Elliot and John Dowson (London: Trübner and Co., 1871), 3:169.

25. Barbara Brend, *Perspectives on Persian Painting: Illustrations to Amir Khusrau's Khamsah* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), xxii.

26. See G. Yazdani, "Inscriptions of the Khalji Sultans of Delhi and Their Contemporaries in Bengal," in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (1917–18), 8–42, esp. 18–20, 24; J. A. Page, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 22, *An Historical Memoir on the Qutb, Delhi* (Calcutta: Government of India, 1926), 34–39. For examples of standardized coins with the "second Alexander" title on the reverse, see Mohammed Abdul Wali Khan, *Gold and Silver Coins of Sultans of Delhi in the Andhra Pradesh State Museum, Hyderabad* (Hyderabad: Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1974), 4, 28–32.

27. Bayly, *Saints, Goddesses, and Kings*, 108.

28. Arjun Appadurai, "Kings, Sects and Temples in South India, 1300–1700 A.D." in *South Indian Temples: An Analytical Reconsideration*, ed. Burton Stein (Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1978), 48–73; Richard Davis, *Lives of Indian Images* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 113–42; Venkata Raghotam, "Ritual Transactions and Economic Exchanges in Late Mediaeval South India: A Study of the Cultural Politics of Vijayanagara Warrior

Chieftans of the 14th and 15th centuries," in *Aksayanivi: Essays Presented to Debala Mitra*, ed. Gouriswar Bhattacharya (Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1991), 365–74.

29. Sheldon Pollock, "Rāmāyaṇa and Political Imagination in India," *Journal of Asian Studies* 52.2 (1993): 261–97.

30. Clothey, *Many Faces of Murugan*, 113.

31. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, nos. 262, 263 (1941). Two further inscriptions also in Tamil and Telugu in this gateway (*Madras Reports on Epigraphy*, nos. 860, 861 [1917]) and both dated Śaka 1593 (A.D. 1670–71) give a detailed genealogy of the Gingee Nayakas and state that Varadappa Nayaka gave some land, a golden palanquin, and provision for service in the central shrine on his way back from Rameshvaram on pilgrimage. Further secondary literature on the site may be found in Devakunjari, *Madurai through the Ages*, 312–16; P. Kirushnasami, *Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam Aruḷmiku Suppiramaṇiyasuvāmi Tirukkōyil Talavaralāṟu* (Tirupparankundram: Temple Authorities, 1991).

32. See, for example, Susan Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India: Buddhist, Hindu, Jain* (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1985), 591. A rightly skeptical J. H. Nelson traces this emphasis on Tirumala Nayaka to contemporary Jesuit accounts from the seventeenth century. J. H. Nelson, *The Madura Country: A Manual* (Madras: Government of Madras, 1868), 166.

33. For Krishnapuram, see *Epigraphia Indica* 9 (1907–8): 328–41, for five copper plates in Sanskrit dated 1567–68 describing the construction of the temple by Krishnappa Nayaka of Madurai (1564–72) and the grant of villages and land to the temple by the Vijayanagara king Sadashivaraya. Two inscriptions (*Madras Reports on Epigraphy*, nos. 16–17 [1912]) on either side of the entrance to the main shrine of the temple are dated 1563–64 and 1577–78. There is no reason to suggest that this temple was not built entirely between ca. 1563 and 1578. George Michell's suggestion that the sculptures in this temple, and similar ones at Tirukkurunkudi and Tenkasi, date to the early eighteenth century places them 150 years too late. See George Michell, *Art and Architecture in Southern India: Vijayanagara and the Successor States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 186–89; George Michell, *Hindu Art and Architecture* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2000), 184.

For Tiruchengodu, see *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, no. 646 (1905), which records the construction of the maṇḍapa in front of the Ardhanārīśvara temple on the hill in Śaka 1521 (1599–1600); no. 649 (1905) records a gift of land by Chokkanatha Nayaka of Madurai in Śaka 1588 (1666–67); no. 654 (1905) on the ceiling of the *gopura* in the Kailāsanātha temple records the construction of the *gopura* and temple of Kāśi-Viśveśvara on hill in the reign of Visvanatha Chokkalinga in Śaka 1585 (1663–64).

For Srirangam, see *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, inscriptions nos. 102–4 (1937) on the Garuḍa Maṇḍapa in Telugu, are dated Śaka 1596, Śaka 1593, and Śaka 1596 (1671–72 and 1674–75) and refer to the construction of the Gopālakṛṣṇa temple by Chinna Bomma Nayudu of Madurai during the reign of Chokkanatha Nayaka (r. 1659–82).

34. James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (London: John Murray, 1876), 285.

35. Adam Hardy, *Indian Temple Architecture: Form and Transformation* (New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Center for the Arts, 1995), 18. For an examination of these ideas in the Nayaka period architecture of Madurai, see Crispin Branfoot, "Approaching the Temple in Nayaka-Period Madurai: The Kūṭal Aḻakar Temple," *Artibus Asiae* 60.2 (2000): 197–221.

36. The ruined outer *gopura* of the mid–late twelfth-century Airāvateśvara temple at Darasuram has similar latticed windows on either side of the gateway, but rather than being in relief they are "blind" in the sense of being placed in a shallow niche. James C. Harle refers to the west *gopura* at Chidambaram as having an internal corridor with a latticed window that would admit light to this passage. James C. Harle, *Temple Gateways in South India: The Architecture and Iconography of the Cidambaram Gopuras* (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1963), 57.

37. See, for example, Douglas Barrett, *Early Cōḷa Architecture and Sculpture* (London: Faber and Faber, 1974), 27–32, 126–27.

38. See Crispin Branfoot, "Royal Portrait Sculpture in the South Indian Temple," *South Asian Studies* 16 (2000): 11–36.

39. The declining prevalence of inscriptions, whether in stone on buildings or copperplate grants, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the Tamil country, compared with earlier, is clear from a survey of the published lists of inscriptions in the

Annual Reports of Indian Epigraphy and has been noted by Velcheru Narayana Rao, David Shulman, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam in *Symbols of Substance: Court and State in Nayaka-Period Tamilnadu* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press 1992), 89. Noboru Karashima has studied nearly 1,800 Vijayanagara period (ca. 1350–1700) inscriptions, including nearly 1,200 unpublished ones, from the Tamil region. See Noboru Karashima, *A Concordance of Nayakas: The Vijayanagar Inscriptions in South India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002), 2. This compares with the ca. 15,000 inscriptions recorded from the Chola dynasty (ca. 850–1300) in the same region noted by Leslie Orr in *Donors, Devotees and Daughters of God: Temple Women in Medieval Tamilnadu* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 21.

40. Phillip Wagoner, "'Sultan among Hindu Kings': Dress, Titles, and the Islamicization of Hindu Culture at Vijayanagara," *Journal of Asian Studies* 55.4 (1996): 851–80; Anila Verghese, "Court Attire of Vijayanagara (from a Study of Monuments)," *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* 82.1–2 (January–June 1991): 43–61. These figures do not wear it in conjunction, however, with the similarly Islamicate tunic, the *kabāyi* discussed by Wagoner.

41. Branfoot, "Royal Portrait Sculpture"; Crispin Branfoot, "Tirumala Nayaka's 'New Hall' and the European Documentation of the South Indian Temple," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 11.2 (July 2001): 191–218, with annotated plan.

42. Devakunjari, *Madurai through the Ages*, 283. The *maṇḍapa* was gilded according to one of the Tamil texts in William Taylor, *Oriental Historical Manuscripts in the Tamil Language* (Madras: Charles Josiah Taylor, 1835), 2:153.

43. A. V. Jeyechandrun, *The Madurai Temple Complex (with Special Reference to Literature and Legends)* (Madurai: Madurai Kamaraj University, 1985), 305–10.

44. Nelson, *Madura Country*; R. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks of Madura* (Madras: Oxford University Press, 1924).

45. Henry Heras, "The Statues of the Nayaks of Madura in the Pudu Mantapam," *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* 15.3 (1925): 209–18. The temple authorities have added painted labels in Tamil over each figure, giving yet another variation on the genealogy.

46. The Tiruvācci Maṇḍapa has been built into later structures: the edge of the basement on the west is level with the later floor alongside, and storerooms have been built between columns at the northwest corners. The row of columns nearest the *gopura* is not part of the *maṇḍapa*.

47. For an extended discussion of the Tamil Drāviḍa composite column, see Crispin Branfoot "'Expanding Form': The Architectural Sculpture of the South Indian Temple, c. 1500–1700," *Artibus Asiae* 62.2 (2002): 189–245.

48. The bracket capital is one of the diagnostic features used to date Tamil temples by the pioneering historian of South Indian architecture, Gabriel Jouveau-Dubreuil in *Dravidian Architecture*, ed. S. Krishnaswami Aiyengar (1917; reprint, Varanasi: Bharat-Bharati, 1972).

49. Branfoot, "Tirumala Nayaka's 'New Hall.'"

50. On chariot-shaped structures in South Indian temple architecture, see Gerd J. R. Mevissen, "The Suggestion of Movement: A Contribution to the Study of Chariot-Shaped Structures in Indian Temple Architecture," in *Explorations in Art and Archaeology of South Asia: Essays Dedicated to N. G. Majumdar*, ed. Debala Mitra (Calcutta: Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, 1996), 477–512.

51. The sacred status is indicated by the prohibition of photography and non-Hindus from here on. The name of the *maṇḍapa* is that given to the columned hall in many Tamil temples that encloses the flagpole or *dhvajastambha*. There is a similarly named *maṇḍapa* in Madurai's Mīnākṣi-Sundareśvara temple.

52. Jean-François Hurpré, "The Royal Jewels of Tirumala Nayak of Madurai (1623–1659)," in *The Jewels of India*, ed. Susan Stronge (Bombay: Marg, 1995), 63–80.

53. While few South Indian textiles survive from this period, the presence of such detailed and occasionally dated sculptures might prove worthy of further study for the range of decorative motifs and sartorial style.

54. See Branfoot, "Royal Portrait Sculpture."

55. For a full discussion of this material, see Crispin Branfoot "Mangammal of Madurai and South Indian Portraiture," *East and West* 51.3–4 (December 2001): 369–77.

56. Many of these brick-and-plaster images seen today on *gopuras* are recent creations. Few sixteenth-century examples have survived intact through the regular restorations of temples. Erotic carvings are rare at Vijayanagara, appearing only as small low reliefs on columns, and only from the sixteenth century. See Anna L. Dallapiccola and Anila Verghese, *Sculpture at Vijayanagara: Iconography and Style* (New Delhi: Manohar and American Institute of Indian Studies, 1998), 98.

57. For examples, see Michell, *Art and Architecture in Southern India*, 212–15.

58. C. J. Fuller, "Madurai," in *Temple Towns of Tamil Nadu*, ed. George Michell (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1993), 94–113.

59. For the festival, see C. J. Fuller "Royal Divinity and Human Kingship in the Festivals of a South Indian Temple," *South Asian Social Scientist* 1.1 (1985): 3–43; William P. Harman, *The Sacred Marriage of a Hindu Goddess* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989); D. Dennis Hudson, "Siva, Minaksi, Visnu: Reflections on a Popular Myth in Madurai," in Stein, *South Indian Temples*, 107–18, D. Dennis Hudson, "Two Citra Festivals in Madurai," in *Religious Festivals in South India and Sri Lanka*, ed. Guy R. Welbon and Glenn E. Yocum (New Delhi: Manohar, 1982), 101–56.

Śiwa in Java

The Majestic Great God and the Teacher

ABSTRACT

In this article, I have chosen to focus upon two particular representations of the god Śiwa from both Central and East Java—Śiwa the Majestic Great God and Śiwa the Teacher. Through a discussion of these image types I am attempting to weave a narrative of the Javanese past in which the objects are indicative of the singularity and fluidity of the human religious experience. These two specific representations of the god Śiwa in the art of classical Java are connected with Javanese religious thought as articulated in indigenous textual material, embracing the present and present-day perceptions of the Indonesian past. I examine how the creation of a typology of images is problematic due to the rigidity of categories, and in so doing I argue that style cannot be separated from the interpretive element. The representation of the male body in Javanese art is also briefly considered.

This article is based on recent research on images of Śiwa from Java.[1] However, this study does not relate the discovery of hitherto unknown images and therefore it does not offer a new interpretation of Javanese images of Śiwa on that basis.[2] Rather, through a self-reflexive engagement with the research, I critically examine how to interpret Javanese images of Śiwa and how the Javanese past is reconstructed.

The main concern of my research is to see how images of Śiwa can be reconnected with their religious context, from which they have been divorced, by paying greater attention to Javanese religious textual material and looking at the relationship between texts and images. In doing so I have revisited established iconographic classifications. This focus on textual material is expected to be complemented by an archaeological study of the sites with which the images are associated, when that is possible. Scholars such as Gregory Schopen have indicated the importance of connecting the study of Buddhist texts with the archaeological study of Buddhist sites, and more recent work on early Indian art has used landscape archaeology to reevaluate the sculpture from the Sanchi site.[3]

Most of the work on classical Indonesia has not differentiated between art history and archaeology, which have been used as a combined tool in the study of religious structures.[4] The overemphasis and overdependence on written texts, which has been

Mahādewa, East Java, National Museum, Jakarta.

criticized in the context of the study of Indian religions, especially Buddhism, and the consequent impact of such a dependence on Indian art-historical writing are not a problem found in art-historical writing focused on classical Java. On the contrary, here the role of indigenous textual material in reconstructions of the religious background seems to have been underplayed; this is certainly so in the case of Śiwa images and Śaivism. Thus one of the aims of the research was to recontextualize Śiwa and present the cult and iconography of Śiwa in its local form as it pertains to Javanese religion, through a reevaluation of relevant Javanese textual material.

In the course of the research a number of issues problematized the classification process and required that the assumption of neutrality of classification be explicitly questioned. In addition, dating images and objects and searching for a chronological order that would reveal an evolutionary progression were not seen as the principal goal of research of this kind as often still understood to be the case in writings dealing with the art of classical Java.[5] Development and progression are assumptions reflecting ways of thinking about the past; these assumptions reveal the relationship of the present with the past and the construction of what the archaeologist Michael Shanks has called "a past as wished for": "We all produce a 'past as wished for' in the sense of pasts which we find empirically, theoretically, aesthetically and archaeologically 'satisfying.'"[6]

In this article, I have chosen to focus upon two particular representations of the god Śiwa from Java — Śiwa the Majestic Great God and Śiwa the Teacher. Through a discussion of these image types I am attempting to weave a narrative of the Javanese past in which the objects are indicative of the singularity and fluidity of the human religious experience.

IMAGES: RELIGIOUS TEXTS, INSCRIPTIONS, AND TEMPLE SITES

Why are there representations of the god Śiwa in Java? Śaivism traveled to Java with a mixed background. We know that Śiwa is a Hindu god whose

cult was imported from India, as a result of what at one time was referred to as the "Hinduization" of the Indonesian islands and was later called "localization of Indian influence."[7] The impetus to adopt Indian religions has been seen by historians as being motivated principally by local rulers' desire to legitimize kingship: the Indian religions gave them the means to acquire greater power and/or to consolidate it.[8]

Neither the "Indianization" nor the "localization of Indian influence" theory have been satisfactory in explaining the "India-Java axis."[9] The theory of "Indianization" of Indonesia and Southeast Asia served a purpose during the colonial era, just as the "localization of Indian influence" did in the post-independence period. So is the attempt to see some kind of cosmopolitanism linking South and Southeast Asia, particularly in the sense of the Sankrit cosmopolis theorized by Sheldon Pollock:[10] a "past as wished for" influenced by contemporary ideas of global networks and the spread of English as an international *lingua franca*. I will, however, leave aside all questions of origin of Javanese Śiwa cults, preferring not to engage with the overly debated issue of Indian influence on ancient Indonesian culture. It is a topic for another article and one that needs to be considered in the light of how it relates to present-day constructions of the Javanese past.

Śiwa worship seems to have enjoyed popularity in Indonesia over a period of more than seven centuries. The existence of locally fashioned images associated with temple sites and also of early inscriptions referring to *lingga* installation and the existence of a number of locally composed texts in Old Javanese, of various dates, from about the tenth century, dealing with the worship of Śiwa, can be taken as evidence that a cult identified as Śiwa worship by its practitioners lived on for a number of centuries. In many ways the cult of Śiwa is still alive. Śiwa worship is part of Balinese Hinduism,[11] and Śaiwa Tantric influences can be found in *kebatinan* or *kejawen* (Javanese mysticism; literally "the religion of Java").[12] Judith Becker has highlighted the impact of Śaiwa Tantric cults on the artistic practices of Javanese courts through her study of the twentieth-century mystical musical

treatise *Wedha Pradangga Kawedhar* (Knowledge of Gamelan Revealed).[13]

At a more popular level, Śiwa provided a new identity for the local gods, whose characteristics were seen to parallel one or another of the god's composite aspects. It would be simplistic, however, to perceive the presence of Śiwa in Java and, more widely, in Indonesia, only in this light. The presence of literature in the Śaivite mold, from Java, very broadly coeval with the images, reveals greater complexity and allows for a study of the religious background of Javanese images of Śiwa that takes into account Javanese sources. Thus one can begin to engage with the issue of who made the images and why.

I cannot claim (very far from it) to have been able to make complete sense of the textual material, which is truly vast.[14] Texts to be considered are as diverse as literary compositions, such as some of the best known *kakawin* (*Arjunawiwāha* [Arjuna's Wedding] is a case in point) and other works that deal more specifically with the exposition of doctrine. The latter are categorized by the experts as *tutur*, prose works of religious content. This type of literature is known to us mostly through Bali, where *tutur* have been composed by the hundreds and relate more specifically to Balinese religion. Some of these *tutur* were, however, also known in Java, and it is very likely that *tutur* writers were active in ancient Java, alongside composers of *kakawin* and *kidung*.

To the literary genre of *tutur* belong the "classic" works — "classic" in the sense that this is how they are viewed in present-day reconstructions of their religious import — that present an exposition of Śaiwa religion in ancient Java. Of these the main ones are: *Wṛhaspati Tattwa* (The Doctrine of Reality of Wṛhaspati), *Gaṇapati Tattwa* (The Doctrine of Reality of Gaṇapati), *Sang Hyang Tattwajñāna* (The Revered Knowledge of the Doctrine of Reality), *Sang Hyang Mahajñāna* (The Revered Great Knowledge), *Wratiśasana* (The Precepts of the Ascetic), *Bhuwana Kośa* (The Sphere of the Inhabited World), *Bhuwana Sangkṣepa* (The Quintessence of the World), and *Jñānasiddhanta* (The Knowledge of Śaiwa Siddhanta). To this list one should add an exceptional *kakawin*,

Dharma Śūnya (The Philosophy of the Void), a religious and philosophical work in verse that has received greater attention only in more recent years.[15] The dates of these texts are not known with any precision, except perhaps for *Jñānasiddhanta*, a Balinese rather than Javanese text in the form known to us today, which Jan Gonda places around 1000.[16] The above-mentioned *Dharma Śūnya*, also regarded as a Balinese work, is thought to be Majapahit.[17]

The way this textual material relates to the images and their iconography is not immediately obvious. Śiwa worship is a complex phenomenon, shrouded in secrecy. But even with such shortcomings, an overview of the religious literature involved highlights the conceptual background of the images and allows for a refinement of interpretive techniques. What transpires from a reading of this vast material is that Javanese Śaivism seemed to have been an independent synthesis of different Śaiwa teachings, from Pāśupata — for the presence of which Max Nihom has argued,[18] to Śaiwa Siddhanta — the latter not, however, akin to South Indian Śaiva Siddhanta.[19]

Textual sources may allow us an insight into the thinking of the people who fashioned the images, but the inscriptions connected with sites where images were found can tell us more precisely about the historical context. Inscriptions do not inform us on doctrine; however, they often make indirect reference to Śiwa worship, for example through the mention of specific mythological episodes connected with the god, which may be used as metaphors for royal prowess. Their vocabulary needs to be scrutinized for it may be full of ambiguities. However, such indirect references are still very significant[20] and point to acquaintance with a specific body of religious knowledge.

The architectural context of images is important for establishing their ritual function. Information about the original physical context of the images is unfortunately far too often missing and impossible to retrieve, as the objects we see today have by and large been removed from their original location, with no record of their provenance. However, there are still a number of images in situ, such as the ones at the

Prambanan complex, a number of *lingga*s also in situ, and relief representations, including the Śiwa from Jago's *Arjunawiwāha* relief series in East Java.

To these we need to add the knowledge derived from an archaeological study of the sites, in particular in terms of a sacred landscape, with the sites viewed by way of their relationship with one another, as components of this overall sacred landscape.[21] We may then begin to obtain a more complete picture. Postprocessual approaches to archaeology have emphasized a concept of landscape as a "lived context which is experienced from the position of the human being,"[22] bringing back people and their movements — human agency — into the empty landscapes of structuralist approaches, which have dominated Indonesian archaeology to date:

> This has resulted in a more reflexive model which recognises the interactive relationship between people and buildings. . . . Of particular concern in these recent studies has been the ways in which the physical layout of ritual sites may have helped to maintain behaviour and ideological regularity, especially through the control and restriction of vision and bodily movements.[23]

Thus we see a complex relationship emerge among texts, epigraphic records,[24] the images themselves, their immediate architectural context, and the sacred landscape to which the images belong, through the sites with which they are associated. It is only by looking at the way these different elements relate to each other, bringing the focus back on human agency, that we begin to make sense of the wider context — religious and sociohistorical.

ŚIWA THE MAJESTIC GREAT GOD

In this and in the following section, I shall focus on the image types of Śiwa Mahādewa and Śiwa Guru and their iconographic features. The iconography of the images in question has been examined in great detail in a prodigious output of scholarly writings for well over a century. Through these writings, archaeologists and art historians — primarily writing in Dutch, due to the colonial past of Indonesia, but roughly from the time of the Second World War publishing in English, Bahasa Indonesia, and other languages — have classified all extant Javanese images and arranged them into set types. These writings constitute the present body of iconographic knowledge.[25] Newly discovered images, if any, are always compared with these existing types, and they are classified and named accordingly.

In my work I have related to this existing typology in a critical way, attempting a reclassification based on a new reading of the formal iconography of the images considered. This new reading was prompted by my engagement with the religious textual material. But my reclassification is not, in any way, posited as fixed. As I shall further elaborate, classifications should be kept sufficiently flexible, for they are based on interpretation, and while some may be more useful in certain contexts, they may be useless in others.

The first image type I shall consider is Śiwa as the Majestic Great God or Śiwa Mahādewa. The *Jñānasiddhanta* (*Tutur Adhyātmika*) describes Mahādewa as one of the *saptadewata*, the seven deities. This designation is to be seen as part of a series of interlinked levels on the way to liberation, with the lowest level of *ātma* corresponding with the lowest level of *dewata* and so on. Mahādewa corresponds to *nirātma*, the *akṣara* O and the *turyapada* state. The *Jñānasiddhanta* describes him as follows: he is *nirātma*; the seven openings of the body (eyes, ears, nostrils, and mouth) are his dwelling place; he is yellow in color; and he is the originator of the world. He is fourth in the list.[26]

Mahādewa is also part of the *nawasangga*, the Nine Great Gods, occupying different cardinal directions, and in that scheme he rules West.[27] Other characterizations of Mahādewa are found in a number of literary works, some of which may describe him in negative terms.[28] Extant images of Mahādewa are not necessarily linked with the whole range of these contrasting conceptualizations, nor is it always possible to match them exactly, but it helps to be aware of this multivocality. They are a "solid metaphor," and polysemy is what underlies them as "solid metaphor."[29]

In Java (both Central and East Java, but more frequently in Central Java), Mahādewa is shown standing in *samabhanga*, with a straight back, the weight equally distributed on the feet (fig. 1). There are representations of seated Śiwa also conventionally referred to as Mahādewa (fig. 2). I prefer to separate the standing Mahādewa from the seated Śiwa, as I feel that the seated Śiwa is not Mahādewa (bearing in mind, of course, that Śiwa is Mahādewa and Guru and everything else simultaneously and all the time). Mahādewa seems to embody the Majestic Lord Śiwa, Śiwa as a kingly god, whereas seated Śiwa is seen in his meditative, yogic aspect. I shall discuss these images in greater detail in the next section.

The main *lakṣaṇa* of Mahādewa, by which I mean the customary distinctive marks or attributes, are given as: *cāmara* (fly whisk), *akṣamala* (rosary of beads), *padma* (lotus flower), and *kamaṇḍalu* (water jar). The *cāmara* is understood, in the established body of iconographic knowledge, to be linked with purification. The *akṣamala* is a rosary sometimes made of small skulls. The *kamaṇḍalu* is said to symbolize asceticism. These attributes are not necessarily present in all images, nor are they always held in the same hands. Among the hand gestures (*mudrā*), most frequently seen is the *yogamudrā* (also known as *dhyāṇamudrā*, one hand over the other, palms facing upward). The *hasta* (hand and arm gesture) most frequently seen are *varadahasta* (bestowing gesture) and *abhaya* (do-not-fear). There are variations in terms of which hand carries what or performs a particular *hasta* or *mudrā*. Directions for the *hasta* may vary, and it is important to remember that a change of direction should not be taken to mean we are seeing a different *hasta*. There are several *mudrā* and *hasta* seen especially among East Javanese images that cannot be easily identified.[30]

Another important *lakṣaṇa* is the *candrakapāla* or *ardhacandrakapāla*, which is worn on the head. This is a moon or half-moon with a skull placed either over the *jāṭamakuṭa*, a crown placed under a topknot, or a *kirīṭamakuṭa*, a tall diadem crown or headdress. An optional *lakṣaṇa* is the *trinetra*, third eye, not seen in all Mahādewa images. A *triśūla* (trident) may be

1 Śiwa Mahādewa, Central Java, silver. National Museum, Jakarta.

2 Seated Śiwa, Central Java, bronze. Private collection, Amsterdam.

seen, sometimes carved on the stone surrounding the image or held by the deity when the image is made of bronze. The dress varies according to the region (Central or East Java) and may reflect aristocratic fashion. In Central Javanese images we see what can be described as a thin *kain* cloth wrapped around the lower half of the body, usually plain. Occasionally a second *kain* can be seen, which may be made of tiger skin, as in the Mahādewa from Candi Banon (fig. 3), in the Borobudur area, now in the National Museum in Jakarta. When the *kain* is decorated, the motifs seen are lines (*garis*), *kawung* (a type of batik cloth pattern), and arabesque-like figures.

In East Java, Mahādewa is seen with two or three belts or waist cloths (*ikat pinggang*), an *uncal* (tassel),

and a *sampur* (sash) tied from right to left around the waist, shaped like a fan. East Javanese images are almost weighed down by the richness of dress and adornment. The physical body of Śiwa disappears, and the sumptous decorative clothing and rich jewelery seem actively to refer to authority and power (fig. 4).

Mahādewa may wear an *upawīta ular*, a snake-shaped *upawīta* (brahmanical cord),[31] or a jewel-like long *upawīta* and can be seen, in Central Java, standing next to or seated on his *wāhana* (vehicle), the bull Nandi. His jewelery varies. As earrings he wears varieties of *kuṇḍala* (ear ornaments). He wears *hara* or *kalung* (necklace), *keyura* (arm bracelets), and *kankana* (round ornaments that can be worn over wrists or ankles), and he may wear snakes coiled round the arms. The height of the images varies, and I suggest variations in height are related to their place within the *candi* (temple).

Having examined a variety of Mahādewa images in the course of three field trips to Indonesia (1998, 1999, and 2000), I asked myself how the Javanese Mahādewa compares with parallel images from other regions. Comparison with Indian images seemed to be relevant. Engaging in this comparison had a point, for it helped to highlight what is peculiar about Javanese Mahādewa and what distinguishes it from other images of the god manufactured elsewhere. The first thing that strikes us is that there is no exact equivalent image in India. Indian Śiva is generally addressed as Mahādeva by devotees, but Śiva is primarily known as Maheśvara (Great Lord) in the Sanskrit texts. As Maheśvara or Maheṣamūrti, Śiva in India is described in relevant iconographic texts such as *Śilpaśāstra* (The Canonical Book of Sculpture) as three eyed, with *jāṭamakuṭa*, four armed and on a *padmapīṭha* or *padmāsana* (pedestal), carrying *paraśu* (ax) and *mṛga* (deer, symbol of *pāśu*), and performing *abhaya* and *varada*, the gesture of protection and bestowing.

Images of Maheṣamūrti as such are relatively uncommon. The best known is from Elephanta, and this type of image is possibly related to Javanese representations of Śiwa Triśiras.[32] Maheśvara manifests himself in different forms, seated or standing, riding upon vehicles, as terrific (*ugra*) or pacific (*saumya*).

3 Detail of tiger skin, Mahādewa, Candi Banon, National Museum, Jakarta.

not specific to the Mahādewa representations, as will be seen, though it must be pointed out that in India the *cāmara* may be seen with Svarṇakarsaṇa Bhairava, according to the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa,* a Sanskrit work that discusses the arts.[33] What we are thus witnessing is an overall phenomenon of transposition, which is not in itself indicative of ignorance of given iconographic precepts[34] but may simply represent a conscious reformulation to infuse a majestic form (Mahādewa) with more esoteric religious meaning. The *cāmara* is a reference to cleansing, and as such it connects to the ascetic practices involving ablutions, also referred to by the *kamaṇḍalu,* in keeping with what the Javanese (Śaiwa) religious literature discusses in connection with *tapa,* asceticism.[35]

ŚIWA THE TEACHER

Śiwa the Teacher is Śiwa Bhaṭāra Guru (Lord Teacher), that is, Śiwa when one thinks of him as teacher. Once again it must be reiterated that this is not a very clear-cut category. Śaivism postulates a series of realities from the highest absolute to the visible — realities, incidentally, that are inner, accessible through meditation practice, centered on one's own body. A manifestation of Śiwa rules over each reality, and Bhaṭāra Guru is Śiwa manifesting himself in the visible reality. Śiwa is the Supreme Yogi, and it is through yogic discipline[36] that one can reach the highest reality. The discipline is taught by Śiwa himself (or a guru who "is" Śiwa). Thus Śiwa is Bhaṭāra Guru as he is simultaneously Mahādewa, Sadāśiwa, as he is also Sang Paramārtha (The Highest).

I am keen to distinguish between Śiwa Guru and Agastya even though the two are often conflated and thought, in secondary sources, to be one and the same. In view of my above remarks on simultaneous identities, this view is theoretically acceptable, but the image is usually described as a composite image type, a hybrid, with no further engagement with the religious context of the image that has in the first instance given rise to this supposed hybridity. Agastya is a guru in human form, a human manifestation of Śiwa, and as such images of Agastya have a place in

4 Mahādewa, East Java, National Museum, Jakarta.

His *līlamūrti* (the lord engaging in cosmic play) are several in number, and it is under such guises that he is more commonly shown. The Javanese Mahādewa seems to be a reinterpretation, in a novel form, of the concept of Śiwa as the Great Lord/God. The *cāmara* is a Javanese elaboration in the iconography of Śiwa and

Śiwa temples.[37] Agastya is, strictly speaking, a *ṛṣi*, in other words a sage, a guru who is, ultimately, Śiwa. I base my typology of Śiwa Guru and Agastya on Le. Poerbatjaraka,[38] who, on the basis of his reading of primary source material, went to great lengths to demonstrate that Agastya and Bhaṭāra Guru were not quite the same.[39] Śiwa Guru is distinct, and that is why there are some problems in understanding the identity and possible location of the Śiwa images in a sitting position, referred to earlier, usually named Mahādewa in museum classifications and catalogues.[40]

In my view, the category of Śiwa the Teacher ought to comprise such images, mostly from Central Java, especially Dieng (but the bronzes can be from other areas in Central Java and also later than Dieng, as seen in fig. 2). They represent Śiwa seated in a meditative posture, which is variedly described by writers as *vīrāsana* or *vajrāsana* or even *padmāsana*, but more simply called *svastikāsana* (crossed legs) by T. A. Gopinatha Rao.[41] The god wears hardly any adornment and may have either two or four arms, in which case he is holding an *akṣamala* and a *cāmara,* with the two primary arms usually in *dhyāṇamudrā* at the front, often with a lotus placed on the upturned palm. An *ardhacandrakapāla* is placed in his locks. The example illustrated in figure 5 has a different hand gesture, the *śiwalingga,* which explicitly refers to the abstract form of Śiwa, the *lingga.*

The Śiwa the Teacher category, in the way it is understood today, also accommodates images of Śiwa as a young, rather emaciated ascetic, two armed, carrying a *kamaṇḍalu,* sporting a small beard, dressed with a simple cloth, with a *triśūla* either in his hand or sculpted at the back of the stele. However, rather than thinking of such images as young Agastya without the characteristic potbelly, or as a generic Śiwa Guru type, I propose, in a slightly more radical interpretation, that these should be seen as Śaiwa Ṛṣis or human ascetics. There is very little in terms of contextual clues for such images, of which there are only a few, all from Central Java, but this interpretation seems to be more in keeping with the iconography of the images and the emphasis given in Śaiwa religious writings to the figure of the *Ṛṣi* (fig. 6)

5 Śiwa the Teacher (conventionally classified as Śiwa Mahādewa), Central Java. Musée Guimet, Paris. The hands show *śiwalingga.*

Once again comparison with parallel Indian statuary may be helpful to highlight difference and affinity. The Indian equivalent of the seated Śiwa Guru (Mahādewa in current writings) is Śiwa Yogadakṣiṇamūrti. This equivalent image is conceptually close to the Javanese. Rao gives the iconographic precepts, culled from Sanskrit texts, for several variants. None of these is entirely similar to the Javanese one, but the affinity, down to the presence of an *akṣamala,* is undeniable, especially when one considers what Rao calls the "first mode of representation" of Yogadakṣiṇamūrti.[42]

We have no real indication as to what position the images just discussed would have had in the architectural context of a *candi,* as they are not found in situ and we are thus unable to say whether in the case of the seated Śiwa Guru, the injunction

6 Śiwa Guru, National Museum, Jakarta, here reclassified as Śaiwa Ṛṣi.

of Yogadakṣiṇamūrti being south facing,[43] found in Indian iconographic texts, would have had any application in a Javanese context. I feel, however, that calling such images Mahādewa as currently done is far too broad a description, and that is why I am suggesting that they may be reclassified.

I can find no Indian equivalent for the Śiwa (Bhaṭāra) Guru, here reclassified as Śaiwa Ṛṣi.

CLASSIFICATION: STYLE AND TYPOLOGY

It has been common practice in classical Indonesian archaeology and art history to engage in periodic surveys of all extant images, aimed at classifying them by iconographic features in the hopes of adding to a definitive typology based on what iconographic elements are consistent and what forms are common or rare. Through this survey-based method art historians and archaeologists have also thought it might be possible to identify stylistic links, with style understood to be an objective property, and to establish a chronology by looking at styles and drawing comparisons.[44] This approach is problematic.

Let us reflect for a moment on how one would usually classify, in keeping with the above prescriptions of sample survey combined with meticulous noting of frequency of features.[45] The sorting of objects such as Śiwa statuary may be done to establish whether the objects of the group sample considered (for example, the Śiwa statuary from Dieng) have a specific ritual function, and thus the images are grouped and regrouped accordingly. Establishing whether an image is a freestanding sculpture part of a group of sculptures from a specific site, or a relief part of the same narrative sequence, is also a constituent of these initial classifications related to determining function. But already we run into problems with this approach, because the ritual function can be only partially ascertained, if at all, due to the difficulties one encounters in reconstructing an architectural context for any freestanding image that is not found in situ; therefore the ritual function is often only an assumption. Moreover, ritual functions may overlap with other functions, and this possibility needs to be taken into account.

In parallel to this function-based classification, after establishing what iconographic elements are consistently frequent and consistently similar, following a division of the surveyed images into groups, one begins to engage with considerations of variations in style within a specific group, primarily to establish a chronology.[46] It has been quite usual to see style and function as separate, with classifications never understood to be intersecting, except at the level of grand

theorizing. But here we have another problem. This separation is not clear cut, and it is artificial. We can look at style as "material style," that is, the patterning in material artifacts, or as a "way of doing," which would include ideas, decisions, and practices. These conceptions are not exclusive. There is and there needs to be a constant shift in the way they are used in the context of an analysis.

Michael Shanks suggests that material culture is production or design and that the style of an artifact is not an expression or an attribute but "the means by which objects are constituted as social forms."[47] Thus it no longer seems feasible to adopt art style as the unit of analysis and fix the art styles of ancient Java into stylistic types, as has been done in most previous studies.[48] Interpretation, in other words, cannot be separated from the identification of similarity and difference within a typology.[49]

In the work I have carried out, I do have types. These are posited as very flexible, temporary analytical categories. Consistency is what I have been striving for in creating these categories, but they are not rigid. In my typology, I have the following types, drawn from the religious literature I have acquainted myself with: Śiwa Mahādewa (Śiwa the Majestic God), Śiwa Guru (Śiwa the Teacher), Agastya (the Teacher who is Śiwa incarnated as human teacher), Nandiśwara (the door guardian who is Śiwa), Mahākala (the door guardian, swallower of the universe), Lingga (Śiwa's phallus), Ardhanarīśwara (Śiwa who is half-male–half-female), Hari-Hara (Wiṣṇu and Śiwa as one), Triśiras (three-headed Śiwa), corresponding to what are known from the said religious literature as aspects or manifestations of the god.

But though I am separating Śiwa Mahādewa or Agastya from Śiwa Guru for the practical purpose of temporary classification, it does not follow that they should be seen or were at any time perceived as wholly distinct, as the typology suggests. This distinction is often assumed when the images are subsequently related to their religious and socio-historical context in broader historical accounts attempting to reconstruct a historical past — in this specific instance, as noted earlier, with the additional complication of positing Javanese Śiwa Guru as a hybrid. As said, conceptually Śiwa is Mahādewa even when he is Guru, and this is so regardless of whether he is depicted standing or seated or in any other position or wearing any garment or attire.

The artificial nature of typologies and the need for keeping them flexible can be exemplified by the way Triśiras (three-headed Śiwa) is thought of. Triśiras can either be taken as a representation of Maheṣa showing Śiwa as the pacific god (Tatpuruṣa), the terrifying one (Aghora-Bhairawa) and the female principle (Wāmadewa-Sakti), or as Trimūrti (Brahma-Wiṣṇu-Śiwa), thus interpreting the religious or philosophical import of the image differently, creating yet more types[50] and establishing a different doctrinal content on the basis of the art-historical or archaeological classification. In other words, by taking typologies as flexible analytical categories and by supporting them with a reading of religious textual material, I am not separating classification from context. There are, of course, other interpretive strategies that allow for further contextualization, which I have not explored and which will complement my own. In showing that a classification is an act of creative interpretation, I am trying to go beyond the separation of objective/subjective, referring to newer discourses in archaeology that have not yet had much impact on the archaeology of classical Indonesia.[51] I am here attempting to question entrenched positions.

How, then, do I describe these images? What elements do I consider important to convey the nature of the images as representations of the god Śiwa? I have used the following categories to record the characteristics of the images: form and shape, (approximate) size, provenance, location, ornamentation, adornment, dress, posture, gesture, attribute. I have left out precise dating on purpose. Dating is something that should be seen in context, as one of the different types of information relating to the images rather than the most important element of their classification. Thus it can be added, omitted, or left openended, depending on the use one wishes to make of the classification.

ŚIWA'S BODY: THE MALE BODY IN JAVANESE ART

Posture and gesture are important in my classification and typology. I see them as important because they allow us to focus on the physical and symbolic body of Śiwa. They can be seen as encoding information relating to nonverbal communication of an abstract nature. Through them the body can be treated as a category worthy of historical investigation. The body of Śiwa is a representation of the Javanese male body, shown with an "idealized" naturalism—idealized in the sense that it did not necessarily correspond to a real, specific physical type but that it represented an aestheticized view of the male body, informed by awareness of the yogic body (by which I mean the body possessed of a yogic "habitus")[52] and articulated in multiple artistic idioms, more specifically related to time and location.[53]

In Śiwa's images there is a constant shift between the human dimension of the representation and the one symbolic of the divine. Śiwa's body may be used to display regalia and thus be completely obscured by it, as seen in a great number of East Javanese images, to emphasize his majesty (and the majesty of the patron king), or it can be displayed, barely covered by cloth and with sparse ornaments, with a fairly accurate, yet not naturalistic, reproduction of natural forms, not devoid of sensuality and eroticism, as seen in many images from Central Java, especially bronzes, but not exclusively in images from that area. At the ninth-century Prambanan temple complex the male body (Śiwa's body?)[54] is displayed and exposed while dancing half naked, in sinuous postures—a celebration of masculinity.

Natural forms are not meticulously described in an attempt to show what nature looks like, but Śiwa's body is infused with pulsating energy, inner movement, and inner breath. Śiwa's genitals are never fully displayed; on the contrary, care seems to have been taken to cover the genital area except in the case of specific representations of Śiwa as Bhairawa, of which we know only very few examples, such as the Singhasari Bhairawa now in the Leiden Museum of Ethnology. This care in covering the sexual organ

seems to be at odds with the image of Śiwa as *lingga*, which represents Śiwa's phallus. But the motivation for covering anthropomorphic Śiwa's penis should not necessarily be seen as coming from a coy desire to cover up a "shameful" part of the body, as a Judeo-Christian attitude to nakedness would suggest.

It is more likely—though this will remain speculation—to be an attempt to shield the viewer from the erotic power of Śiwa, avoiding a naturalized representation of a penis but emphasizing, through concealing its anatomical double, that Śiwa's phallus is the seat of the male principle and of Śiwa's dangerous sexuality.[55] The *lingga* is usually shown in conjunction with the *yoni* (an abstraction of female genitals), never by itself; when it is not, the *yoni* pedestal is usually missing because it has been lost or destroyed. The male and female principles are inseparable, and the union—as metaphysical as it is sexual—of Śiwa Sakti is an important Śaiwa belief.

Stances full of strength, hand gestures with varied meanings, and controlled poses imbued with movement characterize Śiwa's representations in the art of Java. This observation holds for both Central and East Java, although the way it is locally articulated differs. The number of positions used by the sculptors is quite small, suggesting that they had a relatively limited postural vocabulary to choose from, which was in all likelihood fixed by convention. Conversely, the hand gestures and also the arm positions indicate a rich symbolic vocabulary, which unfortunately is not easy to understand. We do not yet know with precision which parts or movements of the body were ritually and socially significant for the ancient Javanese; thus the whole body should be the point of departure for any investigation of posture and gesture.[56]

CONCLUSIONS

When we look at images, what do we see? The perception we have of them leads us to an interpretation that begins from the moment we encounter the images.[57] When we first see an art object, an artifact, its present context is as relevant as the past one we may be trying to retrieve, for the artifact belongs to both past and

present. The interpretation involves making choices. For example, we may choose to see an object and attach to it a present value of some sort (by which I do not necessarily mean a monetary one), or we may choose to see the people who made it, what led them to make it, and the process by which they made it. Thus we can work out the way the artifact relates to their thinking and worldview. We may choose to do all these things simultaneously, constantly shifting our plane of analysis back and forth from present to past to present.

And how are we looking at the object? Do we make aesthetic judgments? We clearly do, although we may not be wont to admit them, and this aesthetic appraisal is reflected in our museums' cultures of display (museums being the places where the object may end up). As Emma Barker notes, being on display is the condition by which the category of art is constructed in the modern Western world.[58] In the case of anthropomorphic images we are confronted with representations of the human body which we will deem to be artistic, and these representations may prompt us to reflect on issues of gender and sexuality and how these are constructed by us and by the makers of the images.[59]

With such questions at the back of my mind, I have, in this article, argued for greater flexibility and fluidity in classificatory practice. This argument is in view of the present location in museums, private galleries, and private homes of the majority of the images that have been the focus of my research. Their current location is not their original one, whatever that may have been, and in their present location a context is re-created, taking into account cross-cultural dialogues, conceptual regroupings, and fresh classifications and analogies whose purpose is not to constrain perceptions of the objects.

I have also suggested some possible reinterpretations, as in the case of images of Śiwa the Teacher. There are more interpretive options to be explored. The objects have a new life in the present to which we need to adjust our thinking, and carry their past with them as a legacy, variously perceived and constructed.

What I truly need to point out before closing is that as the images are interpreted and reinterpreted, generating multivocality in the present, it must be remembered that the symbolic meaning of each image also varied in the past in relation to the specific beliefs and the level of awareness of the maker, viewer, or worshiper. This polyvalence of Śiwa images is part of their being representations of Śiwa. The concept of Śiwa belongs to a complex religio-philosophical tradition, distinguished by esotericism. A worshiper of Śiwa, initiated into the practice by a guru, would understand the attributes of the god differently from a noninitiate. To a Śiwa worshiper who has entered the higher world of Śaiwa observances, the only reality is that of the powers that are the deity or deities. These powers are visualized by the worshiper as corresponding material representations are worshiped.

The forms are only an instrument for establishing awareness and control of those powers. The attributes of the deities are outward symbols of inner realities. The Śaiwa worshiper through yogic meditative and breathing techniques visualizes the inner realities and locates them in his or her body to achieve union with the Supreme Soul who dwells in his or her heart.[60] One should therefore be aware of this framework of references, ideas, and expectations that surrounds the images and may work simultaneously and at different levels, in the past and in the present. ❖

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NOTES

1. Here the term "images of Śiwa" includes freestanding sculpture and representations of the god Śiwa in relief sculpture from West, Central, and East Java, from the sixth century to the fourteenth century, found in museums, private collections, and in situ, in a number of countries, especially The Netherlands, Thailand, and Indonesia. In this article, however, West Javanese images will not be discussed.

2. I use a "w" when referring to Śiwa (Śaiwa) in Java and a "v" when referring to Śiva (Śaiva) in India in order to be consistent with the conventional romanization of Old Javanese and original Sanskrit.

3. Gregory Schopen, *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks: Collected Papers on the Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Texts of Monastic Buddhism in India* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1977); Julia Shaw, "The Sacred Landscape," in *Buddhist Reliquaries from Ancient India*, ed. Michael Willis (London: British Museum Press, 2000).

4. See, for example, Boechari, *Some Considerations on the Problem of the Shift of Mataram's Centre of Government from Central to East Java in the 10th Century* (Jakarta: Proyek Pelita, Pembinaan Kepurbakalaan dan Peninggalan Nasional, Department P & K, 1976), 10; Jan Fontein, with R. Soekmomo and Satyawati Suleiman, *Ancient Indonesian Art of the Central and East Javanese Period* (New York: Asia Society, 1971); Marijke J. Klokke, *Tantri Reliefs on Ancient Javanese Candi* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1993); R. Soekmomo, *The Javanese Candi: Function and Meaning* (Leiden: R. J. Brill, 1995); Edi Sedyawati, *Gaṇeśa Statuary of the Kadiri and Singhasari Period* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1994).

5. Consider here what Marijke J. Klokke writes about Singhasari and Majapahit: "Should we speak of a continuous artistic *development* which cannot be traced in detail because the art of these three hundred years did not, for one reason or another survive? Or should the Singhasari rulers be considered the inventors of an ancient *long lost tradition* of stone temple building which went back to Central Java and which was *developed* further by the Majapahit rulers?" [emphasis mine] Marijke J. Klokke, "Stone Images of the Singhasari and Majapahit Periods," *Arts of Asia* 30.6 (2000): 60.

6. Michael Shanks, with Lampeter Archaeology Workshop, "Relativism, Objectivity and the Politics of the Past," *Archaeological Dialogues* 2 (1997): 166.

7. Georges Coedes, *The Indianised States of Southeast Asia*, English ed. Walter F. Vella, trans. Susan B. Cowing (Honolulu: East-West Center, 1968); Jan Wisseman Christie, "State Formation in Early Maritime Southeast Asia: A Consideration of the Theories and Data," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde* 151.2 (1995) 235–88.

8. L. N. Shaffer, *Maritime Southeast Asia to 1500* (New York and London: M. E. Sharpe, 1996); Kenneth Hall, *Maritime Trade and State Development in Early Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1985); O. W. Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce: A Study of the Origins of Srivijaya* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1967).

9. Astrid Wright, review of *Prambanan: Sculpture and Dance in Ancient Java*, by Alessandra Iyer [Lopez y Royo], *Asian Perspectives* 41.2 (2002): 175.

10. Sheldon Pollock, "The Sanskrit Cosmopolis, 300–1300: Transculturation, Vernacularization and the Question of Ideology," in *Ideology and Status of Sanskrit Contributions to the History of the Sanskrit Language*, ed. J. E. M. Houben (Leiden, New York, and Cologne: E. J. Brill, 1996), 197–247.

11. C. Hooykass, *Religion in Bali* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973).

12. Nancy Florida, *Writing the Past, Inscribing the Future: Exile and Prophecy in Colonial Java* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1995); Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1976).

13. Judith Becker, *Gamelan Stories: Tantrism, Islam and Aesthetics in Central Java* (Arizona: Arizona State University, Program for Southeast Asian Studies, 1993).

14. Helen Creese, "Old Javanese Studies: A Review of the Field," in *Old Javanese Texts and Culture*, ed. Helen Creese and William van der Molen, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde* 157.1 (2001) 3–33.

15. IBM Dharma Palguna, *Dharma Śūnya: Memuja dan meneliti Śiwa* (The Philosophy of the Void: Worshiping and Researching Śiwa) (Denpasar: Yayasan Dharma Sastra, 1999); Geoffrey Forrester, "The Dharmaśūnya (The Philosophy of the Void): An Old Javanese Treatise on Yoga and Liberation" (honors thesis, Australian National University, Canberra, 1968).

16. Jan Gonda, "The Indian Religions in Pre-Islamic Indonesia and Their Survival in Bali," in *Handbuch der Orientalistik* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 17.

17. Palguna, *Dharma Śūnya*, 172–73.

18. Max Nihom, "Saṅkhyā and Pāśupata Reflexes in the Indo-Indonesian Vṛhaspatitattva," *Werner Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 39 (1995): 203–20.

19. Hariati Soebadio, ed., *Jñānasiddhanta* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1971), 53.

20. This point was reiterated by historian and epigraphist Professor J. G. De Casparis, in one of our conversations about epigraphy at the International Institute of Asian Studies, Leiden, October 2000–January 2001.

21. Shaw, "Sacred Landscape," 27.

22. Julian Thomas, "Space and Landscape: Introduction," in *Interpretive Archaeology: A Reader*, ed. Julian Thomas (London and New York: Leicester University Press, 2000), 492.

23. Shaw, "Sacred Landscape," 27.

24. See Creese, "Old Javanese Studies," for a review of epigraphic sources.

25. It would hardly be possible to review this massive literature in the context of this article. To derive an idea of just a fragment of this gargantuan output, it would suffice to look at all past issues of *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, an august Dutch journal published by the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde (KITLV), Leiden, which began its activities in 1851.

26. Soebadio, *Jñānasiddhanta*, 145.

27. There are various versions of this directional arrangement in the relevant literature. See Sedyawati, *Gaṇeśa Statuary of the Kaḍiri and Singhasari Period*, 180 n. 56; Teen Goudriaan, "Manifestations of Śiva in the Balinese Hymn Collection," in *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture*, ed. Perala Ratnam (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1973), 2:65–66.

28. Sedyawati, *Gaṇeśa Statuary of the Kaḍiri and Singhasari Period*, 181.

29. Christopher Tilley, *Metaphor and Material Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), 263.

30. Marijke J. Klokke, "The So-Called Portrait Statues in East Javanese Art," in *Ancient Indonesian Sculpture*, ed. Marijke J. Klokke and Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1994), 178–91.

31. The snake-shaped *upavīta* is a reference to the association of Śiva with snakes. This association is always taken for granted but rarely explained. Javanese sources by and large do not have specific references to the significance of Śiva's snakes, although Javanese images of Śiva do show him wearing a snake as ornament. Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty has connected the snakes with eroticism in her discussion of the mythology of (Indian) Śiva as the erotic ascetic, underpinned by her research into Sanskrit texts: "The general sexual significance of snakes is of course well known; the excited cobra with expanded hood is often found encircling the *linga*, the tail carried down into the *yoni*." See Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, *Asceticism and Eroticism in the Mythology of Śiva* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 243–44. See also my later remarks on the body of Śiva.

32. See note 50 below.

33. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography* (1916; reprint, New Delhi: Motilal Banasidass, 1968), 179; Ratnaesih Maulana, *Śiva Dalam Berbagai Wujud* (Śiva in His Every Form) (Jakarta: Fakultas Sastra Universitas Indonesia, 1993), 26–43.

34. These would have been known from practice, handed down from master to apprentice. There are no specific iconographic texts from ancient Java that present a codification of some sort, as there are in India.

35. See, for example, the work *Wratiśāsana* (The Precepts of Ascetic) (Sharada Rani, 1961).

36. The exact nature of yogic discipline(s) and the way in which it was practiced are very difficult to know. Yoga was learned through a guru and was not available to everyone. By and large yogic practices involve meditation and physical discipline of some kind, but the details of each yogic school (*ṣaḍanga, pratyahāra, dhyāna, praṇayāma, tarka*, and others) are not accessible, as this is the kind of knowledge that would not be divulged and of which no record, apart from the name, can be found. See *Wṛhaspatitattwa* (The Doctrine of Reality of Wrhaspati), 52.88; 53.4, trans. and ed. Sudarshana Devi Singhal as *Wṛhaspatitattwa: An Old Javanese Philosophical Text* (Nagpur: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1957), xx; *Wratiśāsana*.

37. From extant temples in Central Java it is possible to say that it was quite usual for a *lingga* (another representation of Śiva) to be a principal temple image, with an image of Wiṣṇu in the northern niche, Agastya in the eastern one, and Brahma in the southern one. An alternative pattern seems to have been temples with images of Durgā Mahiṣāsuramardinī in the northern niche, of Gaṇeśa in the eastern niche, of Agastya in the southern niche, and of the guardians Nandiśwara and Mahākala in niches on either side of the eastern entrance. Candi Śiwa at the Prambanan complex is a case in point.

38. Le. Poerbatjaraka, *Agastya in den Archipel* (Agastya in the Archipelago) (Leiden: Brill, 1926).

39. For example, *Wṛhaspatitattwa* supports Poerbatjaraka's thesis. See also Tom Hunter, "The Aridharma Reliefs of Canti Jago," in *Society and Culture in Southeast Asia: Continuities and Changes*, ed. Lokesh Chandra (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 2000), 89.

40. A pertinent example is the Śiwa Mahādewa from the Musée Guimet, Paris (see fig. 5; see also fig. 2).

41. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 284.

42. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 284–89.

43. The seated Śiwa Mahāyogi seen in Prambanan, on Candi Śiwa, faces east, not south. R. E. Jordaan and Edi Sedyawati, "Some Iconographic Notes on the Śiwa Temple of Prambanan," *Archipel* 40 (1991): 15–23.

44. Recent examples are Maulana, *Śiva Dalam Berbagai Wujud*; Sedyawati, *Gaṇeśa Statuary of the Kadiri and Singhasari Period*.

45. I have discussed some of these concerns in a short article, "Interpreting Javanese Images of Śiwa," *IIAS [International Institute of Asian Studies] Newsletter*, no. 25 (2001): 32. Thus there may be some overlap.

46. This almost obsessive concern with dating has not just to do with a "thirst for knowledge." A thriving art market is based on valorization of antiquity. The older the object, the more valuable it will be. Hence accurate dating is perceived to be paramount.

47. Michael Shanks, *Art and the Early Greek City State: An Interpretive Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 18.

48. For example, in Sedyawati, *Gaṇeśa Statuary of the Kadiri and Singhasari Period*.

49. Ian Hodder, "Style as Historical Quality," in *The Uses of Style in Archaeology*, ed. Margaret W. Conkey and Christine A. Harstof (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 48.

50. The interpretation of Triśiras in Java is open to controversy, as the interpretation of Trimūrti and Maheśamūrti have been in India, judging from the relevant literature, summarized in Maulana, *Śiva Dalam Berbagai Wujud*, 186–89. The trio Brahma-Wiṣṇu-Śiwa is known as *trisamaya* from *Tantu Panggēlaran*, 66.16, and also from the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* (The Ancient Story of the Universe), 55.6. In this grouping Śiwa is regarded as the highest god. P. J. Zoetmulder, with Stuart Robson, *Old Javanese-English Dictionary* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1982), 2:2040; Maulana, *Śiva Dalam Berbagai Wujud*.

51. For a relevant critique of the character of archaeological interpretation, see Michael Shanks, *Classical Archaeology of Greece: Experiences of the Discipline* (London: Routledge, 1996); Shanks, *Art and the Early Greek City State*; Julian Thomas, "Introduction: The Polarities of Post-Processual Archaeology," in Thomas *Interpretive Archaeology*, 1–22.

52. I am here following Pierre Bourdieu's idea of "habitus" or "hexis"—a disposition toward a habitual or standard condition, appear-

ance, posture, gesture, etc., applicable to a socially constructed body. Pierre Bourdieu, *Sociology in Question,* trans. Richard Nice (London: Sage, 1993), 86. For the body in Indian sculpture, see Vidya Dehejia and D. Y. Harnisch, "Yoga as a Key to Understanding the Sculpted Body," in *Representing the Body: Gender Issues in Indian Art,* ed. Vidya Dehejia (New Delhi: Kali for Women, 1997), 68–81.

53. In an earlier paper I have looked at representations of the female body in the art of classical Java, focusing on the Rāmāyaṇa reliefs of the Prambanan temple complex. Alessandra Iyer [Lopez y Royo], "Images of Women in the Prambanan Rāmāyaṇa Reliefs," in *A Varied Optic: Contemporary Studies on the Ramayana,* ed. Mandakranta Bose (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, Institute of Asian Research, 2000), 33–54. These remarks complement the earlier discussion.

54. In an earlier publication I have suggested that the dance reliefs of Candi Śiwa at Prambanan might represent a dancing Śiwa. Alessandra Iyer [Lopez y Royo], *Prambanan: Sculpture and Dance in Ancient Java — A Study in Dance Iconography* (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1998). Subsequently, Astrid Wright has tried to identify specific reliefs, in her view more likely to depict Śiwa, out of the overall sixty-two. Wright, review of *Prambanan.*

55. The danger of Indian Śiva's sexuality has been highlighted by O'Flaherty, *Asceticism and Eroticism in the Mythology of Śiva.* The association with danger of Śiwa's excessive chastity and excessive sexuality is seen in the *kakawin Smaradahana* (The burning of Kāma) (Poerbatjaraka, R. Ng [1931] Smaradahana, Oud Javaansche Tekst met Vertaling, BJ3, Bandoeng) and the episode of the burning of Kāma, the Lord of Desire.

56. Jan Fontein, *The Law of Cause and Effect in Ancient Java* (Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1989), 82–116.

57. Stanley O'Connor, "Humane Literacy and Southeast Asian Art," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 26.1 (1995): 147–58.

58. Emma Barker, "The Changing Museum," in *Contemporary Culture of Display,* ed. Emma Barker (London and New Haven: Yale University Press in association with the Open University, 1999), 13.

59. Rosemary Joyce, "A Pre-Columbian Gaze: Male Sexuality among Ancient Maya," in *Archaeologies of Sexuality,* ed. Robert A. Schmidt and Barbara Voss (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 253–83; Mark Plučiennik, "Art, Artefact, Metaphor," in *Thinking through the Body: Archaeologies of Corporeality,* ed. Yannis Hamilakis, Mark Plučiennik, and Sarah Tarlow (New York: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000), 217–32.

60. This would be, in Śaiwa terminology, the *ānandakaṇḍapadma,* the lotus of the heart, where the *jiwātma* and the *iṣṭadewata* unite through yoga. P. H. Pott, *Yoga and Tantra,* Translation series 8 (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1966); *Dharma Śūnya,* 11.4, in Forrester, "The Dharmaśūnya (The Philosophy of the Void)," 84.

BOOK REVIEWS

Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets, volume 1, Images of Heroic Encounter

By Mark B. Garrison and Margaret Cool Root, with seal inscription readings by Charles E. Jones. Oriental Institute Publications 117. Part 1, *Text*, 562 + xxxiii pages; part 2, *Plates*, xxiv pages, 291 plates. Chicago: Oriental Institute Publications, 2001. $140.00 hardcover.

This large and handsomely produced volume, bound in two parts, is the much-welcome first of a long-awaited three-volume catalogue of the 1,162 different analytically legible seal impressions preserved on the Achaemenid Elamite cuneiform tablets from the Persepolis Fortification Archive published by Richard T. Hallock in 1969.[1] Hallock's corpus of 2,087 tablets represents a small fraction of the estimated 20,000 to 30,000 tablets, anepigraphic tags, and unassociated fragments excavated from within the fortification wall at the northeast corner of the Persepolis terrace by an Oriental Institute expedition headed by Ernst Herzfeld during 1933–34. Hallock broadly divided his study corpus, dating from 509–494 B.C. during the reign of Darius I (522–486 B.C.), into two major groups, one concerned with the movement of food commodities, the other with their apportionment. More recently, it has been suggested that a third major group may be discerned — those concerned with receipts at storehouses of commodities supplied by producers.[2]

Volume 1 of *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets* specifically treats 312 different cylinder and stamp seals, as reconstructed from a total of 1,970 (partial) impressions, that display the motif of a "heroic encounter." The present study utilizes more or less the same body of seal impressions (exclud-ing the sixteen Persepolis Treasury seal impressions) as Mark B. Garrison's 1988 University of Michigan Ph.D. dissertation written under the supervision of his now coauthor, Professor Margaret Cool Root.[3] In that study Garrison defined the heroic encounter as one in which a superhuman figure grasps, or combats with a weapon, animals and monstrous creatures. He designated those balanced compositions in which the heroic figure holds at bay a pair of creatures — the so-called Master of the Animals theme — as "control encounters," and those compositions in which the hero stabs or threatens to stab some rampant beast as "combat encounters." The authors have here slightly refined the earlier terminology so that these are now images of "heroic control" and of "heroic combat," respectively.

Part 1, *Text*, opens with a four-part introduction. In Part 1 of the introduction the authors present an over-view of the Fortification Archive itself, touching on the scope and character of the evidence, seal inscrip-tions and issues of language, and styles of seal carv-ing. Part 2 of the introduction proceeds from a brief overview of Herzfeld's activities at Persepolis through a justification for terming the Persepolis Fortification tablets an archive to a review of other collections of Achaemenid period sealings.[4] Part 3 offers an overview to the full three-volume catalogue.

Part 4 of the introduction briefly recounts the ori-gins and possible meaning of the heroic encounter and presents a four-tier hierarchy of compositional formats and design elements by which the seals in the Catalogue of Images are ordered and numbered. This approach entails the third major reordering of this seal corpus. Hallock originally assigned sequential (PFS) numbers to just those 314 seals attested more than once in his tablet corpus, ordered in decreasing frequency of their occurrence; inscribed seals were

suffixed with an asterisk (*), stamp seals with an "s." Garrison and Root have assigned further sequential PFS numbers to all of the remaining impressions in the order in which they were encountered on the tablets as published by Hallock in 1969, which he ordered on the basis of their contents. For his dissertation, Garrison reordered but did not renumber the seals as per his assignment of them to the stylistic groups and subgroups that he defined at that time.

In the Catalogue of Images each individual entry begins with both the seal's PFS number and its new catalogue number, an unfortunate but necessary consequence of the publishing history of significant portions of this corpus. A twice life-size line drawing of the seal is offered as reconstructed from all available impressions, accompanied by a centimeter scale. Where the authors are secure in their reconstruction of the full surface of a cylinder seal, they have continued their somewhat atypical practice of repeating parts of the rollout both to the left and right of the full scene as engraved on the seal. Thus a single terminal filler motif or inscription panel on the original seal now is seen to flank the central motif to either side. To reduce any possible ambiguity, the length and position of the centimeter scale beneath the seal drawing clearly bracket one full rotation of that seal. There follows a list of objective and subjective data including Seal Type (cylinder or stamp), Photographs (plate numbers in part 2), Earliest Dated Application (but unfortunately not the latest), Typology (as per the four-tier hierarchy in Part 4 of the introduction) and Style, Preserved Height and Length of Image, Estimated Height and Diameter of Original Seal, Number of Impressions, Quality of Impression, and Completeness of Image. A detailed Description of the seal proceeds from the pose and garb of the central heroic figure to the creature(s) he encounters to the subsidiary or filler motifs. Inscriptions, where present, are given in transliteration and translation. In the Commentary seal ownership and usage are considered together with brief formal and iconographical discussions. Under Seal Application, the location of the impression(s) on the tablet(s) is described, and any accompanying seal impression(s) identified by their

PFS number, and, if in Volume 1, their corresponding catalogue number in parentheses; seals to appear in Volumes 2 and 3 are simply so identified without their new catalogue numbers. Each entry is completed with a bibliography.

The catalogue is followed by no less than twelve appendices. The first two, Concordance of Seals to Tablets in Volume 1 and Provisional List of All Subsumed Hallock PFS Numbers, largely repeat data previously provided by Garrison and Root.[5] Appendix 3, Summary Data on Seal Impressions for Volume 1, contains twenty-two bar graphs that for the most part display the distributions of the inferred heights and diameters of seals in the different stylistic groups. In the few cases where there are sufficient examples to be of statistical significance, the distribution curves are typically bell-shaped. Appendix 4 provides a concise examination of stamp seal shapes; Appendix 5 lists seal inscriptions by language or script; and Appendix 6 lists and graphs seals by their stylistic categories. Appendices 7 through 11 are in the form of alphabetical indices: Appendix 7 lists the animals, demons, and monsters found in the heroic encounters; Appendix 8 is a rather large and heterogeneous listing of "iconographic features"; and Appendices 9 through 11 are indices of Personal Names, Occupational Designations, and Geographical Names, respectively. Appendix 12 is a concordance of PFS to catalogue numbers. Completing part 1 are two indices: the first an index of all references in Volume 1 to Persepolis Fortification and Persepolis Treasury Seal impressions,[6] the second a general index.

Part 2, *Plates*, begins with a brief introduction, a list of plates, and the plates themselves. Plates 1 through 173 display in catalogue order photographs of one or two of the best seal impressions together with a line drawing (identical to that accompanying the individual catalogue entries in Part 1) of each different impression. The reproduction ratio is again 2:1 throughout. Considering the generally low relief of the seal impressions and the uneven tablet surfaces upon which they were impressed, the consistently high quality and legibility of the photographs is noteworthy. The close juxtaposition of the photographs

and the composite drawings allows the reader to readily evaluate the copyist's (inevitable) subjectivity in the latter. The balance of the plates (174–291) contains a selection of seal drawings "illustrating comparative features such as iconographic elements, poses, compositional formats, perspectival elements, types of animals and creatures, deities, classes of seal types (e.g., inscribed seals, stamp seals, office seals), seal caps, and borders" (p. vii). There is no obvious ordering to the themes, nor is the treatment exhaustive but it is, as stated by the authors, intended to lend a visual component to the lists in Appendices 4–11.

The motif of the heroic encounter, some of whose themes have been traced back to prehistoric times, certainly enjoyed great popularity on seals throughout the entire period of the Persian domination of western Asia. But probably precisely because of its now close association with Achaemenid royal iconography, the motif, along with cylinder seals themselves (although for other reasons), rapidly and completely disappeared in the first decades of the third century B.C. during the reign of Seleucus I.[7] Garrison and Root present the interested reader with a wealth of primary and interpretive data by which to appreciate, among much else, the inventiveness of the seal cutters working at the beginning of the heroic encounter's final period of popularity on western Asiatic seals. When fully published, and together with Hallock's text editions, the catalogue will, it is to be hoped, make it possible to understand more fully the complexities of the Persepolis sealing practices and from them the associ-

ated administrative practices. The authors are to be congratulated for their most significant contribution to the study of Late Babylonian glyptic. This reviewer eagerly awaits the appearance of the remaining two volumes in this enormous undertaking. ❖

NOTES

1. Richard T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Oriental Institute Publications 42 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969).

2. Gerassimos G. Aperghis, "The Persepolis Fortification Texts — Another Look," in *Studies in Persian History: Essays in Memory of David M. Lewis*, ed. Maria Brosius and Amélie Kuhrt, Achaemenid History 11 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1998), 35–62.

3. Mark B. Garrison, "Seal Workshops and Artists in Persepolis: A Study of Seal Impressions Preserving the Theme of Heroic Encounter on the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury Tablets" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1988).

4. The Daskyleion material has now appeared in Deniz Kaptan, *The Daskyleion Bullae: Seal Images from the Western Achaemenid Empire*, Achaemenid History 12 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2003). To the Babylonian material, add Erica Ehreberg, "A Corpus of Early Fifth Century Seal Impressions in the Yale Babylonian Collection," *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 31 (2000): 309–54. See also Wouter F. M. Henkelman, Charles E. Jones, Matthew W. Stolper, "Clay Tags with Achaemenid Seal Impressions in the Dutch Institute of the Near East (NINO) and Elsewhere," ARTA 1 (2004): 1–66, http://www.achemenet.com/ressources/enligne/arta/pdf/2004.001/2004.001.pdf.

5. Mark B. Garrison and Margaret Cool Root, *Persepolis Seal Studies: An Introduction with Provisional Concordances of Seal Numbers and Associated Documents on Fortification Tablets.* Achaemenid History 9 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1996; reprinted with corrections, 1998).

6. Erich B. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, vol. 2, *Contents of the Treasury and Other Discoveries*. Oriental Institute Publications 69 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957).

7. Ronald Wallenfels, "Fourth-Century Babylonian Sealed Archival Texts." In *Seals and Seal Impressions of the XLVe Rencontre Assyriologique International*, part 2, *Yale University*, ed. W. W. Hallo and I. J. Winter (Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 2001), 215–38.

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Excavations at Surt (Medinat al-Sultan) between 1977 and 1981

By Géza Fehérvári, 'Abbas Hamdani, Masoud Shaghlouf, and Hal Bishop, edited by Elizabeth Savage, with contributions by John Riley, Muhammad Hamid, and Ted Hughes. A publication of the Department of Antiquities, Tripoli, Libya, and the Society for Libyan Studies, London. 128 + viii pages, bibliography, index, 7-page summary in Arabic, 11 figures (including one foldout plan), 45 black-and-white photographs and 4 color photographs. Broadstairs, Kent, U.K.: Lanes, Ltd., 2002. $25.00 softcover.

This book documents four seasons of excavation undertaken between 1977 and 1981 at the Islamic town of Surt, on the coast of the Bay of Sirte about halfway between Tripoli and Benghazi in Libya. The Libyan Department of Antiquities and the Society for Libyan Studies, London, were cosponsors of the excavation; Professor Géza Fehérvári was field director.

Surt was a port and trading town that flourished during the early Fatimid era. Its origins in the Islamic period remain obscure. It was situated adjacent to the Roman/Byzantine town of Iscina, which presumably was abandoned after the Islamic conquests. As Professor Michael Brett points out in his preface (p. vii), two of the authors disagree on the early history of the site. On the one hand, Fehérvári maintains that "this must have been from the beginning a fortified camp" (p. 32) founded by 'Amr ibn al-'As, presumably along the lines of the early Islamic *amsar*. Professor 'Abbas Hamdani, on the other hand, argues, based on his review of the historical sources, that the first Islamic occupation was an eighth-century A.D. Ibadi Khariji settlement (p. 15). Both arguments are based primarily on historical and not on archaeological reasoning.

Medieval Islamic travelers recounted the export of mutton, wool, and alum from Surt (p. 14). They also reported that it was surrounded with walls, had no suburbs, but possessed cisterns and springs and gardens. The surrounding area was populated by Berber tribes that came to the town to trade and to graze their flocks in the winter. The eleventh-century geographer al-Bakri, drawing on a tenth-century source, reported that the inhabitants of Surt were traders who spoke a mixture of Arabic, Berber, Persian, and Coptic (p. 20), presumably an avatar of *lingua franca*. Whatever its origins, all the authors agree that Surt's period of greatest prosperity came during the early to mid-tenth century Fatimid expansion and that it declined during and after the Fatimid-Zirid conflict which developed in the eleventh century after the Fatimid conquest of Egypt in 969. Writing in the mid–late thirteenth century, Ibn Sa'id reported that the town had been destroyed by Arab Bedouins, who at that time inhabited the forts of the area (p. 23).

Because its ruins are easily visible on a prominent section of the coast, Surt had been the subject of scholarly inquiry before Fehérvári's team began work. In the 1960s, both Libyan and Egyptian teams had excavated at Surt, at the mosque, the city walls, and on the most prominent mound inside the walls — Area C. Most efforts had gone into tracing the city walls and locating their gates and in excavating the mosque. Slit trenches had also been opened in Area C.

Fehérvári and his team continued previous interest in these areas. They excavated in and around the mosque and briefly around one of the city gates. Mosque area excavations confirmed the expansion of the mosque, presumably in the Fatimid era, and uncovered structures subsidiary to the main building.

Soundings did not resolve the vexing issue of the orientation of the mosque, which faces due south.

The major focus of excavation, however, was the Area C. There, Fehérvári and his team excavated an area that ended up encompassing more than 125 square meters to depths of up to 1 meter. Because of the lack of overburden, most deposit was shallower than this, with many walls lying just below the surface. Area C consisted of a series of rooms and courtyards, with cisterns, a well, bread ovens, and privys. Evidence of glass and iron manufacturing was uncovered. The combination of small-scale industrial activity, architecture, and location in the middle of the intramural settlement led the authors to conclude that Area C consisted of houses and workshops constituting part of the *madina* of Surt (p. 114).

The volume is divided into five main sections. After a brief preface by Brett, an introduction by Fehérvári reviews previous work on the site and publishes plans and photographs of both the site in general and the mosque in particular. Chapter 1 consists of an overview of the history of Surt and the region by Hamdani. Chapter 2, authored by Fehérvári and Masoud Shaghlouf, gives an account of the 1977–81 excavations. Chapter 3, a brief five pages containing all of the color photographs in the volume, is by Fehérvári. Its subject is "Early Glazed Pottery of North Africa," and it takes as the basis for its discussion a limited number of sherds found during excavation. Chapter 4, by Fehérvári and Hal Bishop, documents some of the pottery and small finds. It includes a petrological analysis of seven glazed sherds that isolates three petrofabrics, and a technical description of the sherds by Muhammad Hamid and Ted Hughes. The text concludes with a brief summary by Fehérvári.

Although it summarizes the 1960s' excavations and surveys the four seasons of work between 1977 and 1981, this book is by nature a preliminary or interim, not a final report. The authors note their lack of access to the finds themselves and to excavation records (including pottery drawings), which remain on site (p. 75). The text is generously interlarded with clear (and well-reproduced) photographs and several plans, but no sections are published. As noted above, there

are no pottery drawings, nor are there any drawings of the rest of the objects. Furthermore, despite several mentions of the large quantities of sherds recovered, unglazed wares are accorded just over two pages of description. There has been no attempt at statistical analysis of pottery, let alone documentation following the norms of archaeological practice for final reports. Finally, there seems to have been no effort to collect or study bones or seeds, analysis of which would have shed light on the brief descriptions of economic and social activity at Surt by medieval travelers.

Fehérvári is clearly interested in glazed ceramics, reproducing them in color and providing technical analyses. His brief chapter on glazed ceramics provides an overview of issues relating to the spread of luster and what he calls "North African polychrome-painted wares." His review of archaeological and art-historical evidence is curiously hurried, however, lacking in references to pieces mentioned in the text. It also ignores the very close connection between these polychrome wares and an early Abbasid type discussed by Oliver Watson in a recent article ("Museums, Collecting, Art-History and Archaeology," *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 11 [1999]: 421–32). The two technical reports provide valuable data on the manufacturing techniques of the sherds involved, although those data are not illustrated in the form of photographs of the thin sections.

On the last page of his summary, Fehérvári states, "The archaeological work at Surt is far from complete" (p. 115). When I first read this sentence, I thought that it referred to the incomplete nature of the publication, and not the need for further work. But since such a call is issued at the end of the volume, let me suggest ways in which the site could be better understood and ways that it could illuminate Islamic archaeology. Any future excavation should undertake two kinds of survey before any excavation is attempted. The first would be a survey of the hinterland of Surt, including all or part of neighboring Iscina. The relationship between the Roman/Byzantine and Islamic cities would surely help resolve the issue of the nature of the early Islamic settlement here. And, given the relative lack of overburden, Surt

is one of the few remaining sites capable of furnishing answers concerning the relationship between Islamic and pre-Islamic settlement in the earliest years of the conquest.

This hinterland should also include the vicinity of Surt itself. The relation of the traders of Islamic Surt with nomads, which the list of exports cited above proves was obviously mutually beneficial, should be explored by mapping the surrounding garden belt and forts and searching for nomadic encampments. The relationship between nomad and town dweller should not automatically be assumed to be inimical, nor should all those later, poorer traces of settlement automatically be attributed to nomads (see p. 45: "The shabby construction of some of the walls . . . must be the remains of nomadic activity").

A geomorphological survey is also called for. Several times during the discussion, various authors make recourse to seismic activity to explain the settling of walls or floors without, as far as I can tell, any proof that this area was active seismically during the early or medieval Islamic period. A geomorphologist would have also been able to help with the sequencing of mosque construction by determining the difference between man-made and wind-borne deposit. Most important, however, is the relationship of Surt to the sea. If it was indeed a port, as it seems to have been, where was the actual port? Hamdani (p. 20) disputes Fehérvári and Dr. Mohammed Mostafa's (an earlier excavator of the site) hypothesis in this regard, but makes reference only to the modern situation of the coastline by way of objection. A geomorphological survey of the coastline would be able to relate changes in the shoreline to those of settlement in the region.

In his preface to this volume, Brett notes the enormous potential of Islamic archaeology for North Africa, given the paucity and nature of the written sources. In the present study, a focus on the mosque and on glazed ceramics evinces interests more art historical than archaeological. A fuller presentation and even basic analysis of humbler materials at Surt would have shed greater light on larger issues relating to settlement and economy. ❖

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Peerless Images: Persian Painting and Its Sources

By Eleanor Sims, with Boris Marshak and Ernst J. Grube.
341 + xi pages, 250 illustrations in color, map. New
Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002.
$95.00 hardcover.

In the last decades, Persian painting has received
unprecedented scholarly attention, with the publi-
cation of numerous articles, monographs, histori-
cal surveys, and catalogues of exhibitions as well as
private and public collections.[1] Eleanor Sims's grand
and lavishly illustrated *Peerless Images* is one of the
most recent additions to this impressive body of work.
Ambitious both in its geographic and chronological
scope, the book traces the development of Persian
figurative painting in "greater" Iran, which includes
much of Central Asia and present-day Iraq, from pre-
historic times to the early twentieth century. In her
Note to the Reader, Sims explains her publication
as follows:

> This volume — which should carry the subtitle,
> *Iranian Figural Painting and Its Sources* — took
> shape from a challenge: to write a book on "Persian
> painting" from a new perspective. As I considered
> the possibilities and reviewed the literature on the
> subject that has marked the last century, I thought
> I might develop an approach that was not histori-
> cal; instead, I would shape the book by means
> of the themes by the subjects of its illustrations.
> (p. xi)

Nevertheless, *Peerless Images* begins with a histori-
cal overview. The formation of ancient Iranian art
from seventh century B.C. (the reign of the Scythians)
to the late eighth century A.D, when the Soghdian city

of Panjikent, outside of Samarqand, was abandoned,
is written by the eminent Russian scholar, Boris
Marshak. In his outline, "Pre-Islamic Painting and Its
Sources," Marshak also relates how Persian artists and
craftsmen absorbed and transformed different figural
traditions, such as those associated with the Greeks
and Indians, to invigorate their own. The account of
the author's own discoveries of the wall paintings at
Panjikent, details of which are illustrated throughout
the volume, deserve special mention.

Sims introduces the section on the arts in Islamic
Iran with a fascinating discussion of the legendary
Manichean painter Mani and his subsequent impor-
tance for the history of the Persian pictorial tradition.
Drawing primarily on archaeological evidence as
well as on inlaid metalwork and ceramics, she recon-
structs the evolution of Persian figural painting in the
early and medieval periods (eighth to the thirteenth
century). For the rest, she focuses on key illustrated
texts, patrons, and artistic centers that played a pivotal
role in the development of Persian arts of the book
from the fourteenth to the early nineteenth century.
Although this chapter is intended more as a historical
"preamble" to the subsequent thematic one, it offers a
valuable introduction and reference tool for students
and enthusiasts of the arts of the book alike.

In the second and main section, Sims highlights
some of the principal themes and compositions of
Persian painting, arguing for a continuous pictorial
tradition. The categories comprise feasting and fight-
ing (*bazm u razm*), cult and ceremony, figural types,
and illustration of texts, which in turn are divided
into subsections. Under the rubric of "fighting," for
instance, the author includes battles, duals, and the
hunt, while the theme of "feasting" is divided into
outdoor and indoor scenes. Other categories, such as
"settings," are more broadly defined and range from

the natural world to interiors, architectural composi-tions, and nocturnal scenes.

Relying on her broad knowledge of Persian art, Sims has set up unusual visual groupings that include works in different media and formats. Her section "Feasting: Out-of-Doors" begins with a sixth/seventh-century ceramic amphora from Merv, decorated with a royal couple (no. 30) and a reception scene from an early fourteenth-century historical manuscript (no. 31). To illustrate the image of the hero, the author has combined a composition from Ibrahim Sultan's 1431–35 *Shahnama* (Book of Kings), depicting Rustam unhorsing Afrasiyab, with two mural paintings from Panjikent, one representing Rustam fighting a demon (no. 132), and the other, Rustam battling Aulad (no. 133). Inevitably, there is certain thematic overlap, and many of the works could fall into more than one category. A painting such as *Bizhan Slays the Boars of Irman* (no. 139), which is discussed under the heading of the "hero," would have been equally relevant for the sections on "animals," "outdoor scenes," "hunt," or "illustration of text." Similarly, the celebrated paint-ing *A Christian Monastery* (no. 104) could be analyzed for its depiction of "scholars" rather than "setting." The book relies largely on well-published manuscript paintings and objects but also includes lesser-known works, such as the remarkable painted ossuary from the Hermitage (no. 56) and two folios from the 1648 Windsor *Shahnama* (nos. 18, 87). Notwithstanding the difficulties of reproducing the rich palette of Persian manuscript painting, it is unfortunate that a consid-erable number of illustrations in *Peerless Images* lack the high visual quality one would expect from such a book (e.g., nos. 39, 50 108, 150, 160, 181, 185, 220).

A lively and highly informative essay accompanies each illustration. Sims carefully guides the reader/viewer through the works, pointing out some of their salient formal features, as is evident in her entry on *The Shoemakers Wife Released by Her Friend the Barber's Wife* from the 1459 *Kalila va Dimna* (no. 106).

> The ladies wear red shoes and headdresses; the shoemaker's wife has a red ornament suspended from a red ribbon around her neck, and even the rope with which she is tied is red. As is the some-what rumpled quilt underneath which the shoe-maker sleeps, furnishing a large red counterpoint to the smaller quantities of red in the ladies' toilette. The color almost surely anticipates the next stage of the drama, when blood actually flows. (p. 193)

For other paintings, such as *Khusrau and Shirin, in the Garden at Night, Listening to Shirin's Maid Recite Poetry* (no. 35), the author summarizes Nizami's cel-ebrated love story, while the section on religiously inspired paintings, written by Ernst Grube, provides an opportunity to discuss the central doctrines or "pillars" of Islam.

In her note to the reader, Sims admits that choos-ing a thematic framework "has not been without its perils," but adds, "I did not pull the 'thematic' catego-ries out of thin air but organized them as the pictures appeared to ordain" (p. xi). Still, a brief justification of the particular categories and a summary of their overriding formal characteristics and iconographic significance within the Persian aesthetic tradition would have helped the reader. For instance, what are the visual attributes of the hero and, for that mat-ter, the heroine, in Persian painting? And what about depiction of villains? How did painters reconcile the representation of nature or architectural monuments with the deep-rooted aesthetic preference for ideal-ized and stylized compositions? And finally, is there a reason for omitting the genre of historical writing from the section on "The Illustration of Texts," which examines the other two literary types — the epic and the romance? Only the section on religious imagery seems to have deserved clarification, but the others would have also benefited from a similar treatment.

Clearly, Sims's decision to emphasize broad formal and literary themes in favor of chronological and stylistic considerations has allowed her to offer a new perspective on the nature of Persian figural painting. But do the individual essays add up to a compelling survey of Persian figural painting? Can one detach the works from their historical, cultural, and physical context and focus primarily on their formal charac-teristics? *Peerless Images* is the most recent reminder

of some of the methodological difficulties of presenting an in-depth account of a complex artistic tradition, such as Persian figurative painting. Even if we disregard the inevitable consequence of an ahistorical approach, emphasis on a thematic framework as an end in itself tends to perpetuate the misconception of Persian figural painting as isolated, self-contained works of art. The majority of the images in *Peerless Images* are manuscript paintings that are part of a larger artistic ensemble. To present them as independent compositions, in the same way one would present a decorated ceramic bowl, is to ignore their role and function as an integral part of a larger formal entity and, by extension, to downplay an essential aspect of their artistic meaning and significance. The fact that many of the images are cropped from their surrounding text (nos. 14, 125, 140, 150), which may have been an editorial choice, further aggravates this problem. Granted that the book's first chapter focuses on key illustrated manuscripts, such as the *Jami' al-tawarikh* (Compendium of histories), the Mongol *Shahnama*, or the Tahmasp *Khamsa* (Quintet), the

shift to and emphasis on individual compositions in the second chapter deserve more discussion and clarification than are offered here.

These criticisms aside, *Peerless Images* offers considerable insight into the underlying pictorial and literary ideals of Persian figurative painting to a broader, more diverse audience. Thanks to Sims's analytical skills, engaging style of writing, and judicious choice of illustrations, the publication serves as a useful introduction and discerning picture gallery, reaffirming the power and magic of Persian painting. ❖

NOTE

1. Some of the most important recent publications include Sheila R. Canby, *The Rebellious Reformer: The Drawings and Paintings of Riza-yi Abbasi of Isfahan* (London: Azimuth Publications, 1996); *Royal Persian Paintings: The Qajar Epoch, 1785–1925*, ed. Layla S. Diba, with Maryam Ekhtiar (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Brooklyn Museum of Art in association with I. B. Tauris, 1998); *Golistan Palace Library: Portfolio of Miniature Paintings and Calligraphy* (Tehran: Zarrin & Simin Books, 2000); Bernard O'Kane, *Early Persian Painting: Kalila va Dimna Manuscripts in the Late Fourteenth Century* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2003); Abolala Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts* (New York: Rizzoli Press, 1992); David Roxburgh, "Kamal al-Din Bihzad and the Authorship in Persiante Painting," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 119–47.

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Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture: South India, Drāviḍadēśa, Later Phase, c. A.D. 1289–1798

Edited by George Michell. 2 vols., 382 + x pages, 123 figures, 570 plates, 3 maps. New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies, 2001. Price varies, hardcover.

The Temples in Kumbhāriyā

Edited by M. A. Dhaky and U. S. Moorti. 186 + xx pages, 14 figures, 244 plates. New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies; Ahmedabad: Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Institute of Indology, 2001. Price varies, hardcover.

The *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*, of which the first volumes appeared in 1983, has been a vast undertaking, of inestimable importance to its field through its scholarly documentation of a far greater number of temples than ever published before. The latest set, in the usual format of one volume for text and drawings, one for black-and-white plates, is the penultimate for South India and covers present-day Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, and Kerala between the end of the thirteenth century and the end of the eighteenth. The central focus is the period of Vijayanagara domination during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the volumes include the by now relatively unified stylistic zone corresponding to much of Karnataka and Andhra, and the distinctive traditions of coastal Karnata and Kerala, with their wooden pitched roofs. The Kerala chapters (valuable especially because of the inaccessibility to non-Hindus of most of the temples) are by Jayaram Poduval; the remaining chapters are by the editor,

George Michell. Following the pattern established for the *Encyclopaedia*, a regional stylistic classification is followed, running through chapters defined according to the ruling dynasties under which the temples are known or thought to have been built.

Michell is the most knowledgeable scholar in the field of Vijayanagara architecture. The monuments presented, a selection of the myriad surviving from the period, are less well known than the earlier ones, and much of the documentation here is pioneering, as reflected in the proportion of photographs by Michell rather than from the American Institute of Indian Studies archive. Many of the fine drawings are by Michell or from the Vijayanagara Research Project with which he has been involved for many years. This is the first adequate publication of much of the material, and Michell points to the art-historical issues still to be resolved.

M. A. Dhaky, the main editor along with Michael Meister of the preceding volumes of the *Encyclopaedia*, has been "the real force behind the success of the entire Encyclopaedia," as Catherine B. Asher acknowledges in the preface to the latest set (p. xii). With U. S. Moorty, Dhaky is author of the recent monograph on the eleventh- to thirteenth-century Jaina temples at Kumbhāriyā in northen Gujarat. Work on the study was begun by Dhaky more than forty years ago, and at one time it was destined for the appropriate North India volume of the *Encyclopaedia*. One happy consequence of the slow gestation of the latter is this book, dealing with the site in greater detail than the framework of the *Encyclopaedia* would have allowed. The white marble temples of Kumbhāriyā, in their covered courtyards, belong to the Maru-Gurjara style that Dhaky originally identified and show a spectacular blossoming of the western Indian tradition of ceiling design, developing here toward the

stages known through the more famous Jaina temple complexes at Delvāḍā (Dilwara, Mount Abu) and Ranakpur. Architectural descriptions of the temples, accompanied by the first published floor plans and a number of drawings of details, follow meticulous historical sections and a review of previous scholarship. Associated sculptures are discussed, and inscriptions from the site are published and analyzed, many for the first time.

Returning to the *Encyclopaedia*, the appointment of George Michell as editor could have been like putting a Brahmakānta peg in a Rudrakānta hole. With his background in architecture rather than Indology, he has generally stayed firmly at the pragmatic end of the spectrum on the issue of Sanskrit terminology. However, for the sake of continuity in the series, he has adapted to the established policy, using many Sanskrit and, where appropriate, Tamil terms. U. S. Moorty, coordinator of the volumes, has clearly played an important role in maintaining continuity. Michell even refers to Brahmakanta and Rudrakanta pillars, respectively square and round.

The establishment of authentic indigenous terminology has been an objective of the *Encyclopaedia* project since it began, a heroic undertaking arising from recent, informed study of traditional architectural texts, not least by Dhaky. Western terms are often both confusing and culturally inappropriate: why agonize over whether to use "plinth," "pedestal," or "podium" when you've got "*adiṣṭhāna*"? A further refinement, again led largely by Dhaky, has been the realization that different regional traditions used different terms. This phenomenon has also been respected in the *Encyclopaedia*, despite the difficulty that can arise from different words being used for the same element.

Painful for the reader is the lack of a full, detailed, and illustrated glossary. A glossary has always been part of the plan: it has been promised soon for South India and will be welcome. *Adiṣṭhānas* are a case in point, the typology introduced in volume 1 still being used in the latest of the series: "The most frequently occurring *adiṣṭhāna* type is Kapōtabandha where *nasis* are shown as bases. In a few instances the

Pādabandha and Padmabandha types also appear" (p. 5). The glossary at the end of the volume is cryptic: Kapōtabandha is "*adiṣṭhāna* topped by *kapōta*," and the other two merely "*adiṣṭhāna* type." I am probably not the only one to have gone through the illustrations in volume 1 to try to understand this typology. The clearest way to define the *adiṣṭhāna* design, it seems to me, is to enumerate the primary elements, the horizontal moldings (usually a single course of stone), and only then to worry about variations in their detail. The *Encyclopaedia*, however, seems to define some types according to their details. When it is published the full glossary may explain all, but I do suspect, heretically, that even if we can be sure what the texts meant by the terms, this will not necessarily give us labels that are the truest to the buildings themselves, let alone the clearest.

There are comparable difficulties with ceilings in the Kumbhariya book:

> The *mukhacatuskī* above its stairway supports a very fine *vitāna* or ceiling [A] which is structurally of the "*kṣiptotkṣipta*" order and decoratively of the Padmanābha class, the one equally elegant behind it in the *trika* [B] is of the complex "*utkṣipta*" specification. . . . The *vitāna*s in the bays flanking the one that carries the Padmanābha type [C] are of the identical "Mandāraka" class; those that flank the central *utkṣipta* type above the *trika*'s central bay noted above [D] are both of the identical Nābhicchanda class. (p. 59)

To Dhaky we owe the unearthing of the terms, and again we are still in need of a clear, illustrated typology. Refering to the glossary, *kṣiptotkṣipta* means an "ingoing as well as outprojecting course in a ceiling"; Padmanābha is a "ceiling type bearing *lūmā*-pendentives," *lūmā* being a "cusped and downward projecting pendentive." *Utkṣipta* means "thrown in." "Mandāraka," unhelpfully, means "projecting central part of ornate doorsill" (the plate captions prefer "Padmaka," "ceiling made up of *lūmās*," of which there is only a single large one), and "Nābhicchanda" is "ornate ceiling type with deep concentric cusped-

and-coffered courses or bands." It is better to extract a typology directly from the pictures. We find, among other things, that A and B follow the same underlying pattern, based on an orthogonal grid, while C and D share a common concentric pattern. B and D are respectively the negatives of A and C, in that instead of receding upward into domical voids the patterns push down out of the hollows on the stepped soffits of pendants.

Apart from terminological challenges, there are two problems with the *Encyclopaedia* resulting from a kind of fragmentary way of looking. The first relates to the relationship between the material being focused on and the broader traditions beyond the scope of the individual volumes. To some extent, this problem is simply a limitation of the format of the series. General observations are confined to Architectural Features sections, following the Historical Introduction in each chapter. These sections are not related to any illustrations, let alone illustrations of extraneous comparative material. So, for example, where Michell puts forward the stimulating idea that much of the Vijayanagara architecture of the Sāḷuva and Tuḷuva periods (ca. 1485–1570) is a revival of twelfth- to thirteenth-century Cōḷa forms, he is not able to prove the point visually. More fundamental is a tendency to describe generalities as if they were particular. Vimāna designs that, in terms of underlying composition, had been standard ones since the end of the seventh century are discussed as if they were virtually unique. A *gōpura* (p. 89) is "capped by a large *śālā* roof with characteristic horseshoe-shaped ends": but *gōpura*s are always crowned with *śālā*s, and *śālā*s by definition have roofs with horseshoe-shaped ends, or transformations thereof. Instead of analyzing the general typology of pillars, pillars of a single type are repeatedly described for individual temples: "Interior columns have separate footing-blocks, double blocks on the shafts separated by octagonal and sixteen-sided sections, and double capitals" (p. 12). This kind of column goes back at least to fifth-century Ajanta. The "double capital" is a *ghata* (pot) surounted by a *phalaka* (abacus) combined with a *maṇḍi* (cyma), as we know from an annotated drawing in volume 1 of the *Encyclopaedia*.

Pilasters are also described repeatedly, without explaining that in terms of its profile, its superimposed elements (not least *ghata* and *phalaka/maṇḍi*), there is just one basic kind of Drāviḍa pilaster (also going back at least to Ajanta), regardless of its details and its cross-section, Brahmakānta or whatever.

Diachronic fragmentation has its synchronic counterpart, where buildings are looked at bit by bit, missing the whole: "Early Sangama temples are characterized by their use of Karṇāṭa Drāviḍa-styled components, such as pilasters, generally grouped in threes, and multi-storeyed towers with *hāra*s of miniature *kūṭa*s and *śālā*s" (p. 23). All Drāviḍa temples, above a certain degree of complexity, have these components, but pilasters are never grouped in threes. In my view the *kūṭa*s and *śālā*s in a hāra (horizontal chain in an entablature) should be seen as the crowning pavilions of two-story aedicules, defined in the wall zone by pilasters, usually but not always on the corners of projections. But even if this is not accepted, pilasters are aligned with the pavilions above. In the "threes" to which Michell refers, two are aligned under the corner *kūṭa*s, the third with one end of a *śālā*, mirroring its twin at the other end.

In the Kumbhāriyā study, too, superstructures are severed from their bodies. The *śikhara*s (towers) get scant treatment, with only a sentence in the general section: "All the *śikhara*s here are of the Anekāṇḍaka or Śekharī (multi-turreted) class, the Latina (monospired) type went out of vogue after early 11th century" (p. 45). Śekharī is another term that we owe to Dhaky, but here he skims over the Śekharī compositions of the shrines (not purely their towers in isolation) by looking at the walls without raising his eyes. In the Māhavīra temple the "*pratiratha* [intermediate wall projection] is narrow as is the case with the Ambika temple at Jagat" (p. 54). As at Jagat, these projections are narrow because, crowned by miniature *śikhara*s to form *kūṭa-stambha*s, they belong, together with the *bhadra* (central projection) to a central cluster in the form of a particular kind of shrine, emerging at the center of the whole. It is not just the narrow wall projections that are similar to Jagat, but the whole concept.

The *Encyclopaedia* series, along with its companion volume on Kumbhāriyā, are invaluable reference works. They are goldmines for future researchers and for students, of art and design as well as of art history. Future scholarship in the field will need to begin from the chronological and stylistic framework that the *Encyclopaedia* has created. These books are sometimes infuriating, but they are monumental and indispensable. ❖

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Inventory of Monuments at Pagan

By Pierre Pichard. Volume 1, 409 pages, 1992. Volume 2, 411 pages, 1993. Volume 3, 409 pages, 1994. Volume 4, 413 pages, 1994. Volume 5, 411 pages, 1995. Volume 6, 415 pages, 1996. Volume 7, 411 pages, 1999. Volume 8, 375 pages, 2001. Each volume has a tabular index, alphabetical list of monuments, and maps. Volumes 1–6, Paris: UNESCO; Gartmore, Scotland: Kiscadale Press. Volumes 7–8, Paris: UNESCO and École Français d'Extrême-Orient. Price varies, hardcover.

Earthquakes rarely harbor silver linings, yet we must be grateful for the devastating tremor striking Pagan in 1975 for initiating a publication whose importance is inestimable. The quake centered only 38 kilometers from Pagan, and within seconds tons of ancient brick tumbled to the ground. The government of Myanmar moved quickly to repair the monuments in immediate danger, but a long-term project aimed at strength-ening structures against future quakes was begun with UNESCO in 1980, under the direction of Pierre Pichard, an architect and long-time associate of the École Français d'Extrême-Orient. Since most of the damaged monuments were never properly recorded, part of the mission was to formulate a comprehensive inventory of Pagan's monuments that would be available to guide restorations following future seismic jolts.

The genesis of the inventory is detailed in the now rare *Pagan Newsletter*, issued annually by Pichard between 1982 and 1986. In the inaugural number he reported "some 100 to 150 monuments on which some recording has been done" but bemoaned that there were "more than 2,000 which have had no data

collected about them."[1] The inventory covers more than 2,500 monuments within an area measuring 13 by 6 kilometers. Each monument was measured, photographed, and described. The Herculean field-work beginning in 1982 consumed nearly a decade, ending only in 1991. The first volume of *Inventory of Monuments of Pagan* appeared in 1992; the final vol-ume was issued in 2001. These eight, hefty hardbound volumes represent the most ambitious survey of any ancient site in Asia.

Work on the inventory began by assigning a num-ber to each of the thousands of surviving structures, ranging from well-known active temples, such as the Htilominlo, to hundreds of nameless small ruinous brick mounds. The earliest numbering of the monu-ments occurred in 1901 and totaled nearly 1,500, end-ing with the Ananda Temple (no. 1,465). This count was supplanted later by a more comprehensive second list that took the number up to 2,171. These same monument numbers were adopted by the inventory but with new additions, raising the total to 2,834. Pichard acknowledged the problems with adopting the previous numbering system but felt the intro-duction of a third new list would create even further confusion. For completeness, however, numbers contained in 1901 list are also given in the inventory, beneath the new number.

Each building is assigned coordinates within a square grid set to a 1:10,000 scale map that is arbi-trarily centered on the celebrated Shwezigon Pagoda near the town of Nyaung U. The volumes are orga-nized according to geographic zones, beginning with the Shwezigon Stupa and ending with the monu-ments just to the east of the walled city. Temples from vastly different periods were built next to one another throughout Pagan, and therefore ancient temples are

juxtaposed with even those from the late Konbaung period (1752–1885), when many new shrines were commissioned. This combination of old and new within all of the volumes conveys a true sense of the site's evolution.

Each structure is evaluated in terms of ten criteria: the function of the monument (stupa, monastery, and temple, etc.), plan, superstructure, mode of construction (various types of vaults), present condition (also with reference to former repairs), interior brick or stone images, ornamentation on the outside (stucco) and inside (mural), epigraphy (stone or ink inscriptions), bibliography, and finally an estimated date of construction. Since few of the structures fulfill all ten criteria, their descriptions are truncated.

All of the standing monuments are accompanied by at least one black-and-white photograph, apart from a number of completely shapeless mounds without visible brick registers. Important temples are generously illustrated. For example, the Ananda has forty-three photographs, including general views of the exterior and select sculpture and glazed tiles. The majority of entries, however, are accompanied by two to five photographs. The straightforward, didactic nature of the crisp photographs enhances the inventory's goal of recording the monuments accurately. In addition, nearly all of the monuments are accompanied by clearly presented measured drawings prepared especially for the inventory. Elevations are also included for the more important entries.

The first volume opens with an introduction treating the history and scope of the publication, followed by a twenty-eight-page section devoted to the terminology and nomenclature used throughout the inventory. This specialized vocabulary is illustrated with scores of photographs, with small arrows pointing to individual features. This entire portion is presented in English, French, and Burmese (with indigenous characters). Since the entries themselves are exclusively in English, one is puzzled at first by this trilingual section, but it provides a helpful aid for non-English speakers using the inventory. At the end of each volume are general and detailed maps locating the monuments by number and by major landmarks, such as the Mingalazedi or the Dhammayazika. In addition, there is a tabular index for every volume listing each structure and its chief characteristics, such as its date, presence of epigraphy, and its function. This index is extremely valuable since one can determine at a glance, let us say, the number of thirteenth-century temples with inscriptions. For faster and more precise search, a database lists 2,340 monuments with their characteristics. It can be downloaded from the École Française d'Extrême Orient website (www.efeo.fr) by clicking on "documentation," then on "publications en ligne," and finally on "Inventory of Pagan Monuments." There is also an alphabetical list of monuments at the end of each volume, together with its inventory number.

The final volume concludes with an alphabetical list of all of the monuments, with inventory numbers. Also helpful is a four-page section cross-referencing the hundreds of monuments found in G. H. Luce's well-known *Old Burma – Early Pagan* with the new inventory number.[2] Folded into a special flap inside the back cover of the book is a map of the entire site, to the scale of 1:20,000.

For researchers this eight-volume set is indispensable for a number of reasons. For example, plans, photographs, and basic descriptions of at least fifteen hundred monuments are presented here for the first time. Few of even the major temples at Pagan were properly documented before the publication of the inventory. Perhaps even more significantly, the inventory, by using the tabular index at the back of each volume, can act as a database for a tremendous number of features central to the interests of the art historian. Indeed, research on Pagan is unthinkable without the inventory.

Among the inventory's primary stated objectives was to provide a tangible record of the monuments that would guide restorers following inevitable earthquakes. This laudable goal has since been trumped by a threat to Pagan's integrity that scarcely could have been imagined when the inventory was conceived in the early 1980s. This new peril is the massive rebuilding campaign at Pagan undertaken by the Myanmar

government beginning in the early 1990s. Sharing the costs with the government are private donors from throughout Myanmar and abroad. Even the Kobe Postal Workers Union in Japan chipped in, its contribution recorded in Japanese, Myanmar, and English on an incised plaque placed before the brick benefaction.

Since the early 1990s more than a thousand ancient monuments have been "reconstructed" in various degrees but with scant attention to historical accuracy. Also, ancient brick mounds have been leveled and new shrines built directly above, augmenting merit from not only the "rebuilding" itself but from proximity to sacred foundations. Moreover, unlike all of the ancient monuments, the exteriors of the new monuments are without a stucco covering, allowing their fresh pinkish brick surfaces to clash with adjacent temples and stupas whose exposed bricks are dark and weathered and often covered by aged stucco. The result of so much new building is that the countryside no longer appears the same.

In addition, a number of original sculptures, made of brick and covered with stucco, have been completely removed, destroyed, and replaced by images in concrete, usually with imaginary additions. A typical example is the sole surviving Hindu temple at Pagan, the Nat Hlaung Kyaung, where a four-armed Viṣṇu in brick and covered by stucco was sheared off its supporting wall surface and replaced with a concrete figure now bearing six arms, replete with fanciful attributes. The photograph of this sculpture in the inventory is today the major record of this lost sculpture (vol. 6, photo 1600m). The threat to Pagan is clearly not from civil strife or the international art market, as in Cambodia, or from iconoclastic zealots, as in Afghanistan, or even from seismic shocks.

Uninformed tourists realize that there is extensive "restoration" but usually assume that the work was executed accurately. Older educated people in the country, however, simply shake their heads in disbelief, dismay, and resignation, reflecting the sentiments of academics worldwide devoted to the study of Myanmar art. In this new environment, Pichard's inventory therefore assumes immeasurable significance, since it provides the sole record of the original appearance of the vast majority of these monuments. The inventory will serve scholars reconstructing Pagan's history in much the same way as the nineteenth-century drawings and notebooks of Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc became important following the wartime destruction of Gothic monuments in France in the twentieth century. Indeed, this inventory and Pagan's lamentable recent history should prompt UNESCO and governments to sponsor similar inventories covering other major Asian sites. The case of Pagan suggests that the worst threats to ancient monuments are perhaps those that are least anticipated. ❖

NOTES

1. *Pagan Newsletter*, 1982, p. 4.
2. G. H. Luce, *Old Burma – Early Pagan* (Ascona and Locust Valley: Artisbus Asiae, 1969).

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